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PRIMITIVE JUSTICE: AN APPEAL TO THE HEAD OF THE TRIBE

The Book of History

A History of all Nations

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT

WITH OVER 8000 ILLUSTRATIONS

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

VISCOUNT BRYCE, P.C., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S.

CONTRIBUTING AUTHORS

W. M. Flinders Petrie, LL.D., F.R.S.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON

Hans F. Helmolt, Ph.D.

EDITOR, GERMAN "HISTORY OF THE WORLD"

Stanley Lane-Poole, M.A., Litt.D.

TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN

Robert Nisbet Bain

ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN, BRITISH MUSEUM

Hugo Winckler, Ph.D.

UNIVERSITY OF BERLIN

Archibald H. Sayce, D.Litt., LL.D.

OXFORD UNIVERSITY

Alfred Russel Wallace, LL.D., F.R.S.

AUTHOR, "MAN'S PLACE IN THE UNIVERSE"

Sir William Lee-Warner, K.C.S.I.

MEMBER OF COUNCIL OF INDIA

Holland Thompson, Ph.D.

THE COLLEGE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

W. Stewart Wallace, M.A.

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

Maurice Maeterlinck

ESSAYIST, POET, PHILOSOPHER

Dr. Emile J. Dillon,

UNIVERSITY OF ST. PETERSBURG

Arthur Mee

EDITOR, "THE BOOK OF KNOWLEDGE"

Sir Harry H. Johnston, K.C.B., D.Sc.

LATE COMMISSIONER FOR UGANDA

Johannes Ranke

UNIVERSITY OF MUNICH

K. G. Brandis, Ph.D.

UNIVERSITY OF JENA

And many other Specialists

Volume VIII

EASTERN EUROPE TO THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

The Roumanians . The Albanians

The Southern and Western Slavs

Hungary . Poland . Russia

WESTERN EUROPE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Emerging of the Nations

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THE ROUMANIAN PEOPLE

STRUGGLES OF THE WALLACHIAN KINGDOM

AN infinite number of different theories, both in scientific and in pseudo-scientific circles, have continually reappeared until recent times concerning the origin of the Roumanians, a nation which has settled in smaller groups in the Balkan territories in Hungary and Transylvania, and in a coherent body in the modern kingdom of Roumania. This people is known by the Slavs as Wlach, Walach, which nearly corresponds to the Germanic "Wahl" (Welsh). The Roumanian shepherds of the mountains of Dinai were distinguished from the Italian townspeople of Dalmatia as the "Black Vlachs." Like Italian, Spanish, and French, Roumanian has descended from popular Latin, of the kind spoken by the Romanised subjects of Rome during the first six centuries of our era on the Lower Danube and in ancient Dacia or Transylvania. Hence the name Daco-Roumanian, to distinguish this from the other Romance languages.

Language and Early History

For the period of the colonisation of Dacia by the Romans, the best descriptive material is to be found in the bas-reliefs of the Dacian war-decorating the pillar of Trajan.

Early history must, on the whole, be regarded as having run something like the following course: the scanty native population of Daco-Thracian origin coalesced with numerous soldiers and colonists, whose popular Latin soon became individual in character, but in spite of all changes preserved its fundamental romance type. In the year 697, and to some extent a century earlier, the Finno-Ugrian Bulgarians migrated into the country, and preserved their Turanian language for three centuries before they were absorbed by the mixed peoples of the Balkan Peninsula; during that time, the influence which they exerted upon Albanian, mediæval Greek, etc., was naturally also extended to early Roumanian. Side by side with, and subsequent to, this influence we have to take into

account the strong and permanent influence of the Slav population.

The main dialect of the Roumanian language is spoken by about nine millions of people in Moldavia and Wallachia, in Bessarabia and Transylvania, in the Banat, in part of Hungary and Bukovina, and it alone possesses any literature; two

subordinate dialects also exist—the South, or Macedonian, Roumanian of the Kutzo Wallachians, or Zingars, in Macedonia, Albania, Thessaly, and Epirus—amounting to about one million people—and the half Slav Istro-Roumanian, which is spoken by about 3,000 people in the neighbourhood of the East coast of Istria and in the interior of the Karst range side by side with the Croatian, which is the dominant language.

After the extensive settlements of Roman colonists by Trajan, the former land of Dacia for many decades occupied the position of a frontier territory, or outpost, of the Roman Empire; as that empire declined to its fall, the barbarians caused increasing disturbances, which only occasionally and for short periods gave way to a sense of security, as under the Emperor Maximian (235-238). Aurelian, the "Restorer of the Empire" (270-275), was forced to abandon the further bank of the Danube to the Goths, to transport the colonists over the stream, and to form a new Dacia on the south. From that period the districts to the north of the

A Land Overrun with Barbarians

Lower Danube were invariably the object of the invading hordes of barbarians as they advanced to the south-west.

The Huns and Gepids about 450 were succeeded a century later by the Avars—about 555—and by the Slavs in different advances and attacks. Then in 679 came the Bulgarians (Khazars and Old Ziangirs), and after a hundred and fifty or two hundred years the Magyars, from about 840 to 860, whose

settlements, in parts at least, were only temporary.

Such fragments of Roman colonial civilisation as survived those stormy times were hard beset by the repeated raids of the Pechenegs about 900, and by the Cumanians, or Uzes, about 1050. It will be obvious that, in view of the disturbed

Highlands state of the country, no detailed chronology free from suspicion can be given. It can be observed, however, in the barest outline, that, apart from the numerous invasions of the barbarians, one striking exception is to be observed, consisting in certain scanty remnants of Germanic languages, Western Gothic and Gepid, while Slav and Ural Altaic, or North Mongolian, blood was infused into the Daco-Roumanian population that remained in the plains, Bessarabia, Dobrudza, and Wallachia. The pure Daco-Roumanian nationality may have survived in a fragmentary state among the inaccessible wooded mountains of North-west Moldavia and Transylvania, also in Dacia during the period of Aurelian; these elements may have left their highlands when the country was pacified or passed north of the Danube, and again have exerted a special influence upon the motley complexion of the nation now known as Roumanian.

During the tenth and eleventh centuries it is noticeable that similar principalities, or banats, were formed in Dacia, of which those advancing too far from Transylvania into the low lands of the Theiss fell under Magyar supremacy. On the other hand, the duchies which spread to the east and south of the Carpathian Mountains were able to maintain their ground against the Pechenegs, Cumanians, and Mongols. About the middle of the fourteenth century the two kingdoms of Wallachia and Moldavia began their existence, starting from the Carpathians and continuing for

Two Kingdoms a long time in mutual independence with a history of their own. At the outset of the thirteenth century

in the Wallachia was in the hands of the Hungarian kings of the house of Arpad. Bela IV. gave the country, in 1247, to the Knights of St. John, with the exception of the half Cumanian domain of the "Olacus" Seneslav, who was at that time Voivode of Great Wallachia to the east of the river Olt, and with the excep-

tion also of the jurisdiction of the Voivode Latovoi, who was almost independent. When Ladislaus IV., the Cuman, ascended the throne of Hungary in 1272, while yet a minor, Litovoi and his brother attempted to shake off the burdensome obligation of yearly tribute; but Litovoi was killed about 1275, and his brother Barbat was obliged to pay a high ransom. Shortly afterwards Basarab, a grandson of the above-mentioned Seneslav, founded to the west of the Olt the principality of "Transalpina" (Hungarian-Wallachia, or Wallachia Minor) with Arges as the capital. It should be observed that Moldavia, constitutionally a state of later date, in contrast to Wallachia or the "Roumanian territory" in general, is occasionally known as Wallachia "Minor," until it was overshadowed by the older neighbour state under Alexander the Good; under Stefan the Great it is sometimes known as Bogdania—in Moldavian, Mutenia. In contrast to Moldavia, which was formed chiefly by foreign immigrants, this principality is a state which developed from its own resources. The power of

Basarab Basarab was considerably diminished by the defeat of his ally, Michael Tirnovo, at Velbuzd in 1330. However, the attempt of the Hungarian Angevin, Charles Robert I., to re-enforce a half-forgotten homage, became a total failure amid the wilderness of the Carpathian Mountains; Basarab, who died about 1340, remained master of the whole of "the Roumanian territory," which indeed became then, for the first time, the nucleus of a state in the proper sense of the word. However, this Wallachia Minor, which began its history with much promise, was soon overshadowed by Wallachia Major, and falls into the background.

Alexander, the son of Basarab, concluded an independent agreement with Lewis I. the Great at Kronstadt (1342-1382), concerning the conditions on which he held his position as voivode; however, in his own country his rule was largely disturbed by dissatisfied subjects. To his period belongs the foundation of a new principality in Moldavia, near Baia, by Bogdan. The affairs of the Balkan peninsula in his proximity induced Alexander to leave this ambitious rival in peace. In 1359 the Byzantine metropolitan, Hyacinthus, came from Vicina at the mouth of the Danube to Hungarian Wallachia as Exarch. By



A BEAUTIFUL AND HISTORIC CATHEDRAL OF ROUMANIA

This fine cathedral of Arges is the subject of various legends, but it was most probably founded by Basarab, who was founder of "Transalpina," with his capital at Arges, and died, in 1340, master of the whole of the "Roumanian Territory."

his first wife, probably a Servian or Bosnian woman, Alexander Basarab had a son, Layko, or Vladislav; afterwards, about 1350, he married a Roman Catholic, the Hungarian Clara, and died on November 16th, 1364.

Layko, who died in 1377 or between 1382 and 1385, was able to maintain his position against King Lewis; as early as 1369 he styled himself in his documents "Ladislaus by the Grace of God and the King of Hungary, Voivode of Wallachia, Ban of Syrmia, and Duke of Fogaras." Fogaras was a territory in Transylvania, afterwards granted as a fief to the Voivode of Wallachia by the kings of Hungary, as it was a secure refuge in the period of Turkish invasions, which began in 1367 and 1385. Under Layko, Arges became a Roman bishopric in 1369, although the conversion desired by the Pope was not accepted on the side of the voivode. In fact, his inclination to the Greek Church was plainly apparent in the marriage of the successor Radu with Kallinikia, to whose influence is certainly

due the occurrence of more extensive ecclesiastical gifts.

The sons of this couple were the hostile brothers, Dan (ruler in October, 1385 and 1393) and Mircea the Old, or Great (1386-1418). In 1390 Mircea made a convention with the Polish king Vladislav Jagiello II., which was renewed in 1411. About 1391 he took Dobrudza and the town of Silistria from the Bulgarians. However, in 1389 he was defeated at Kossovo with his allies, and became a semi-vassal of the Ottomans in 1391 and 1394. With the object of protecting his country from the threatened advance of the Turks, Mircea came to Transylvania in 1395, and on March 7th, at Kronstadt, concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with King Sigismund, in accordance with the terms of which he fought with the Christian army in the unfortunate battle of Nicopolis, on September 28th, 1396. Mircea was, however, now forced to recognise once again the Turkish supremacy, to abandon entirely the right bank of the Danube to

the Ottomans, and to pay the emir a yearly tribute of 3,000 red banes, or 300 silver Turkish dollars; the defiance shown by Mircea in withholding the tribute for three years was broken down in 1417.

In return the Porte guaranteed, in 1411, the free administration of the country under a voivode chosen by the inhabitants. This convention was to form the basis, even in the nineteenth century, of the relations of Wallachia with Turkey, and was renewed in 1460 between the Voivode Vlad IV. and Mohammed II., according to the common account. In the struggles for the succession which broke out in 1403 upon the death of Bajazet I. Mircea supported Musa, and met with his reward when the latter was recognised as ruler of the Ottoman kingdom in February, 1411. Hence the convention of 1411 may be regarded as a friendly alliance. However, this friendly relationship between Wallachia and the Porte was not to continue permanently. In 1413 Musa fell fighting

against his brother Mohammed. The latter crushed the pretensions of the false Mustafa, who was also deceived by Mircea; he also punished the Roumanians in 1417 by subjugating their country—a process which even Jorga cannot avoid calling "complete." He may certainly be right in regarding the agreement for tribute concluded between Bajazet and Mircea as a falsification, like that between Mohammed II. and Radu the Fair. Concerning the amount of tribute we have no certain information before 1532.

In 1413 Mircea appointed his son Mihail co-regent, and himself died on January 31st, 1418; the two princes

are represented together in a tolerably well-preserved fresco in the Byzantine style in the monastery of Cozia. Mihail also died in 1420, and was succeeded by his hostile

brother Dan, the protégé of the Turks, who disappears from the scene in 1430. The Boyar Aldea, known as Alexander, who was supported by Moldavia and Turkey, struggled to secure the throne for four years, 1432–1436, and was then driven out by Vlad, the legitimate son of Mircea, who had been brought up at the court of the emperor Sigismund.

During the reign of the haughty Voivode Vlad II., known as Drakul, or devil, a period of the greatest distress and poverty passed over the country. In 1432 he was driven out of his capital, Tirgoviste, while Turkish troops devastated the districts of Burzen and of the Székler; in 1436 he even fell into the hands of the Ottomans, but was eventually able to maintain his position in isolation. In the year 1438 he guided the army of Murad to Transylvania, and styled himself Duke of Fogaras and Amlas. After the battle of Szent-Endre in 1442, the leader of the Hungarian army, Janos Hunyadi, a Roumanian of Transylvania, marched into Wallachia and forced the

Turkish vassal, Vlad Drakul, to submit; in 1443 Vlad accompanied him to Servia.

This position of affairs was not, however, of long duration. The statement that he captured Hunyadi on his flight from the disastrous battle of Varna on November 10th, 1444, is questionable. However, the power of Hungary was so weakened that Vlad concluded a fresh peace with the Porte in 1446. This induced the Hungarian general to invade Wallachia at the end of 1446 and to confer the dignity of voivode on Vladislav, who styled himself Dan IV. Vlad Drakul was defeated at Pegovist, taken prisoner, and executed at Tirgisor,

together with his son Mircea. For a long period the struggle for the dignity of prince continued between the families of Dan and Drakul. Partly as a consequence



MIRCEA: A GREAT WALLACHIAN KING Mircea, king of Wallachia, and his son are here shown in an old mosaic. His life was spent largely in fighting the Turk, and had not the Ottoman power been so strong he would have founded a great and permanent kingdom, being a diplomatist as well as a warrior. He died in 1418. His son Mihail, who succeeded, died two years later.

of Hungarian help and partly with Turkish help the voivodes succeeded one another rapidly. Dan IV. supported Hunyadi in the middle of October, 1448. with 8,000 men, in the battle on the field of Amsel, but his personal indifference to the result was punished by the confiscation of his fiefs situated beyond the Carpathians.

From 1455 or 1456 until 1462 reigned Vlad IV., the second son of Drakul; he is sufficiently characterised by his nickname "the impaler." Immediately after the death of Hunyadi in 1456 and of Ladislaus Posthumus in 1457, Vlad made an unexpected invasion into Transylvania, reduced Kronstadt to ashes, and impaled all his prisoners. For the purpose of securing his rear, he concluded an alliance with the Porte in 1460, but in 1461 he surprised Bulgaria from pure lust of plunder and slaughter, and caused some 20,000 human beings to be impaled. To avenge this outrage the Turks marched against him in the spring of 1462 in conjunction with Stefan the Great of Moldavia, and drove him into Transylvania. The Alibeg of the Ottoman Emir, Mohammed II., placed the brother of Vlad, Radul the Fair, on the throne in the autumn of 1462, on condition of his paying a yearly tribute of 12,000 ducats; he also recognised the supremacy of the Hungarian king Matthias, who kept the hypocritical Vlad and Peter Aaron V., the Voivode of Moldavia, who had also been expelled, prisoners in Ofen. Radu was for the second time definitely driven out in the autumn of 1473 by his Moldavian neighbour, Stefan the Great; in the period of confusion which followed he soon lost his life.

His successor, Laiot, known as Basarab the Elder, lost the favour of Stefan in 1474 on account of his undue partiality for the Turks; he, too, was driven out by Moldavian and Transylvanian troops on October 20th, 1474. He again suffered this fate at the end of 1476. Vlad, the "impaler," once again took his place upon the throne of the voivodes with the help of Hungary. However, his death soon followed, and a family war continued

for two years between the Basarabs; the younger Basarab, the "little impaler," maintained himself with increasing power from 1477 to 1481. An unfrocked monk then became master of Hungarian Wallachia under the title of Vlad V. (1481-1496); he was a submissive vassal of the Porte, showing none of the desire for freedom manifested by Stefan the Great. A convention of 1482 established the river Milkov as the frontier between the two principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia.



VLAD THE IMPALER
A bloodthirsty ruler of Wallachia, whose lust of plunder gave Turkey good excuse for joining with Moldavia, in 1462, and dethroning him.

The son and successor of Vlad, Radul IV. or V. (1496-1508), who, in many respects, is rightly styled the "Great," attempted to relieve the general distress by reforms in the administrative and ecclesiastical systems, especially directed against the encroachments of Nifon, the patriarch of Constantinople. Although he did personal homage in Constantinople in 1504, the Turks deprived him of the Danube customs receipts in 1507. Michael, or Mihnea, who was supposed to be the son of Vlad, the "impaler," reigned for two years (1508 to 1510), until he was forced to abdicate by party struggles. The leader of the opposition party, Vladut, or Vladice (Little Vlad, 1510-1512), recognised the supremacy of Hungary, was defeated by the dissatisfied Boyars who were in alliance with Mohammed of Nicopolis, and was beheaded on January 25th, 1512.

Basarab III. Neagoe (1512-1521), who was descended on his mother's side from a Boyar family of Olten, now occupied the throne of the voivodes; he was a peace-loving ruler, and gave his generous support to churches and monasteries; he dedicated, in 1517, the beautiful church of Curtea-de Arges, which was restored in 1886 under King Carol. His successors were from 1525 to 1530 mere tools in the hands of the Turks, were generally at war with one another, and usually fell by the hand of an assassin. The consciousness of national existence seemed to have wholly disappeared from the people; the nobles spoke Slavonic and also Greek, and attempted to enrich themselves in conjunction with the Turkish grandees.

A Bloodthirsty Ruler of Wallachia

Towards the end of the sixteenth century the throne of the voivodes was secured by Michael II. the Bold (1593-1601), a brilliant soldier and a dexterous politician. Between 1599 and 1601 he also occupied Transylvania and Moldavia. He was a son of the Voivode Petrascu

Successful

Merchant

Becomes King

(1554-1557), and in his youth had carried on an extensive commercial business.

Through his wife Stanca he was related to the most powerful families, in which he found strong support against the preceding Voivode Alexander Mircea; after an unsuccessful attempt at revolt he eventually secured the throne in September, 1593, chiefly with the help of Andronicus Cantacuzenos. On November 5th, 1594, Michael concluded an alliance with Sigismund Bathori and Aaron of Moldavia, and shortly afterwards, on November 13th, massacred the Turks in Jassy and Bucharest. He then defeated several Turkish and Tartar armies in a brilliant winter campaign, and won a great victory at Kalugareni on August 23rd, 1595. The glorious deeds of this brave Wallachian resounded throughout Christian Europe during his lifetime. In 1598, he formed an alliance with the Emperor Rudolf II. against the Prince of Transylvania, who abdicated in the spring of 1599. However, when Cardinal Andreas ascended the throne, Michael, vigorously supported by the adventure-loving Cossacks of the Dnieper, invaded the country on October 17th, 1599, secured the help of the Szeklers, besieged Hermannstadt, and won a victory on October 28th on the heights of Schellenberg. Andreas Bathori was murdered while fleeing to the country of the Szeklers.

Michael advanced in triumph to Weissenburg, and was appointed imperial governor on November 20th; on May 7th, 1600, he crossed the frontiers of Moldavia. The Voivode Jeremias Mogila fled to Poland. The bold ruler seemed to have conceived the idea of securing the throne of that country for himself; even at the present day he is known by the Wallachians as King Michael—also Alexander—the Great. He made preparations

for an invasion of Poland, but he was forced to return to Weissenburg in order to negotiate with Pezzen, the ambassador of the Hungarian king, about Transylvania; on July 1st he caused himself to be proclaimed Prince of Wallachia and Moldavia and also of Transylvania in the name of Hapsburg.

Dangers, however, threatened him from another side. The Poles and the Turks were menacing his frontiers, and Sigismund Bathori was meditating an invasion of Moldavia. Transylvania itself was so entirely impoverished in consequence of Michael's continual military enterprises, that the nobles broke into open revolt against him and refused to perform military service. After a disastrous battle at Mirislav on September 18th, 1600, Michael fled, and was again defeated in his own country by the Pole Jan Zamojski, between Buzau and Plojesti; he could not even make head against Simeon Movila, who defeated him at Arges. Meanwhile the

Michael
Suffers
Defeat

Transylvanian nobles chose the characterless Sigismund Bathori as their ruler for the third time, on February 3rd, 1601.

Michael had betaken himself to Prague on December 25th, 1600, and had there presented to the court a memorial in his own justification; he obtained 80,000 florins, and with his troops joined the army of the Austrian general, George Basta, in Transylvania. On August 6th, 1601, the Prince of Transylvania was defeated in the battle of Goroslau; he fled to Moldavia, where he received a letter in which Michael undertook to help him to the throne if he would hand over his wife and children, who had been left as hostages in Transylvania after his fall. This piece of treachery was reported to Basta, who had Michael murdered on August 19th, 1601, in Thorda, probably in fulfilment of instructions previously received.

After Michael the Bold the position of voivode was occupied by wholly unimportant personalities. The only important ruler was Matthias Basarab (1632 to April, 1654). He defeated the Ottoman claimant Radu, the son of the Moldavian Voivode



MICHAEL THE BOLD

The glorious exploits against the Turks of this Roumanian prince, who ruled Wallachia from 1593 to 1601, aroused great enthusiasm throughout the Christian world at the time of their performance.



THE NATIONAL STATUE TO MICHAEL THE BOLD AT BUCHAREST

Alexander Ilias, at Bucharest. He carefully protected his boundaries against the encroachments of the Danube Turks, and took particular trouble to secure the general increase and advancement of national prosperity, while suppressing Greek influence, which had become predominant. In 1652 he founded the first printing-press, organised schools and monasteries, secured the composition of a legal code on the model of Slav and Greek compilations of the kind, and translated ecclesiastical books into Wallachian. No doubt his efforts in these directions were stimulated by the examples of the Transylvanian prince, Gabriel Bethlen of Itkar (1630-1639) and George I. Rakoczy (1631-1648), who set up Wallachian printing-presses in 1640, and published many ecclesiastical books in Wallachian.

His object was to spread the Reformation among the Wallachians; for since the catechisms of Hermannstadt in 1544 and the Old Testament of 1582, this movement had found adherents among the Roumanians of South-east Hungary. As a matter of fact his efforts led to no more permanent result than

those of John Honterus, the reformer of the Saxons of Transylvania. Neither the doctrine of Luther nor that of Calvin gained any lasting hold on the hearts of the Wallachians, but these publications gave a considerable impulse to the Roumanian written language and to intellectual life in general.

The proceedings of Matthias Basarab were successfully imitated by his contemporaries and opponents and by the Voivode of Moldavia, Basile Lupu, and one of his successors, Serban II. Cantacuzenos (1679 to November 8th, 1688). The Moldavian Logoset Eustratios had already translated the Byzantine legal code into Moldavian in 1643; in 1688 the Bible in Roumanian was printed by two laymen, the brothers Greceanu.

Side by side, with these ecclesiastical works, which consisted chiefly of translations from Greek and Slav, chronicles arose by degrees, such as those of Michael of Miron and Nicolae Costin, of Grigore Ureche the "Romanist," and of Danovic, Neculcea and Axente. Under the influence of ecclesiastical literature religious lyric poetry also flourished; the chief

representatives of this were the metropolitan Dositheos of Jerusalem, Michael Halitius, the high Logosat Miron Costin who was executed by Kantemir the Old, and Theodore Corbea. However, the chief glory of Roumanian scholarship in that period is Dimitrie Kantemir (1673-1723), philosopher, poet, geographer, historian, and an intermediary between Eastern and Western science and literature.

Hard times soon put an end to these promising impulses, which spread even more vigorously to Moldavia in 1680. Under the rich Voivode Constantine Brankovan (1688-1714), who was in other respects a good ruler, disasters burst upon the country, which was transformed into a military road during the wars of Austria, Poland, and Russia with the Turks. Brankovan entered upon an alliance in 1698 and 1711 with the Tsar Peter the Great. Shortly before Easter, 1714, Brankovan was imprisoned in Bucharest, and executed in Constantinople with his four sons and his adviser. The same fate befell his successor, Stefan III. Cantacuzenos (1714 to June, 1716).

This event extinguished the last glimmer of Wallachian independence; the freely elected voivode ceased to exist, and

voivodes appointed by the Porte ruled henceforward, who brought Wallachia to the point of collapse as they had brought Moldavia, and initiated a period of total decline from an economic point of view; the tribute at that date amounted to more than 140,000 dollars a year. The first of these foreigners, who were generally rich Greeks, was Nikolaus Mavrocordato, who had previously been prince of Moldavia on two occasions (1716-1730). The accession of this first Greek prince, who himself came from the Island of Chios and not from Phanar, forms an important epoch in the literature of Daco-Roumania, the first age of which, beginning about 1550, here comes to an end.

In the course of the eighteenth century, Russia began to interfere in the domestic affairs of the country, a process which culminated in the occupation of Wallachia by the Russians during the Russo-Turkish war of 1770. By the peace of Kutchuk-Kainardji, in 1774, Wallachia again fell under Turkish supremacy; but Russian influence kept the upper hand, and in 1781 the Porte agreed to set up a Hospodar government under the supervision of the Russian general Consul.



MATTHIAS BASARAB

After Michael the Bold, he was the only Wallachian ruler of note in the history of the nation. He reigned from 1632 to 1654, and did much for his country, founding the first printing-press in 1652.



SERVIANS REJOICING AT THE NEWS OF THE MURDER OF SULTAN MURAD



THE MOLDAVIAN PEOPLE AND THEIR STRUGGLE FOR NATIONALITY

BOUNDED on the west by the Carpathians, on the north and east by the Pruth and Russia, on the south-east by the Danube and the Dobrudza, and on the south by the Sereth, the mountainous country of Moldavia, the second division of Roumania, is especially suited for agriculture and cattle-rearing. The Roumanians and their Slavonic teachers seem to have fled to the rivers on the occupation of the country. The name appears in historical times towards the middle of the fourteenth century.

As early as 1335 Bogdan, the son of Micul, had caused the despatch of a Hungarian primate to the country, on account of his disobedience to King Charles Robert I. In 1342, when the Angevin ruler was dead, and his son, Lewis, had succeeded to the throne at the age of sixteen, Bogdan again revolted. Although the youthful king declined to acknowledge his position as voivode, the rebel was supported by the Lithuanians of the Halitskland and by the Roumanian mountaineers, and was able to maintain his position in the Marmaros; in 1352 his submission caused but little change in his position. At that time this south-east corner of Europe was in a constant state of disturbance; and on the first occasion of peace Bogdan followed the example of Basarab and shook off the Hungarian yoke in 1360, to which success he was aided by the "benevolent neutrality" of Poland. About 1365 Bogdan was the undisturbed master of Moldavia.

After his death his eldest son, Latzko, ruled the country, practically in the position of a Polish vassal; in 1370 he permitted the erection of a Catholic bishopric at Sereth. After this a series of events followed which are partly shrouded in obscurity, but none the less point to a Lithuanian Ruthenian foundation for the young state. As late as the fifteenth century the language of Little Russia predominated as a means of communication.

However, Moldavia definitely shut the door in the face of Slav influence at a comparatively early period, an attitude adopted at the present time by Roumania.

Partly explained by the influence of geographical position, this fact is also due to a number of occurrences, which at that

Ruthenian Advance Eastwards time gave Moldavia a separate position apart from the three Balkan states similar to that occupied by the modern kingdom of Roumania. There is no doubt that a considerable number of Lithuanians and Ruthenians removed to the Sereth from the district of Marmaros, together with the conqueror Bogdan. Even in the official documents of Stefan the Great, in the second half of the fifteenth century, a large number of Ruthenian names are to be observed; there, as they advanced eastward, they met with a number of settlers from Little Russia, upon whom the Wallachians looked askance as strangers. After the death of Latzko, in 1374, the Lithuanian Knez or supreme judge, George Koriatic, was brought into the principality of Baia; he, however, soon disappeared, and was probably poisoned. Equally short was the reign of a certain usurper known as Stefan I. His son Peter (probably 1379-1388) took the oath of fidelity to the Polish king Vladislav II. Jagiello in Lemberg in 1387; he conquered Suczava, which he made his capital. His youngest brother, Roman, who immediately succeeded him—he had been co-regent from 1386 at latest—was carried off to Poland in 1393 by the orders of Vladislav, and replaced by his elder brother, Stefan III. He was made a tributary vassal by the Hungarian king Siegmund at the end of 1394, but on January 6th, 1395, he again solemnly recognised the Polish supremacy. In the year 1400 Juga, the illegitimate son of Roman, enjoyed a short period as governor at Suczava.

Polish Supremacy in Moldavia At the beginning of the fifteenth century the first important voivode of Moldavia

began his government; this was Alexander, the other son of Roman, who was known as the "Good" even during his lifetime. During his long reign (1401-1432) he reorganised the defences, the administration, and the military system, compiled a legal code from the "Basilika" of Leo VI., and improved the intellectual

**Marks of
Intellectual
Progress**

state of the people by founding schools and monasteries. Upon three occasions he took the oath of fidelity to the King of Poland in 1402, 1404, and 1407, on the last occasion as the first "lord" of the Moldavian territory. He married, as his third wife, Ryngalla, the sister of King Vladislav, after sending auxiliary troops to Marienburg to the help of the Poles against the German Orders. During his reign numerous settlers from Lesser Armenia migrated into the country, most of whom afterwards removed to Transylvania; at this period, also, the first gipsies appeared in the country.

Under his sons Elias and Stefan V., the supremacy of Poland was again recognised in 1433. The two step-brothers began a severe struggle for the supremacy, which ended in a division by which Stefan obtained the south, while Elias secured the north of Moldavia with Suzava. In 1442 Stefan concluded an alliance with the Hungarian general Hunyadi to oppose the Turkish danger, and in the following May, 1443, he caused his step-brother to be blinded. However, Roman II., a son of Elias, put an end to his uncle's life in the middle of July, 1447, and secured the position of voivode for himself. But in the next year, 1448, Peter IV., a son of Alexander the Good, who had fled to Hungary to Hunyadi, and had married his sister, returned to his native land with a Hungarian army and drove out Roman, who fled to Podolia to ask help from the Polish king. Roman died of poison on July 2nd, 1448. Peter

**Plots and
Counterplots
in Moldavia**

now took the oath of fidelity to King Kasimir IV., and continued to rule under Hungarian and Polish supremacy until the year 1449. Then Bogdan II., an illegitimate son of Alexander the Good, revolted on February 11th, and on July 5th, 1450, concluded two important treaties with Hunyadi, but was murdered in 1451 by the Voivode Peter V., formerly Aaron, an illegitimate son of Alexander the Good. Peter was then forced to divide the

government of Moldavia with Alexander "Olechno," a son of Elias, who had been originally supported by Poland and afterwards by Hungary; but in 1455 Alexander was poisoned by his own Boyars. Peter now ruled alone until 1457, and was able to maintain his power only by a miserable and cowardly subjection to Poland and the Turks. From 1455 the Porte was able to consider the Voivode of Moldavia, with his tribute of 2,000 Hungarian florins, as one of its permanent vassals.

After this almost uninterrupted period of party struggles for the dignity of voivode, a period of unspeakable misery for the country, an age of rest and prosperity at last dawned in the second half of the fifteenth century; henceforward Moldavia, which had hitherto been placed in the background under the title of Wallachia Minor, or Bogdania, became of more importance than the older "Roumanian" district, which had been brought low by the two Vlads, the Devil and the Impaler. The Voivode Stefan VI. (1457 to July 2nd, 1504), a son of Bogdan II., was rightly surnamed the "Great" by his people.

**Moldavia Rises
in Power
and Importance**

The miniature painting in the book of Gospels of Voronezh, which remains comparatively undamaged, has preserved a not unpleasing portrait of this ruler. A brilliant general and politician, he not only extended his realm, but also removed it from the political influence of his two neighbouring states. He advanced the established church, which was dependent on the orthodox patriarch at Achrida, and the good order of which was in strong contrast to the confusion prevailing at Wallachia, founded a third bishopric at Radautz, where he also restored the old monastery church, and also built a great monastery at Putna in Bukovina.

He incorporated a Bessarabian frontier district of Wallachia with his own country, recovered Chilia in January, 1465, and in December, 1467, successfully repelled an attack of the Hungarian King Matthias, who was wounded by an arrow at Moldovabanya in the course of this campaign. Harassed by Tartar invasions, Stefan nevertheless found leisure to invade Transylvania during the Bohemian expedition of King Matthias in 1469, and to expel Radu, the Voivode of Wallachia, in 1471-1473. The Hungarian king was occupied in the west until 1475, and overlooked this

aggression, more particularly as Stefan, in alliance with the Transylvanian Szeklers of Udvarhely and Esik, had driven back a Turkish army of 120,000 men—which invaded Moldavia under Suleiman Pasha on January 10th, 1475—at Racova, and had by this means diverted the danger from Hungary. The exploit is characteristic of this glorious age in which Moldavia often formed a bulwark against the Ottomans on the south and against the assaults of neighbours on the north.

The Sultan Mohammed II. now undertook in person a punitive campaign against Moldavia, and won a victory on July 26th, 1476, in the White Valley. Stefan, however, with the help of Stefan Bathori, who was accompanied by the fugitive Vlad the Impaler, eventually drove out the hostile army and secured for Vlad the position of voivode of Wallachia. However, after the death of Vlad at the end of 1476, the new voivode of Wallachia, Basarab, the Little Impaler, made an alliance with the Turks; Stefan overthrew him on July 8th, 1481, and handed over the position of voivode to a certain Mircea. With the object of securing

**Poland
to the
Rescue**

their connection with the Tartars in the Volga districts, the Turkish armies of Bajazet II. invaded Moldavia again in 1484, together with Tartar and Wallachian allies, and stormed Chilia and Cetatea-Albam on July 14th and August 4th.

Only by means of Polish help, which he was forced to purchase by paying a homage long refused, was Stefan able to save his country from overthrow by the enemies' bands in 1485. Turning to his own advantage the necessities of Poland, which became pressing immediately afterwards, Stefan occupied Pokutia in 1490, and even paid tribute to the Porte to secure his position, as formerly Peter Aaron had done. In 1497 the Polish King, John Albert, invaded Bukovina with the intention of incorporating the whole principality with his own empire, and besieged Suczava, the capital until 1550; by the intervention of the Voivode of Transylvania an armistice was secured, and the end of the affair was that the Polish cavalry were surprised in the forests and scattered at Cozmin on the day of St. Demeter.

In 1498, Stefan appeared in person before Lemberg, and some one hundred thousand human beings were carried into captivity in Turkey. However, on the 12th or

18th of July, 1499, Stefan dissolved his connection with the Porte and concluded a convention with Poland and Hungary, wherein he tacitly recognised the supremacy of both states over Moldavia, and undertook to oppose the progress of the Turkish armies through his country and to keep the neighbouring states informed of

**The Sultan's
Tribute from
the Moldavians**

any hostile movements on the part of the Turks. Stefan fulfilled his obligations in 1499, when he put an end to 'the devastations of Balibeg, a son of Malkoch. After the death of John Albert he dissolved his connection with Poland and stirred up the Tartars against the new king, Alexander; while they devastated Podolia he occupied the Ruthenian Pokutia, and sent his Boyars and tax-gatherers to Sniatyn, Kolomea, and Halicz in 1502. This was the last success of this greatest of all Roumanians.

Stefan's son and successor, Bogdan III., known as Orbul, the "blind," the "one-eyed," or the "squint-eyed" (1504-1517), gave up his claim to Polish Pokutia in return for a promise of the hand of Elizabeth, a sister of Alexander; but he was cheated of this prize. The approach of the Turkish power induced him in 1504 to promise a yearly tribute to the sultan, consisting of 4,000 Turkish ducats, forty royal falcons, and forty Moldavian horses, in return for which, according to later reports, he was guaranteed the maintenance of Christianity; the voivodes were to be freely elected, and the country was to be self-governing in domestic affairs. This convention, which in recent times has formed the basis for the constitutional relationship of Moldavia with the Porte, was renewed by Peter Rares "the Restless" (1527-1528, and for the second time from the end of February, 1541, to September, 1546) in the year 1529; according to a document of 1532, he sent annually 120,000 aspers or 10,000 gold

**Moldavian
Gold
for Turkey**

ducats to Constantinople. At a later period this tribute was considerably increased. With Peter Rares began the rule of the illegitimate branch of the house of Dragos, who was a natural son of Stefan the Great. The chief object of Peter after the disastrous defeat of Mohacs on August 29th, 1526, the significance of which he never understood, was to turn to his own advantage the disputes about the succession in Hungary, which had broken out

between King Ferdinand and John Zapolya; on several occasions he invaded Transylvania, inflicting appalling devastation on the country, which, in 1529, declined to accept his rule. An attempt to recover Pokutia from Poland was brought to an end by the defeat of Peter at Obertyn on August 22nd, 1531. His

**Ottoman
Oppression
in Moldavia**

faithlessness brought about the fall of Aloisio Gritti, who had been sent by the sultan to Transylvania in 1533. After the expulsion of Peter in 1538, the voivodes of Moldavia became ready tools in the hands of the Porte; provided they paid the sultan a yearly tribute, they were allowed to govern their own territory precisely as they pleased. The people groaned under the burden of heavy taxation and extortion of every kind, and attempted to secure relief by joining the party struggles set on foot by individual wealthy families, hoping also to secure some momentary relief by the murder of their masters. Thus the Voivode Stefan VIII., "the Turk," or "the Locust"—so named after a plague of locusts in the year 1538—was murdered, in 1540, after a reign of two years. His successor, Alexander III., a scion of the legitimate Dragos family from Poland, met with the same fate in the same year. The Voivode Elias II. (1546–1551), a son of Peter Rares, was ordered by the sultan to invade Transylvania in 1550, but transferred this commission to his brother Stefan, abdicated in May, 1551, and soon afterwards died as the renegade "Mohammed," governor of Silistria. His place was occupied by his brother Stefan IX., the last direct descendant of the illegitimate branch of the Dragosids, until he was murdered by the Boyars in 1553.

His opponent and successor, Peter the Stolnic, known as Alexander IV. Lapusan (1553–1561), speedily made himself highly unpopular with the Boyars by his infliction of torture and death, from the stain of which he tried to cleanse his conscience by founding a monastery at Slatina. In 1561 the Greek sailor Jakobos Basilikos seized the position of voivode, under the title of John I.; he founded a Latin school at Cotnari (East Moldavia) and a bishopric, which was naturally but short-lived. After playing the part of a tyrant for two years he was murdered in the course of a popular rising on November 5th, 1563.

**Moldavia
a Land of
Tragedies**

During and following upon the short rule of one Stefan X. Tomsa—beheaded in Poland in 1564—Alexander IV., who had fled to Constantinople, resumed the government (1563–1568), until he gradually went blind. His son Bogdan IV. (1568–1572) was wounded by an angry nobleman while visiting his betrothed in Poland.

The sultan then appointed as Voivode Moldavia John II., a Pole of Masovia who had accepted the Mohammedan faith in Constantinople, where he was believed to be a descendant of Stefan IX who had been killed in 1553. In order to secure his independence, John allied himself with Cossacks—hence his name of "rebel"—but was surrounded in Roscani, and executed on June 11th, 1574. The Cossacks, who were forced to organise under Stefan Bathori in 1576, were at that period a bold robber-tribe, feared both by the Tartar and the Ottoman; they devastated the districts on either side of the Dniester from their islands in that river, and after 1595 sought to find opportunity for their wild exploits, under Michael the Bold, Wallachia itself. At the same time the ancient Vikings took a stop to all trade on the Black Sea for forty years.

**The Sultan
as
Dictator**

VII. the "Lame," the Mircea of Wallachia, who was a voivode by the sultan (1574–1577), from the first a precarious position was overthrown after surviving an escape from the Cossack protégé, John "Curly"; his conqueror, the Cossack John or Peter Potkova, "the black horseshoes," in this respect a predecessor of Augustus the "Strong," reigned a few days, and was then executed at Lemberg by the order of the Polish king Stefan Bathori (1575–1586). The sultan then, in 1577, again conferred the position of voivode on Peter VII., who was expelled in the following year, and restored him afterwards for the time (1584–1592).

Moldavia was at that time again in the hands of the Ottomans, who expelled and appointed voivodes as they pleased, while their deputies and their troops devastated the country in all directions. Before Peter became voivode for the third time the country had been governed, for a short period in 1578, by Alexander, a brother of Potkova, and after a constant succession of real and

pretended claimants, by a certain Jankul the "Saxon" of Transylvania, who had used the wealth of his wife, a Palæologa of Cyprus, to induce the authorities of Constantinople to depose Peter and to confer the position of voivode of Moldavia upon himself in 1579. He became involved in a quarrel with Stefan Bathori, through his encroachments upon the Polish frontier, and was taken prisoner and executed in 1582. One of his successors, Aaron, who had formerly been a coachman and then a Boyar, was driven out by the Cossacks in 1591, after a reign of only one year, and fled to Constantinople.

The Cossacks restored Peter in 1592; but he was captured by the Transylvanian troops of Sigismund Bathori and handed over to the sultan, who executed him. Aaron was now placed for the second time in the position of voivode

(1595), and pursued a policy of unblushing duplicity. On November 5th, 1595, he made an alliance at Zsigmonsd with Sigismund Bathori and Michael of Wallachia against the Turks; but he deserted the latter, was taken as a prisoner by Alvincz by the Turkish troops, and died in 1597. His son, Stefan XI. Resvan, defeated Sigismund Bathori in enterprises against the latter, but was impaled at Zsigmonsd in 1595 by the Polish troops of Jan Zamoiski, who had invaded Moldavia.

In August the position of voivode was taken over by Jeremias Mogila, or Movila (1608), a feeble character, who allowed the country to fall entirely under Turkish supremacy. At that time Southern Moldavia had been driven to find room for Tartar settlers; the tribute which the Khan of the Crim Tartars, who from 1475 had harassed the Russians, Poles, and Roumanians, then subject to the Ottomans, had been receiving from Moldavia since 1566, "according to ancient custom," as the price for his consideration of their frontiers, was now dropped. However, this remarkable branch of the conquering Nogais, under the "Mirzak" Antemir, lost their independence in 1637, though their marauding raids were still

continued. It was not until the seventeenth century that a better period began to dawn; after a conspiracy of the Boyars against Alexander VII. Elias, who favoured the Greeks, and after various other confusions the Greek Albanian Vasile Lupu came to the throne (1634-1653); he founded schools and benevolent institutions, and did his best to improve the condition of the country. He was a cunning politician, and began intrigues against George Rakoczy, the ruler of Transylvania, which ended, in 1654, by his being captured himself by the Khan of Tartary, who sent him to Constantinople.

On January 8th, 1654, the Cossacks surrendered to the Russians. Moldavia, however, came under Transylvanian supremacy. The voivode Stefan XIII. (1653-1658), after secret negotiations with the Russian Tsar (1654-1656), joined the Wallachian Constantine Basarab in placing himself under the protectorate of George Rakoczy II. As he supported this ruler in an attempt to secure the crown of Poland in 1675, the sultan declared him deposed.

The following years were a period of unspeakable misery and sorrow; the last two native rulers, Stefan XIV. and XV., maintained their position with interruptions until 1680 or 1690, but between 1658 and 1712 the Turkish court, at its will and pleasure, appointed rulers from the principal Albanian or Greek families.

A new period in the history of Moldavia (1712-1822) begins with the appointment of the Phanariot class to the position of voivode; they were merchants from Constantinople, and each one of them, intent solely upon his own enrichment, did his best to reduce the country to ruin.

The Russians occupied the country between 1769 and 1774, and then conferred the dignity of voivode upon Gregor III. Ghika, who was murdered by the Janissaries at Jassy in 1777.

After the death of Ghika the partition of Moldavia began. But of that process we have here to record only the beginning, when, in 1777, the province of Bukovina was incorporated in the Austrian dominions.

HEINRICH VON WLISLOCKI



VASILE "THE WOLF"

A ruler of Moldavia, able and cunning, but being captured by the Khan of Tartary he was delivered to the Turks in 1654.



ALBANIANS: A SCATTERED RACE

THEIR WARS AND THEIR RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

THE country known to us as Albania is a district about 400 miles in length and 120 in breadth upon the average, which lies on the coast of the Balkan peninsula. Of this district, the Albanians proper, a strongly-marked nationality, occupy the north; the south-east is pure Greek; while the south-west contains both races, so intermingled that the children learn both languages simultaneously. Roumanians

**Decadence of
Albanian
Independence**

inhabit the district of Pindos, and Bulgarians and Serbs the district which borders their frontiers; on the other

hand, the Albanian race has also extended far beyond the frontiers of Albania. On the Shah Dagħ Albanians have appropriated the whole western portion of Turkish Servia, extending to Bosnia, and inhabit the mountain region lying west and south-west of Novi Bazar. Large numbers of Albanians also dwell within the kingdom of Greece; in fact, the whole of Attica, with the exception of Athens and the Piræus, Megara, with the exception of the city, Bœotia, and the islands of Hydra and Spezzia, together with many other districts, are inhabited by them.

However, during the course of the nineteenth century the Albanian nationality in these parts has apparently suffered a considerable decrease, owing to the fact that many Albanian families have adopted Greek manners and the Greek language, as Greek is considered the more distinguished nationality. About 80,000 Albanians are settled in Italy, divided among the former provinces of Nearer and Further Calabria, Basilicata, Capitanata, Terra d'Otranto, Abruzzo Ulteriore and Sicily. The first mentioned were brought over about 1460 by Ferdinand I. to Naples. Their number was originally considerably greater, but many of them have been entirely Italianised in language, dress, and manners. Finally, three small Albanian colonies exist upon Austrian soil—one on the Save, between Shabatz and Mitrovitz, one at

Zara, and one at Pola. The Albanians are divided into two main branches, which are also distinguished from one another by language—the Toskans and the Geges. The former inhabited the south, the latter the central and northern parts of the country. Their respective dialects are so different that they have the utmost difficulty in understanding one another, and members of one branch are obliged by degrees to learn the dialect of the other. In other respects, too, a strange divergence between the two branches has existed from early times. An attempt has been made to explain the difference of dialect on the supposition that the inhabitants of the north were the Illyrians of antiquity, and those of the south the Epirots. This hypothesis is scarcely defensible. It is more probable that both branches are Thracian, and that of the two dialects, Gegish is the Thracian language as spoken by Illyrians, and Toskish is that language as spoken by Greeks; in other words, that the difference corresponds to that between Lombard and Tuscan Italian—namely, Latin in the mouth of Gauls and Latin in the mouth of Etruscans.

In respect of religion the land is again by no means uniform. The north is predominantly Roman Catholic, while in the south Greek Catholicism holds the upper hand. Mohammedanism, moreover,

**The Cross
Versus the
Crescent** has spread throughout almost the whole country, and the number of its devotees is nearly equal to that of the Christians.

The distinguished families, especially in the towns, are Mohammedans; there are, moreover, isolated country districts which are Mohammedan. It will be understood that all of these were at one time Christians, and that they have gone over to Mohammedanism in consequence of the very various forms of pressure which the Turks were able to exert at different times, even within the present

century. The only tribe which has remained pure Catholic is that of the Miridites, in the north, from the fact that every apostate was immediately forced to leave the district. There are besides districts which are Mohammedan only in seeming, and acknowledge Christianity in secret, at the present day as previously.

Although, as we have said, the Albanians are thus divided by geographical, religious, and linguistic differences, yet they form one nationality with a strongly marked national character, arising primarily from the conception of the family, which has dominated the whole life of this people. It is by the solidarity of family life that we must explain their tenacious observation of ancient customs, which accompany every detail of household life, birth, engagement, marriage and death; thus, too, is explicable that fearful scourge of this nation, the blood feud, and also the political impotence of the country in spite of the great bravery of its inhabitants.

The strongly marked conservatism apparent in all these facts has also contributed to the maintenance of numerous survivals of the old heathen popular religion side by side with the different religions which individuals have adopted as their official belief. As survivals of this nature are the belief in the Elves, a household spirit, three monsters known as Kutshreda, Sükjennesa and Ljubia, the Ore, Mauthi, Fatiles, Dive, Fljamea Kukudi, Vurvulak—known among the Geges as Ljuvgat and Karkancholi—the Shtrigea, Dramgua, and the men with tails. There is no reason to suppose that these demoniacal beings are the survivals of some old pure Albanian popular belief; they probably represent, to some degree, remnants of early Greek, Roman, Slavonic, Turkish, and perhaps gipsy superstition. The origin of the component parts of this popular belief cannot be pointed to with certainty. When we examine the appellations of these separate beings, it might be supposed that they originated from the nation from whose language they took their names; but no reliance can be placed on this theory. The Albanian vocabulary for every department of life is a motley mixture taken from all possible languages, so that it is highly probable that in mythology foreign names might often represent

native conceptions. The Elves, known as the "Happy Ones," or as the "Brides of the Mountain," display a considerable resemblance to the fairies of German mythology, who bear the same name. They are generally feminine, about the size of twelve-year-old children, of great beauty, clothed in white, and of vaporous form. They come down in the night from the mountains to the homes of men, and invite beautiful children to dance; often, too, they take little children out of the cradles to play with them upon the roofs of the houses, but bring them back unharmed.

Similar is the character of the Mauthi, as she is called in Elbassan, who is probably to be identified with the Southern Albanian "Beauty of the Earth." She, too, is a fairy clothed in gold, with a fez adorned with precious stones; "the man who steals this is fortunate for the whole of his life." Goddesses of fate are the Ore and the Fatiles; the former goes about the country and immediately fulfils all the blessings and curses which she hears. The Fatiles are the same as the ancient Greek Moirai. The Attic Albanians have only one of these deities, who still bears the ancient name of Moira; however, all the gifts which are offered to her upon a birth in the house are tripled.

Horrible demons are the cannibal female monsters Kutshreda, Sükjennesa, and Ljubia. Connected with them is the Fljamea of Elbassan, also a female demon, who can afflict with epilepsy. The Dif, or the Dive in the plural, are giants of supernatural size, while the household spirit, the Vittore, is conceived as a brightly coloured snake, which lives in the wall of the house, and is greeted with respect and wishes of good fortune by any one of the inhabitants who catches sight of it. The Vurvulak, known in some places as vampires, are sufficiently explained by this second title. Of a similar nature are the Ljuvgats, "Turkish corpses with long nails, which go about in their grave clothes, devouring what they find, and strangling men," as also are the Karkantsholjes or Kukudes, the corpses of gipsies whose breath is poisonous.

The literary monuments of the people are very few; all that can be called literature is confined to translations of the Bible and similar ecclesiastical

A Strange Mixture of Religions

Survival of Albanian Mythology

Scarcity of Literary Monuments

compositions, to national songs, and a few attempts at poetry among the Italian Albanians, and in Albania itself. Among the former we may mention Girolamo de Rada (1870), who has treated of the heroic period of his nation—that is to say,

Albania's the wars of Skanderbeg. The
Most poet of Albania most famous
Famous Poet amongst his compatriots is Nezim Bey of Bremet. He was a scholar acquainted with Arabic and Persian literature, and it was under the influence of these Oriental literatures that his poems were composed, as they indeed declare by their strong infusion of Arabic and Persian words. The spirit also is undeniably Oriental, and their similarity with the poems of Hafiz, for instance, is unmistakable. The national songs are not without a beauty which is strikingly foreign to our ideas. Our information upon the actual history of the Albanians is for the most part very fragmentary. Native historical sources there are none; we are reduced to the references derived from the history of those nations with whom the Albanians were brought into connection. Hence our chief sources are the Byzantine chroniclers, "who trouble themselves very rarely about these remote provinces." Our earliest direct information belongs to the year 1042; at that date, after subjugating the Bulgarian revolt, Michael Paphlago, the

governor of Dyrrhachium, gathered an army of 60,000 men from his province and advanced with it against the Serbs. When the Normans made their expeditions of conquest (1081-1101), the rule of the despots of Epirus from the house of the Comneni began, and it lasted until 1318.

The land then fell again into the hands of the Byzantine emperors; but the restless population repeatedly rose in revolt, and the most cruel coercion failed to secure a definite pacification. In the year 1343 fresh disturbances broke out, of which the Servian king, Stefan Dusan, took advantage to conquer the whole of Albania, Thessalia and Macedonia, and assumed the corresponding title of emperor of these countries. Upon his death the Servian kingdom fell into confusion, and Nice-

phorus, son of the last despot, attempted to seize the government of Albania, but was defeated by the Albanians and killed in battle (1357-1358). The Albanians now fell again partly into the hands of the Servian despot Simon. As, however, he troubled himself but little about the country, the Albanians founded two practically independent provinces—a southern province under Gjinos Vayas, and a northern province under Peter Ljoshas.

Then began a period of Albanian migration, during which large portions of Macedonia, Thessalia, Ætolia and Acarnania were occupied by parties starting from Durazzo. Thence the Albanians spread further to Livadia, Bœotia, Attica, South Eubœa, and the Peloponnese. After the death of Peter Ljoshas, in 1374, John Spata seized the town of Arta. His rule

was a period of long struggles with different opponents, which continued almost until his death in 1400. About this time most of the country was conquered by Carlo I. Tocco, who died on July 4th, 1429, and bequeathed what he had won to his nephew Carlo II. Tocco of Cephallenia, who was obliged, however, to cede the town of Janina in 1430 to Murad II., and to acknowledge his supremacy.

The process of converting the country to Mohammedanism then began, and has continued till within the last century. It was chiefly the

upper classes that embraced Mohammedanism, and for this reason they were able to found native dynasties, which in some cases actually acquired hereditary rule. Of these native pashas of Janina the best known is Ali, who was born in 1741 at Tepeleni, and murdered on February 5th, 1822, in a summer-house on the lake of Janina, by Khurshid Pasha. North Albania, which had become a Servian

province, has a history of its own. About the year 1250 it went over to the Catholic Church, as appears

from the letters of Pope Innocent IV. The family legend of the Miridite chieftain preserves the memory of this event. The disruption from Servia, in which the noble family of the Balzen took a prominent part, occurred about 1368, and therefore



FAMOUS CHRISTIAN HERO
George Kastrioti, known as "Skanderbeg," was the great Christian hero who waged war against the Turks for twenty years in Albania. He began his struggle in the year 1444.

**Venetian Help
Against
the Ottomans**

THE ALBANIANS: A SCATTERED RACE

after the death of Stefan Dusan in 1355. With the year 1383 begin the invasions of the Ottomans, whom the Albanians opposed with Venetian help. Among these Turco-Albanian struggles those of Skanderbeg stand out prominently. Yban, or John George Kastrioti, was born after 1403, the son of Yban or John Kastrioti, the dynast of Mat, and of Voisava, the Servian princess of Polog. In 1423 he was carried off, with his three brothers, by the Emir Murad II. in the course of an incursion into Southern Albania, kept as a hostage for his father's fidelity, and employed in the royal Seraglio. There he was brought up in the Mohammedan faith, and given the name of Iskander or Alexander Bey, popularised as Skanderbeg. Conspicuous for his handsome form and intellectual powers, he very soon obtained a superior post in the administration. In 1442, upon the death of his father, Yban, the principality was occupied by the emir, and his brothers were killed. The revolts conducted by Arianites Comnenus, who died in 1461, Depas, or Thopia, and Zenempissa, were crushed by the Turks.

Kastrioti concealed his thirst for vengeance, and remained in the Turkish service as if nothing had occurred. When, however, at the close of 1443 the Hungarians defeated the Turks, George escaped, with 300 Albanians, from the Turkish camp, and seized Kruja by a trick. He re-adopted Christianity, inspired his compatriots to fight for their independence, and occupied the whole district in a month. All the chiefs placed themselves under his

command, and paid tribute for the maintenance of the revolt. Skanderbeg continued the war with vigour, and in 1444, with 15,000 men, he defeated the Turkish army, 40,000 strong under Ali Pasha, and other Ottoman generals in the district of Dibra. In the year 1449 he attacked Murad with 100,000 men, but was defeated and forced to withdraw from Kruja, which he besieged.

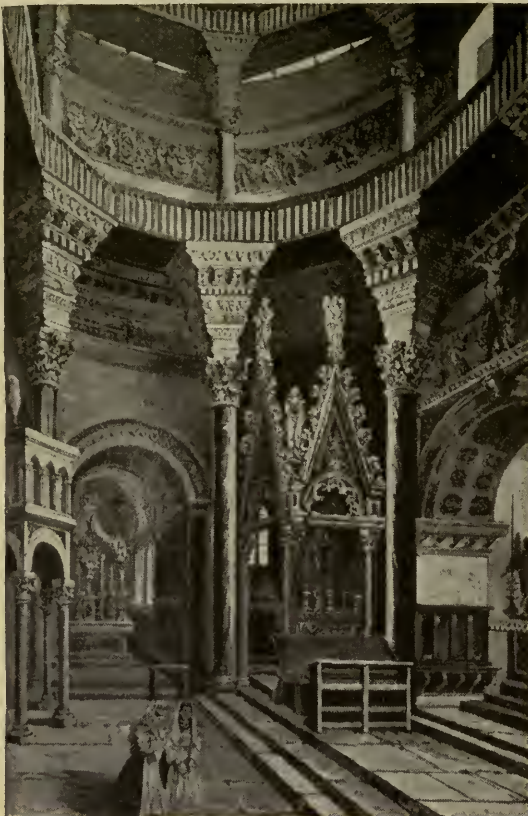
After the death of Murad II., in 1451, he remained victorious upon the whole, notwithstanding disunion among the chieftains and several defeats which he suffered; in the ten years' armistice of May, 1461, Albania was formally ceded to him. He showed great organisative ability, and made the country a stronghold of Christianity, and his vigorous services to this faith induced Pope Pius II. to select him as general for his proposed crusade in the year 1464. The result of this movement was a further outbreak of war, and once again the Turks were defeated. But on January 17th, 1468, Skanderbeg



TYPES OF ALBANIAN MOUNTAINEERS

died at Alessio. His son being still a minor, the Turks were victorious. It cost them, however, ten years' fighting before they reconquered Kruja, on June 15th, 1478, and succeeded in bringing the land under their sway in 1479. After that date large bodies emigrated from North Albania, and the majority of the Albanian colonies in Italy belong to that period. Another part of the conquered Albanians preferred to remain upon the spot and accept Mohammedanism, while the remainder fled into the mountains.

KARL PAULI



Temple of Diocletian's palace, now Spalato Cathedral.



Temple of Rome and Augustus at Pola.



Courtyard of Diocletian's palace at Spalato.



REMAINS OF THE GREAT ROMAN AMPHITHEATRE AT POLA IN AUSTRIA

MEMORIALS OF THE ROMAN OCCUPATION OF SLAVONIA



THE SOUTHERN SLAV PEOPLES

MOVEMENTS OF A WIDESPREAD RACE AND THEIR ABSORPTION INTO OTHER NATIONS

AS the history of the German races emerges from obscurity only upon their contact with the Greeks and Romans on the Rhine, on the Danube, and in the Mediterranean territories, so also the early history of the Slav races has been preserved by the Græco-Roman civilisation, which by degrees drew all peoples from darkness to light, and stirred them to new life as though by a magician's wand. It was chiefly with the Romans that the Germans came into contact by reason of their geographical position; for similar reasons the Slavs fell within the area of Greek civilisation, though here again by the intervention of the Roman Empire. Slav history is thus connected with Roman history. At the point where Slavs were the immediate neighbours of the Romans their annals reach back to the beginning of our era, though it was not until some 500 years later that the northern Slav race appeared upon the scene. It was upon the Adriatic and in the river system of the Central and Lower Danube that the Slavs first came into contact with the Roman Empire; on the Adriatic and on the classical ground of the Balkan Peninsula, which was saturated with Græco-Roman civilisation, begins our earliest genuine knowledge of the Slavonic peoples.

The Slavs' First Contact With Rome

The races which inhabited the districts on the Danube and southwards to the Peloponnesus are known in modern times as the Slovenians, Serbs, Croatians, and Bulgarians. They form collectively the South Slavonic group. As their origin is obscure, so also is their history confused; it is a history the threads of which are lost in many provinces belonging to different states, and bearing even at the present day different names; a history of tribes in which original divergences led in course of time to sharp distinctions of language, script, morals, religion and history, and which, even in political matters, are opposed as enemies.

Of their earliest history we know little enough. The Slavs were not so fortunate as the Germans, who found a historian in Tacitus as early as the first century. Modern inquirers agree upon the fact that the Slavs appeared in Europe ages ago, together with the other main European races, the Kelts, Greeks, Romans, and Germans, and that they settled in Eastern Europe some where about the spot where they are still to be found as the earliest known inhabitants. The Slavs and their settlements are known to Pliny, Tacitus and Ptolemy. More extensive accounts are given of them by the Gothic historian Jordanes and the Byzantine Procopius, both in the sixth century.

From that time onwards information as to the Slav races becomes more copious. They bear different names. The Greek and Roman authors call them Veneti, while to the Germans they are known as Wends; another form is Antes. Procopius also informs us that the Antes were anciently known as Spores, which has been connected with the name Serb. The second name for the members of this race was Slavus—with variants—the name especially current among the Byzantines. Those tribes who settled in the old Roman provinces of Pannonia, Noricum, Rætia and Vindelicia were known collectively as Slavs or Slovenians. We hear of them in the sixth century as of some political importance, and as already waging war with the Bavarian race. It is probable that some Slav kingdoms existed in the sixth century in the modern Hungary, Slavonia, Croatia, Carinthia, Styria, Carniola, Görz, Gradiska, and on the coast line.

Bavarians at War with the Slavs

From these Slav peoples settled on each side of the Central Danube, on the Drave and Save; many migrated southwards after the fifth and sixth centuries, and settled in the Balkan Peninsula. The

question arises whether they were the first Slav colonists in that district, or whether they found in the Balkan territories an older Slav population known under other names. On the solution of this question depends the problem of the Slav population of the Balkan Peninsula. Moreover, the Slavs from these districts were not the only members of the race who went to the Balkan territories; we find traces of Slav immigrants from Eastern and Northern Europe. Formerly the opinion was general that the immigration of the Slavs into the Balkan territories took place during the period between the fifth and seventh centuries. It is now believed that certain traces of a much earlier migration have been discovered. Evidence for this fact is to be found in the older Slav place-names. This new theory can also be harmonised with the earliest historical evidence before us, and provides a natural explanation of the fact that the Slavs suddenly appeared in these territories in such numbers that even the Byzantine emperors found themselves obliged to take measures to prevent them from over-running Greece. The theory further explains why history has nothing to tell us of any great immigration or occupation of these countries by the Slavs in historical times; only now and again does history speak of the settlement of new bands of colonists by the emperors.

So long, however, as it is impossible to ascertain the nationality of many peoples living in those districts in the Roman period, such as Thracians, Skordiskans, Dacians, Illyrians, and others, so long will this problem remain unsolved. Hence we must first decide whether they are to be regarded as "immigrants" or as "indigenous"; only then can we discuss the question of earlier or later dates. It may be noted that the inhabitants of Bosnia still display certain ethnological peculiarities which are ascribed to the Thracians and Dacians by Roman authors. Thus Pliny states that among the Dacians the men paint their bodies. Tattooing is at the present day customary among the Bosnian people. Other national characteristics also point to some relationship.

However this may be, our first knowledge of the Slavs, both in the Danube territories and in the Balkan Peninsula, is

gained from the Greeks and Romans when they established their empire in those directions. After the fall of the Roman Empire the Slavs inherited the Roman civilisation. The country was covered with towns, trading settlements, and fortresses. These territories were crossed by admirable military roads. In Thracia we find roads as early as the time of Nero, who built post-houses along them. All the emperors paid special attention to the Balkan Peninsula, as it was from there that they gained the most valuable recruits for their legions. No Roman emperor however, spread his glory so widely throughout the countries on each side of the Balkans as the conqueror of Dacia, the great Flavian, Trajan. His memory was and is still preserved among the Slavs, and his name was even added to the list of Slav deities. Bulgarian songs still sing the praises of the "Tsar Trojan." Many place-names still re-echo his name. We constantly find a Trajan's bridge, a Trajan's road, a Trajan's gate, or a Trajan's town. Trajan is also in general use as a proper name. All this is evidence

for the fact that Trajan must have come into personal contact with the Slavs. As early as the fourth century the provinces of the peninsula were wealthy and densely populated, as we are informed by the contemporary writer Eunapios. A disastrous period began for these territories in the fourth and fifth centuries, when the Goths and Huns attacked and repeatedly devastated them in the course of plundering raids; possibly these assailants included some Slavonic bands. From this time onwards the Slavs on the far side of the Danube began to grow restless, especially in the old province of Dacia, and overflowed the whole of the Balkan Peninsula as far as the Peloponnese; the Slav language was spoken at Taygotos as late as the fifteenth century.

The Byzantine emperors themselves, in their brilliant capital on the Bosphorus, were threatened with attack. At that time the Byzantine emperors had more important cares and heavier tasks than the protection of the Balkan Peninsula from these barbarians, whom they were inclined to despise. Their faces, from the moment of the foundation of Constantinople, were turned towards the east. Hence, in spite of repeated defeats, the Slavs were able steadily to advance. Things became even

**Byzantine
Emperors in
Alarm**

**Goths and
Huns in Search
of Plunder**

**Inheritors
of Roman
Civilisation**

worse after the death of the great Justinian. John of Ephesus, a Syrian chronicler of the sixth century, relates how "in the third year after the death of the Emperor Justinian and the accession of Tiberius the Victorious, the accursed people of the Slavs entered and overran the whole of Hellas in the neighbourhood of Thessalonica and the whole of Thracia. They conquered many towns and fortresses, ravaged, burned, and devastated the country, and lived in it as freely as at home."

In the year 575 the Avars, one of the peoples of the steppes formerly called in as auxiliaries by the Byzantines, began their invasions in the Byzantine Empire, and carried their plundering raids through the Balkan territories, alone or in alliance with the Slavs. The Slavs in Illyricum and the Alpine territories soon became restless. In Dalmatia, into which they had made incursions as early as the reign of Justinian, they began to advance with great energy about 600, and drove back the Roman power, which the Avars had already enfeebled, to the coast towns, to the mountains, and to the islands.

Slavs at the Siege of Constantinople The Græco-Roman towns of the interior were for the most part laid waste, while such new towns as Spalatro and Ragusa were founded by the fugitive Romans.

The Slav immigrants soon also learnt the art of seamanship. During the siege of Constantinople in 626, which they undertook in alliance with the Avars, they conducted the attack from the seaward side in small boats. In the year 641 certain Slavs, probably from Epirus, landed on the Italian coasts and plundered Apulia. The Slav pirates traversed the Ionian and Ægean seas, penetrating even to the Cyclades and the coast towns of Asia Minor. Al-Achtal, an Arabian writer of the seventh century, speaks of the fair-haired Slavs as a people well-known to his readers. The enterprise of the Slavs was further facilitated, by the fact that the Byzantine Empire was now in difficulties with the Arabs, as it had formerly been with the Persians. Their chief attack was directed about 609 against Thessalonica, the second city in the Byzantine Empire. They repeatedly besieged this town by land and water, and on one occasion were encamped for two years before its gates. The Byzantine authorities were, however, invariably successful in saving this outpost. In the seventh century the Slav

colonisation of the Balkan Peninsula was complete, and no corner remained untouched by them. The Byzantine authors of that period refer to the Balkan territories simply as Slavonia.

With regard to the influence which their change of domicile exercised upon the political development of the Slav immigrants and the course of their civilisation, we are reduced to conjecture; generalisation is easier here than detailed proof, but in this case the connection between geographical position and history is unmistakable. The position of the Balkan Peninsula, which brought the southern Slavs nearer than any other members of the race to the Græco-Roman world, was of great importance for their future development. In the course of their historical career the southern Slav tribes wavered for a long time between Italy and Byzantium, until eventually the western portion became incorporated with Roman politics and civilisation, and the eastern portion with the Byzantine world.

For other facts, however, in the life of the southern Slavs, deeper causes must be sought, originating in the configuration of the country. If we regard the peninsula of Hæmus from the hydrographical and orographical point of view, we shall immediately perceive that the configuration of the country has determined the fate of its inhabitants. As the whole of the continent is divided from west to east by a watershed which directs the rivers partly to the Baltic and partly into the Danube, so also this south-eastern peninsula has its watershed which directs the streams partly towards the north and partly southwards. As the northern mountain range has divided the peoples, as well as the waters, which lie on each side of it, so, too, the same fact is apparent in the Balkans. The northern and the southern parts of the peninsula have run a different

Balkan Races and their Mountain Battles course of development with different results. The mountain range of the Balkans, rising to 12,146 feet, is difficult to cross, notwithstanding its thirteen passes, and many of the struggles between the northern and southern Balkan races were fought out on the ridges of these mountains. At the same time it must be said that other ethnographers have drawn different conclusions from these same orographical conditions.

Apart from these facts, the whole peninsula is divided by mountain ranges running in all directions into districts each of which with certain efforts might develop independently of others, as was the case in Western Europe. In ancient Hellas this was the fact which favoured the development of so many independent

Racial Characteristics Preserved Slav period it also facilitated the rise of several kingdoms.

In so far as it is unjust to regard the Balkan Peninsula as part of Eastern Europe, in the strict sense of the term, it is incorrect to call it an East European peninsula. Balkan territories are in every respect more allied to Western Europe, and are somewhat Alpine in character.

Thus the immigrant Slavs were easily able to continue their separate existence in this district, a fact which entirely corresponded with their wishes. Hence the manifold nature of the southern Slav kingdoms; for this reason, too, they were more easily accessible to influences which ran very diverse courses. Diversity of geographical configuration naturally produced diversity of civilisation; some districts lay on the main lines of communication, while others, more difficult of access because more mountainous in character, were left far behind in the march of progress. Differences of climate must also be taken into account.

Upon the whole, the magnificent position of the Balkan territories on the Mediterranean has at all periods favoured the development of the inhabitants. The fact that the Slavs here came into contact with the sea created new conditions of life and fresh needs. They learnt the art of seamanship, and rose to be a commercial nation. The southern Slavs show a different national type from the great mass of Slav nationality; their environment and their neighbours have given them a special national character. The

How did the Slavs Get Their Names? Slav races which settled in the Balkan Peninsula were numerous. Such different names

are known as Severane, Brsjakes or Berzetes, Smoljanec, Sagulates, Welesici, Dragovici, Milinci or Milenzes, Ezerites or Jeserzes, etc. In spite of numerous names applied to various Slav groups, we have practically no guide to tribal identity among them. These names are, however, of little importance for the determination of nationality. Apart from

the fact that they have often been transmitted to us in a corrupt form, their value is purely topographical and in no way ethnographical. They coincide with the names of the lakes, rivers, and mountains about which the tribes settled. The question then arises: did the tribes give their names to these mountains and rivers, or, what is more probable, did they themselves borrow the old names of these rivers, etc? The latter is the case with the names Timok = Timocane, Rorawa = Morawana, Narenta = Narentane, etc. The opinion of the Bulgarian scholar Marin St. Drinov appears to be correct, that at different times different tribes of the northern and western Slavs, or, rather, fragments of them, made settlements here; a further proof of the theory is the divergent dialects of the Bulgarian language.

Historians state that of the Slavs in the western half of the Balkans the Serbs and Croats were the most numerous, and that they alone founded kingdoms of their own side by side with the Bulgarian state. But this may mean no more than that, as in the case of Bohemia, Poland, or Russia, one small tribe was enabled, by the force of some favourable

circumstance, gradually to subdue other tribes, and to include them under its own name, while itself becoming denationalised by the conquered tribes. This may be true of the Serbs and Croats, as we have seen that it was of the Bulgarians. The whole group thus passed into one political unity, and then acquired some meaningless name, possibly taken from a river, mountain, lake, or town of the country, from a national leader, or perhaps from some totally different language. All, then, that can be said is this—that side by side with the Bulgarians in the east of the peninsula two important kingdoms, the Servian and Croatian, were afterwards formed on the west; though each of these, like the Bulgarians, included several tribes.

The numerous Slav races, then, bore for the moment different names. Three of these, Bulgaria, Croatia, and Servia, became important; and all others were included under these. The Greeks, however, gave them all collectively the one name of Slaveni, and knew the whole country as Slavina. The Eastern Roman Empire was known as Romania by the

Slavs. This name, however, they applied particularly to the Thracian plain. At the present day the mountain tribes on the borders of the Thracian plain call the inhabitants of the plain Romanec and the women Romanka, although the whole country up to the neighbourhood of Constantinople was entirely under Slav influence.

The Slavs of that period, like most of the European peoples, were at a stage of civilisation which may be described as semi-nomadic. While cattle-rearing and hunting were their main sources of food, agriculture was also carried on, and, as among the Germans, was obligatory upon the women and slaves. An historian informs us that the Avars employed the Slav women for agricultural purposes and in place of draught-animals, which was no innovation on their part. Nomadic tribes periodically deserted the lands which they had ploughed, and removed to virgin soil.

Social and also civic life in the Balkan Peninsula, and probably among all the Slavs, is founded upon the family group or household (the *sadruga*), which has survived there, as in Lithuania and Russia, to the present day, so that it cannot be regarded as a consequence of a Byzantine or Turkish system of taxation. Survivals of household organisation have also been demonstrated to exist among the Germans of that particular period. The married children do not leave the father's house, but remain together under the government of the father or patriarch. All the members of such a family bear the name of the family chief; thus the descendants of Radovan and the people of the district they inhabited were known as Radovanici. When the family had so increased as to make common life impossible some portion broke away from the union, founded a new settlement, took a new name, and formed a new *sadruga*, which, however, remained in connection with the original family and worshipped the same deity, who thus remained a common object of reverence to several branch settlements. A *sadruga* might contain from fifty to sixty members; the chief was known as *starosta*, or *starjesina*, or *gospodar*, or *wladyka*, or *djedo*, or *domakin*.

The tribe originated in the union of several families. The family was administered by the elders, who apportioned the

work, performed the service of the gods during the heathen period, and represented the family in its external relations. Community of property made individual poverty impossible; those only who had been expelled from the federation of the family were abandoned. The affairs of the whole tribe were discussed by an

assembly of the elders. The district inhabited by a tribe was known as *Zupa*, and its central point, which also contained the shrine of the gods in the heathen period, was a citadel or *grad*. One of the elders or patriarchs was chosen as governor of a *Zupa*, and was then known as the *Zupan*, or, among the Croats, as the *Ban*.

To this social organisation, which continued longer among the Slavs than among the Germans, are to be ascribed all the defects and the excellencies of the Slav tribes. The families did not readily separate from each other, but soon increased to the size of tribes. Hence, cattle-breeding and agriculture were conducted to a considerable extent under a system of communal labour and reached a high pitch of prosperity; consequently they were able easily to colonise and permanently to maintain their hold of wide tracts of country. Other conquering nations, such as the Goths and Huns, poured over the country, leaving behind them only the traces of the devastation which they had caused, and then disappeared, whereas the Slavs settled in the country which they occupied.

A further consequence was that the Slavs were in no need of extraneous labour for agricultural purposes, and therefore slavery was never so firmly rooted an institution among them as among the Germans. The Slavs usually made their slaves members of the household, as is related by the Emperor Mauricius. The Slavs were also able to carry agriculture and manufacture

to a higher point. Their standard of morality was higher, owing to their close corporate life and strong family discipline, a fact which also favoured the increase of their population. On the other hand, the Germans, among whom agriculture was performed by slaves, devoted themselves entirely to hunting and military pursuits.

Still this family organisation enables us to explain why the Slavs were not successful as the founders of states. Their

**Family Customs
in the Balkan
Peninsula**

**Hunting
and Military
Germans**

common family life, while implying reverence for their patriarch, also produced a democratic spirit which was entirely opposed to any strict form of constitution. No family was willing to become subject to another; all families desired to be equal; one defended the freedom of another. No family chief was willing to

Byzantine Historians on the Slav Character

acknowledge the supremacy of another, nor need we feel surprise that the blood feud was an institution which flourished upon such soil. Hence, among the Slavs it was far easier for an individual to secure the supremacy over a number of families or tribes if he stood outside them and was unshackled by their discipline.

It is, therefore, no mere chance that kingdoms of any importance could be founded among the Slavs only by foreign tribes, often invited for that purpose. This peculiarity of the Slav character struck the Byzantine historians. "They have abundance of cattle and corn, chiefly millet and rye," says the Emperor Mauricius; "rulers, however, they cannot bear," he says in another place, "and they live side by side in disunion. Independence they love above all things, and decline to undergo any form of subjection." Procopius also relates in the sixth century that the Slavs declined to submit to the rule of any one man, but discussed their common affairs in council. The pride and honour of individual families was to them more important than all else. Only under pressure of direst need did the Slav tribes join in choosing a common leader, and for this reason strangers were easily able to secure dominion over them.

Concerning the religion of the southern Slavs, our sources of information have little to tell us; they were polytheists, their chief deities were the heaven and the heavenly bodies. Of Svantovit and Perun, the deities of the northern Slavs, no traces are to be found. They worshipped

The Religion of the Southern Slavs

their gods in groves, mountains, and rocks. Victims were offered to them with song. Together with the gods they revered other beings, such as the Vilen or Samovilen (in Thracia, Samodivny), Budenice, Rojenice, Judi, Vijulici, spirits and female wizards (*brodnice*). Research, however, has not said the last word upon this point, and the personalities of many heathen gods are doubtful.

The districts south of the Danube and north of the Adriatic were under the rule of the Byzantine emperor, though Byzantine rulers were rarely able to exercise any real supremacy. Immigrant tribes from time to time nominally recognised the rights of the Byzantine emperors to these lands, and troubled themselves no further upon the matter. We may even question whether such immigrants always secured the consent of the emperor to their settlement upon Roman territory—a fact which the Byzantine historians continually reassert, for reasons easily intelligible. These peoples came into the country because they met with no resistance, and were the more readily inclined to acknowledge a vague supremacy, as they were themselves incapable of founding states.

It is not so much through their military power as through their diplomatic skill and wealth, and also through the disunion of the Slavs, that the Byzantines were able to retain, at any rate, a formal supremacy over these territories during many troublesome periods. Notwithstanding the great success of the Slav colonisation, the Slavs

Where the Slavs Failed

never succeeded in founding an independent state in the Balkan territories; on this point both they and the Germans were far inferior to the Turco-Tartar races. Apart from the fact that these latter, by their introduction of cavalry service, with the use of the stirrup, possessed more formidable forces and obtained greater military success, they had also the further advantage of possessing the ideal of a strong state, though in roughest outline.

This they had learnt from the civilised nations of Asia. In Europe their appearance exercised some influence upon the military habits and constitutional organisation of the Germanic and Slav world, especially of the Goths; evidence of the fact is the migration of peoples, which was brought about by their arrival. It is not until this that the Germans and Slavs united into larger groups—that is, into states. It was, then, no mere chance that these peoples were the first to found kingdoms in the districts inhabited by the Slavs. They were the Huns, Avars, Bulgars, Chazars, Magyars, Patzinaks, Polovzes, Tartars, and Ottomans.

We know practically nothing of the relations of the Slavs to the state of the Huns. On the other hand, we learn a good deal of the political life of the Slavs in the sixth

century, when the second Turkish people, the Avars, founded a considerable empire in the district occupied by the Slavs. The supremacy of the Avars seems to have extended over the whole district of modern Hungary, Bohemia, and Moravia, the whole of Austria proper, the northern districts of the Elbe and Saale, and also southwards to the Danube over modern Dalmatia and Servia. As they were a people of giants, they were called by their neighbours simply Avars, or giants. Their rule was exceedingly oppressive. Fredegar's chronicle of the seventh century relates that the Slavs were forced to participate in every campaign of the Avars, and to fight, while the Avars drew up before the encampment. Agriculture was the sole work of the Slavs; other historians inform us that they were often used as draught-animals and beasts of burden. The Avars were the first foreign people whose permanent supremacy over the Slavs is historically established for the sixth century.

About the beginning of the seventh century the position of the Slavs improved, in consequence of a great defeat experi-

**Independent
Slavonic State
Established**

enced by the Avars in 626. The Avar Khan had undertaken a plundering raid on the Byzantine Empire, apparently as early as 623, and besieged Constantinople, when the Emperor Heraclius began war against the Persians; the campaign must have lasted some years. At this time, about the year 623, the Slavs on the Danube in the districts of Bohemia and Moravia revolted and founded an independent kingdom under the leadership of a certain Samo. When the Avar bands before Constantinople were destroyed in 626, the Avar power was considerably weakened for a whole generation.

The Slav tribes who had been hitherto subdued were now able to assert themselves. They joined Samo, and appointed him their king in 627, the more easily to oppose the attacks of the Langobardi, Bavarians, and Avars. Then was founded the first important independent Slav kingdom known to history; it lay in the western part of the modern Austrian monarchy. Samo maintained his position until 662 (according to others, until 658)—that is to say, for thirty-five years. After his death his empire disappears from the scene. We hear later of the Karantani as waging war with the Bavarians, and finally coming under Bavarian supremacy,

and, in the eighth century, of a Slovenian kingdom in Moravia and of another in Pannonia; whence we may conclude that the kingdom of Samo had undergone a process of disruption.

The foundation of the Avar kingdom was, moreover, of importance to Slav history for another reason. The oppressive rule of the Avars induced the Slavs to abandon their homes in large bodies, to migrate northwards or southwards, and there to occupy new districts. It was, therefore, at that time that the immigration of the Slavs to the Balkan territories began upon a larger scale. In other respects also the Slavs were now able to assert themselves more strongly. The defeat of the Avars in the year 626 had been of decisive importance both for the Slavs and for the Byzantines. Whole provinces now broke away from the Avars and were occupied by the Slavs.

Thus it is no mere coincidence that at this period two numerous Slav tribes appear in the north-west of the Balkan Peninsula. We hear that the Croatians, who are said, upon evidence of the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenetos, to have come from the north, defeated the Avars about the year 626, and appeared as independent inhabitants of the country which they occupied. Their territories were bounded on the north by the Save and by a line running parallel to this river from the Unna to the sea, on the west by the Adriatic, on the south by the mouth of the Cettina River and by the Lake of Imoshi, on the south-east by a line of mountains running from this lake to the sources of the Verbas, and finally on the east by the Verbas itself. Their chief centres were Biograd—the modern Zaza Vecchia—and Biljac. These boundaries exist at the present day, though their value is purely ethnographical. It must also be remembered that the whole of the territory

**Union Between
Slovenian and
Croatian tribes** now occupied by the Croatians and named after them belonged formerly to the Slovenians, and was called Slovenia. In course of time the Slovenian and Croatian tribes coalesced. Even at the present day a remembrance of these conditions is preserved by the name Slavonia, which denotes part of the Croatian kingdom, by the name of the Slovak tribe in Hungary, and by the old Pannonian-Slovenian kingdom. The Croatians thus

absorbed the north-west of Bosnia and Dalmatia as far as Spalatro.

The Serbs soon followed the Croatians across the Save, and, according to the Byzantine chroniclers, demanded and obtained from the emperor a place of settlement. They occupied the modern Bosnia with the exception of the Croatian portion, which is still known as Turco-Croatia. To them also belonged the greater part of Herzegovina, Southern Dalmatia, Northern Albania, Montenegro, Old Serbia (Novi-Bazar), the northern districts of the Prizrend pashalik, and the modern Serbia. At the present day we find the Serbs in these territories. Here they formed several larger and smaller principalities, mutually independent, known as Zupanates.

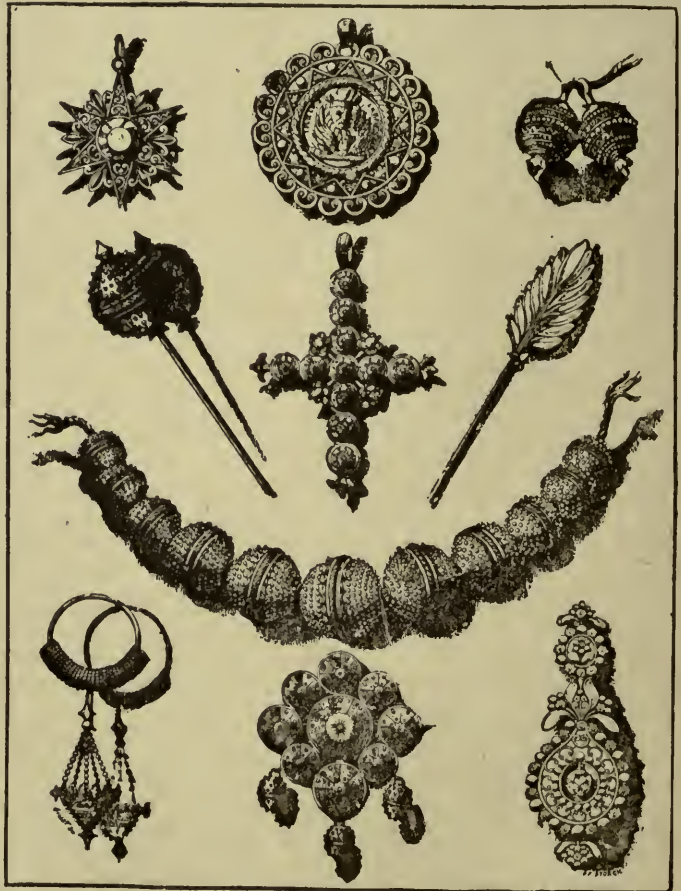
To begin with the most southern, we have the principality of Zeta or Duklja—from Dioclea, which is named after the birthplace of the Emperor Diocletian. This was the original home of the ruling family of the Nemanjids, under whose supremacy Serbia afterwards rose to the height of her power. This district was at all times a place of refuge for the champions of Servian independence. It was here that Montenegro developed, and succeeded in maintaining her freedom until our own days; it was only during the blood-stained period of Turkish supremacy that she lost some part of her independence.

From Cattaro to Ragusa extended Travunia or Konavlia, more or less corresponding with the area of the modern Trebinje in Herzegovina. From Ragusa to the Gulf of Stagno and inland as far as Narenta extended Zachluima, thus embracing a portion of Herzegovina about the Gatzko and Nevesinje. Neretva, or Pagania, extended from the gulf of Stagno to the mouth of the Cetina. The inhabitants, known as

Neretshans or Pagans, because for a long time they declined to accept Christianity, were dreaded pirates, and often fought victoriously against Venice.

To the east of Zeta, Travunia, and Zachlumia lay Servia proper, the most extensive province of all, nearly corresponding to the modern Servia except for the fact that it included Bosnia, which broke away from it in course of time. Among the Zupanates belonging to Servia special mention may be made of that of Rasha or Rassa, the modern Novi-Bazar, known as Rascia in the mediæval sources for the history of Western Europe. This Croatian and Servian district, the modern Istria, Bosnia, Servia, Dalmatia, Montenegro, Albania, Herzegovina—roughly a third of the Balkan Peninsula—formed the Roman province of Dalmatia, with Salona as a central administrative point; under the Byzantine Empire

**The Slavs
Lose Their
Nationality**

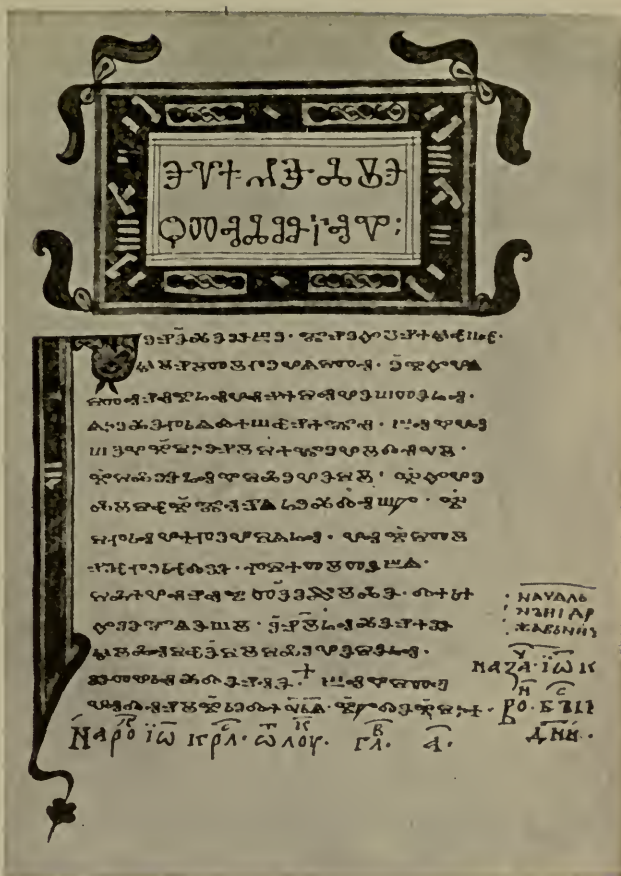


SPECIMENS OF SLAVONIC JEWELLERY

these respective points bore the same name. The Slavs extended from this point over the whole peninsula, but were there to some extent deprived of their nationality. Only in Macedonia did they maintain their position, although the Bulgarian race was here again in predominance. The Croatian and Servian tribal principalities of the north-west, the chieftains of which were known as Zupans, united only in case of great danger under a high Zupan. After long struggles the position of high Zupan became permanent, and the foundation of a more important empire was thus laid. Accurate information concerning the Croatian and Servian races is, however, wanting until the second half of the eighth century, and especially until the final destruction of the Avar kingdom by Charlemagne.

When the Avar supremacy was approaching its fall, another Finno-Ugrian people, the Bulgarians, crossed the Danube, entered upon a series of conquests among the Slavs of the peninsula, and even threatened Constantinople. Their immigration is of special importance for the history of the Balkan Slavs and of the Byzantine Empire. Neither the Byzantines nor the Slavs were able to offer any resistance. The Slavs, who lacked any bond of union, repeatedly surrendered. As early as the end of the seventh century a Bulgarian state was founded in the north-east of the peninsula, and not only maintained its position against the Greeks, but also seriously threatened the old imperial city. Until 627 the Persian danger had threatened Byzantium; this was followed by the

A Union of the Tribes Arab danger in 750; and now the young Bulgarian kingdom becomes prominent among the enemies of the Byzantine Empire. The boundaries of the new state rapidly increased, and by degrees most of the Balkan Slavs were federated under its supremacy. Under Bulgarian leadership the Slav tribes gradually coalesced to form one people. The higher civilisation of the



THE BEGINNING OF SLAVONIC LITERATURE

The light of religion and literature came to the Slavs from Byzantium, the apostles Constantine and Methodius, who went to Moravia in 863, inventing a script for the writing of the Slav language and translating the Gospels for the natives. This script is known as Glagolitic, and the above is a page from the beginning of St. Luke's Gospel in an ancient Glagolitic manuscript.

Slavs, however, resulted eventually in the imposition of their nationality upon the Bulgarians, who were much inferior in numbers, amounting at most to thirty or fifty thousand, including women and children; it was only their name that these

Bulgarians Adopt the Slav Language

warlike conquerors gave to the state and the people. A couple of centuries later there were no longer any distinctions between Slavs and Bulgarians; all were called Bulgarians but spoke the Slav language.

About the period of the Bulgarian immigration, which closes for the moment the migrations of peoples south of the Danube, the Balkan Peninsula displayed a most motley mixture of populations. Side by side with the Romans and the Greeks, the latter of whom proudly called

themselves Romaioi, were the Slavs, who formed the majority, and among them for a considerable period remnants of the old inhabitants, the Thracians, from whom or from the Illyrians the Albanians are supposed to be descended. There are also to be found remnants of Goths and Gepids; in Croatia there were remnants of the Avars, and to these in the seventh century were added the Finno-Turkish tribe of the Bulgarians. The process of unification then began. Many tribes were absorbed by others, with the result that new nationalities were formed, such as the Roumanians. By the founding of the Bulgarian state and the imposition of the Slav nationality on the Bulgarians, the Slavs became preponderant both politically and ethnographically. Formerly the individual tribes lived in somewhat loose dependence upon Byzantium, and were the more easily able to preserve their nationality; now any member of the Slav kingdom was forced sooner or later to accept the Slav civilisation.

The Avar people had brought disaster upon the southern Slav tribes, whereas the immigration of the Bulgarians secured the predominance of the Slavs in the peninsula. The political life of the Balkan Slavs now centres round three main points—in the east the Bulgarian kingdom, in the centre the Servian, and in the west the Croatian principalities. Of Byzantine supremacy hardly a trace remained, except that a scanty tribute was transmitted to Byzantium. Only when some more powerful ruler occupied the throne of Constantinople were the reins drawn tighter or did the flame of war blaze up. At a later period the dependence upon Byzantium came to an end. Some influence upon the political affairs of the north-west portion of the Balkan Peninsula was exercised by the appearance of Charles the Great, who waged war with the Eastern empire

Conquests of Charles the Great

in 788 concerning certain Byzantine possessions in Italy. He conquered both Istria and Dalmatia, and the Slovenians between the Drave and the Save paid him tribute until 812, when he renounced his claims to the districts extending to the Drave, under a peace with Byzantium. At the present day monuments dating from the period of Charles' supremacy over these countries are to be found in the museum at Agram.

The position of the Slav territories brought with it the consequence that Christianity was imposed upon them from three sides: on the one hand from Aquileia by Italian priests; on the northern side from Salzburg by Germans; and, finally, from Byzantium by Greek missionaries. There were other isolated attempts, but these may be neglected.

The original dissemination of Christian doctrine is here, as in other cases, wrapt in obscurity. Some missionaries came from the Frankish kingdom. Thus Columban, according to the narrative of his biographer, Jonas, after his expulsion from Burgundy by King Theoderic about 610, is said to have conceived the plan of preaching the Gospel to the Slavs in Noricum. About 630 Bishop Amandus, of Utrecht, entering the kingdom of Samo, determined to win the martyr's crown. He was followed about 650 by St. Emmeram with a priest, by name Vitalis, who was learned in the Slav language.

More fruitful in result was the activity of Bishop Rupert, of Worms, who founded a bishopric and monastery in the Noric Juvavia, Salzburg. Henceforward the diocese of Salzburg undertook the conversion of the Alpine Slavs, naturally under the protection of the Bavarian dukes. Especially good service was done by Bishop Virgilius, who occupied the see of Salzburg between 745 and 785. He sent out capable missionaries to Karantania and built churches there. The princes of Karantania themselves saw the necessity for accepting the Christian faith; Chotimir invited Bishop Virgilius to his court, though with no result.

The mission was energetically supported by Duke Tassilo II. (748-788) of Bavaria, the first duke to rule over Karantania. He cherished the idea of shaking off the Frankish yoke, and looked to Karantania for support, which he thought could best be gained by the dissemination of Christianity. He founded monasteries, or gave leave for such foundations under the express obligation of continuing the missions. Such foundations were Innichen and Kremsmünster. After the subjugation of Tassilo by the Franks in 788, the work of conversion was completed under Bishop Arno. He received the necessary full powers from the emperor and Pope, and completed the organisation of the Church by appointing a local bishop, by name

Theodoric. Once again it was a Wendish prince, Ingo, who supported his efforts.

The patriarch of Aquileia suddenly raised an objection to these proceedings, alleging that those districts belonged to his own diocese. It is true that we know nothing of any missionary energy displayed by Aquileia in that quarter. Yet missions there must have been from Aquileia, for in 810 Charles the Great was able to secure a compromise on terms which made the Drave a frontier line for the two claimants. Thus thenceforward the Slavs were divided between two dioceses.

The whole position was altered in the course of the ninth century, when Byzantium took the work of conversion seriously in hand. The Slav nation had for a long time opposed the first Christian missions because these were supported by their princes; when, however, they observed that by the acceptance of Christianity they had lost their freedom, they changed their opinion. If it were necessary to accept Christianity at all, it was better to take it from a quarter whence no danger of subjugation threatened. This was only possible

**Eastern Empire
at Enmity
With Rome**

by adherence to the Greek Church. The East Roman Empire had in course of time fallen into enmity with Rome, a dissension which extended to ecclesiastical affairs. In the ninth century Byzantium had resolved to act decisively against the West. From that period her influence increased and extended in a wide stream over the Balkan Peninsula. The Greek language, Greek writing and coinage, Greek art and literature, Greek law and military science, were disseminated among the Slavonic tribes; and of even greater importance was the missionary activity of the East Roman Church.

Of decisive importance for the fate of the Balkan Slavs and for the Slav nationality in general, indeed for Eastern Europe as a whole, was the moment when the patriarchal chair of Constantinople was occupied by Photius, one of the greatest scholars that the Byzantine state produced. Apart from the fact that he strove with all his might to further the revival of Greek antiquity and brought Byzantine culture to its zenith, his ecclesiastical policy was actuated by hostility to the Roman chair, and brought about the official division of the Byzantine Church from Rome. He won over many nations and vast tracts of country for the Byzantine

Church. During the imperial period, the Roman Empire had been divided into East and West only in respect of politics; this division was now superseded by the ecclesiastical separation. The whole of the East, with its wide northern territories, occupied by the Slavs henceforth recognised the predominance of the Byzantine

The Byzantine Church Succeeds Where Rome Fails Church and sided with Constantinople in the great struggle which now began. Of the move-

ments called forth in Europe at that time and for centuries later by the action of Photius, we can form but a vague idea in view of the scantiness of our records. A rivalry of unprecedented nature between the two worlds broke out along the whole line, and the great and vital point at issue was the question, which of the churches would be successful in winning over the yet unconverted Slavs.

To the action of this great patriarch alone the Byzantine Church owes the success which it achieved over the Romans in this struggle. In vain did Rome make the greatest efforts to maintain her position; success was possible for her only when German arms were at her disposal. Even to-day the Slavs reproach the Germans for attempting to secure their subjugation under the cloak of the Christian religion. But the German emperor and princes were only pieces upon the great chessboard, moved by unseen hands from Rome. At a later period the German princes marched eastward, not to convert, but to conquer.

Almost at this time two Slav princes sent ambassadors to Byzantium and asked that the work of conversion might begin; they were the Moravian Ratislav and the Bulgarian Boris. It is possible that the prince of the Khazars had done the same two years earlier. Photius began the work of conversion with great prudence. Two brothers from Thessalonica, learned in the Slav language and experienced in missionary work, were chosen to preach the Gospel

Preaching the Gospel to the Slavs to the Slavs. It was decided, however, definitely to separate from Rome the nationalities won over to the Greek Church,

and for this purpose Byzantium, in opposition to the Roman use, which allowed the liturgy to be recited only in Latin, laid down the principle that each people might conduct public worship in its own language. Thus, outside the three sacred languages, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, the Slav was

recognised as of equal importance, as had been at an earlier period the Syrian, Coptic, and Armenian tongues.

Constantine and Methodius, the two Slav apostles, went forth to their destination, Moravia, in 863. They invented a special form of writing for the Slavs, that which is nowadays known as Glagolitic ;

**Apostles who
Founded Slavonic
Literature** they translated the sacred books into the Slavonic tongue, and thus became the founders of Slavonic

literature. They organised the Slav Church, founded schools, had churches built, and travelled over the whole country, everywhere carrying the light of civilisation and of the new religion. "And full of delight were the Slavs when they heard the wonders of God in their own language," says the old Slav legend concerning Methodius.

When, shortly afterwards, divine service was recited in the Slav language in the churches of Moravia and Pannonia, the German clergy were stricken with fear, as they now saw that the East, the field of their future missionary activity, was lost to them. They expostulated forthwith both to the German emperor and to Rome, enlarging upon the danger which might threaten both powers from this side. In order that their work might not be checked at its outset, the two apostles went to Rome to explain their position and to gain confirmation for their work. Upon their return journey they entered the Pannonian kingdom at Lake Platten, where Kozel was ruler. The two brothers were able to win over the prince to the Gospel so entirely that he began to read the Slav books and ordered several youths to do the same. When the apostles of the Slavs had won over the Pope to their cause, and Methodius was made Bishop of Moravia, Kozel sent an embassy to Rome requesting that the Pope would also place his principality under the new bishop. The Pope thereupon raised Methodius to the position

**Croatians and
the Christianity
of the Slavs** of archbishop, with a seat in Syrmium, and united the new principality to the old diocese of Syrmia.

Croatia on the Save was also placed under this Pannonian archbishopric. The Slav liturgy then extended with marvellous rapidity, and the prestige of the Bavarian clergy sank so low that their arch-priest was forced to return to Salzburg in 870.

The Bulgarian prince Boris hesitated for a long time between Rome and Byzantium ;

and it is doubtful whether his final decision in favour of Byzantium was not dictated by the political object which had influenced Ratislav, the prospect of securing his independence of Germany. Apart from the advantage conferred by the Slav liturgy, his action was decided by the further fact that so many Greek Christians were contained among his people that the acceptance of Greek Christianity seemed inevitable. Finally, he may also have acted in the interests of that Bulgarian policy which aimed at the conquest of Constantinople. For the conversion of the Bulgarians, the advice of both missionaries seems to have been sought. At the same time the Croatians accepted the Slav form of Christianity. It was now impossible for the Servian tribes to stand aloof. We do not, however, know when they came over. Some are said to have accepted Christianity as early as the seventh century under the Emperor Heraclius ; but it was not until a new band of scholars and priests came into the country from Pannonia that the Slav Church became capable of development. After the death of Methodius, in 885, the Slav Church was

**Period of
Literary
Activity** no longer able to maintain its position in Pannonia ; Svato-pluk, the successor of Ratislav, drove out the disciples of Methodius and placed his country under the German Church. The Slav clergy from Moravia found a hospitable reception in Bulgaria, and their activity created the Bulgarian Slav literature. The Bulgarian throne was then occupied by Symeon, the son of Boris (893-927), who was able to turn the knowledge and the powers of the new arrivals to the best account. He lost no time in commanding Bulgarian translations of the Greek authors, ecclesiastical as well as secular. Thus, for instance, the monk Gregor translated the chronicle of John Malala, and added to it the Old Testament history and a poem upon Alexander ; fragments only survive of the Greek original, whereas the Bulgarian translation contains the whole work.

The existence of a Slav literature, the most important of that day in Europe after the Græco-Roman, won over the whole of the Slav nationality to the Byzantine Church and facilitated its conversion. The remaining Balkan Slavs now gave in their adherence to Bulgarian literature, and Bulgaria became the middle-man of culture between Constantinople

and the northern Slavs. The Balkan Slavs gave the watchword to the other members of their great nationality. The connection of the Slavs with Greek civilisation was secured by the fact that the above-mentioned Constantine, Bishop of Velica (or Bishop Clemens of Drenovica), replaced the inconvenient Glagolitic script by an adaptation of Greek writing made for the Slavs and augmented by the addition of several new signs representing sounds peculiar to the Slav language. This was the Cyrillic writing.

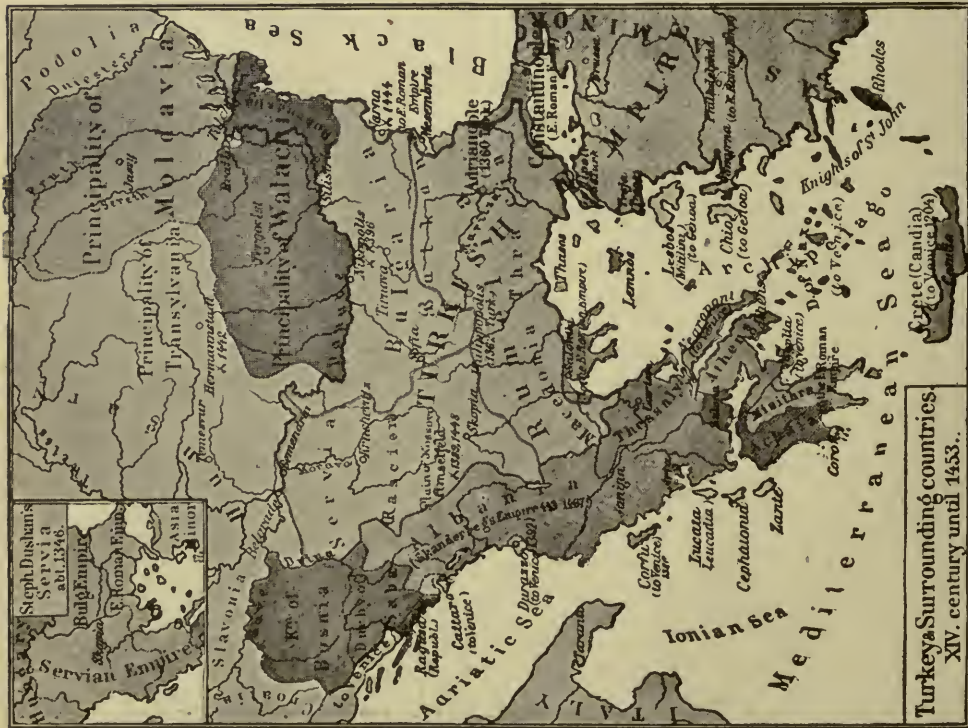
A common literature, civilisation, and religion brought Greeks and Slavs closer together, until they formed one group united by a common civilisation and divided from the West. This event was of decisive influence upon the future of the whole Slav nationality. The southern Slavs in particular inherited all the advantages and all the defects of the Greek character, nor was it politically alone that they shared the fate of the Byzantine Empire. The sloth, the indifference, the stagnation, and the other defects which characterised the Greek Church are consequently reflected in the society and culture of the Slavs at every turn. The want of organising power and of discipline which characterises the Greek Church has permanently influenced the political

life of the Slavs. For the Slavs were devoid of any leading political idea, and clung to the principles of the slowly decaying Byzantine Empire. Divided as they were into a number of tribes opposed to union, they were bound, sooner or later, to fall a prey to some powerful conqueror.

The only bond of union between the Slav races in the Balkan Peninsula was Christianity and the Græco-Slav civilisation. The Bulgarian kingdom advanced with rapid strides, as it rose to power, towards the gates of Byzantium, until it entered upon a mighty struggle with the Emperor John Tzimisce in 971 and was finally conquered in 1018 by Basil II.; meanwhile, the history of the Croatian and Servian tribes comes but slowly into view from the historical background of the north-west. The part played by the Servian and Croatian Zupans is but very small. For the purpose of maintaining their independence they wavered between Bulgaria and Byzantium, ranging themselves now on one side, now on the other. Many Servian and Croatian principalities were subjugated by the Bulgarians. After the conquest of Bulgaria they were forced to join the Byzantine kingdom, and to secure themselves against aggression from this side they turned to Rome.



SERVIAN BANDITS RESTING AT A MOUNTAIN INN



HISTORICAL MAPS OF TURKEY AND SURROUNDING COUNTRIES FROM THE 14TH TO END OF THE 17TH CENTURY





CROATIA AND ITS WARRIOR RACE

THE WORLD-RENOWNED REPUBLIC OF RAGUSA

THE history of Croatia begins at an earlier date than that of Servia; especially is this true of the coast land occupied by the Croats, which was also known to the Italians as Slavonia. The year 634 is the date generally given to the immigration of the Croats. They were subdued by the Franks, and after the disruption of the Carolingian Empire they submitted to the Greek Emperor Basil I. about 877. About the year 900 they once again secured their independence. Prince Muntimir is said to have laid the foundation of this success. Among the Croats of the coast land we find an independent prince as early as the ninth century, by name Borna, who bears the title Dux Liburniæ et Dalmatiæ. The central point of this duchy lay in the North about Klis, Nona, Zara Vecchia, and Knin. In the ninth century Christianity was introduced with the Slav liturgy and the

Introduction of Christianity

Glagolitic script, and in 879 a bishopric was founded at Nona by the duke Branimir. The Glagolitic script was forbidden to the Roman clergy by the Synod of Spalatro in 924, but was afterwards allowed by Innocent IV. in 1248, and is still in use in the churches in that district. In 1898 Pope Leo XIII. issued fresh regulations concerning the use of Glagolitic and of the Slav liturgy in Dalmatia and the coast land.

The Servian chieftain Michael did not secure the title of king from Gregory VII. until the eleventh century, whereas the Croatian chief Timislav was granted that title, also by Rome, as early as 926. In other respects the balance of power between Croatia and Servia on the frontier line was continually changing; at one time Servian tribes were subjugated by the Croats, and at other times Croatian districts were conquered by the Serbs.

In the tenth century Croatia became a formidable power. The islands and coast towns occupied by the Roman population paid yearly tribute to the Croatian princes with the consent of the East

Roman emperor, in order to secure immunity from attacks upon their trade; the Venetians also paid tribute to the Croats for the same reason, down to the end of the tenth century. According to Constantine Porphyrogenetos (about

950), the Croats, under the princes Krjesmir and Miroslav, the successors of Timislav, were able to place in the field 100,000

infantry and 60,000 cavalry, and possessed 180 ships of war. Soon, however, Venice grew so strong that the payment of tribute was refused by the Doge Peter II. Orsello, and in the year 1000 he conquered the Croats and Narentanes and assumed the title of Duke of Dalmatia; this was the first occasion on which Venice acquired possession of the Dalmatian coast. In order to save their throne the Croatian ruling family formed an alliance with the commercial republic. Kresimir, the legitimate heir to the throne, married Hicela, the daughter of the Doge, and bore the title of King of Croatia and Dalmatia from the year 1059.

These events aroused anxiety and enmity in the Hungarian court, which found itself forestalled in its attempts to secure a footing on the Adriatic Sea and to conquer the coast of Dalmatia; the Hungarians also recognised that the Venetian republic had become a dangerous rival. The house of Arpad succeeded in negotiating a marriage between the daughter of King Geisa I. and the Croatian duke, Svonimir, who at that time, 1076, had been crowned king by the papal legate of Gregory VII., and had thus admitted

his position as a vassal of the papal chair. In 1088, when Svonimir died without children, his widow is said to have called

in her brother Ladislaus. He conquered the interior of Croatia in 1091, but was unable to advance to the sea, because Hungary was herself threatened at that time by the Cumanians. He entrusted the government of the conquered district

to his nephew Almus. Croatia thus became an appanage of the Hungarian Empire, whose fate it henceforward shared. Hungary was thus necessarily forced into hostility with Venice, as it was committed to an attempt to conquer the Dalmatian coast, then in Venetian hands. From this time forward that part of Croatia lying next the sea—Dalmatia—formed for centuries the apple of discord between Hungary and Venice. If Byzantium sought to assert her rights, she would have had to compose the quarrels of Hungary and Venice.

While the Servian state succeeded in maintaining its independence until 1389, the excitable, military, and highly gifted Croatian people had been made tributary to their neighbours as early as the end of the eleventh century; while Servia had been able easily to enrich herself at the expense of the declining power of Byzantium and Bulgaria, Croatia had to deal with the rising state of Hungary and with Venice, at that time the first commercial power in Europe. Notwithstanding these differences, Croatia would probably have emerged victoriously from the struggle, had she not been weakened by internal dissensions. The interior of Croatia remained united to Hungary. Venice and Hungary struggled for a long time and with varying success to secure the mastery of the Croatian seaboard which was known as Dalmatia. In the fourteenth century the Bosnian king, Tvrtko, had secured a temporary supremacy over Dalmatia and assumed the title of "Rex Croatiae et Dalmatiae." Even after his death in 1391 Bosnia retained her hold of part of Southern Dalmatia, which thenceforward bore the name of Herzegovina. In the fourteenth century other claimants for the possession of Dalmatia appeared in the Angevin dynasty of Naples, until King Ladislaus sold the province of Zadar

Venice Secures Dalmatia to Venice for 100,000 ducats, and thus decided the struggle for Dalmatia in favour of Venice; after that period many states voluntarily submitted to the Venetian rule, while Hungarian influence steadily decreased.

The consequence was that these two related tribes entered upon divergent careers. While the Serbs came under Byzantine influence and accepted the Greek Church and civilisation, Croatia,

united to the West, lived under wholly different conditions. The frontier between the Servian and Croatian settlements is, therefore, the frontier between the East and West of Europe, between the Greek and the Roman worlds.

Different courses of development were also followed by the two parts of Croatia. While the coast line, within the area of the Roman world, shared in Roman culture and economic development, the interior of Croatia remained part of Hungary, and steadily declined in consequence.

In religious matters also the two parts of the country were divided when Ladislaus the Saint, of Hungary, founded a bishopric in Agram and made it subordinate to the archbishopric of Gran, in 1095. In the year 1153 Agram was raised to the dignity of an independent bishopric. In the diocese of Agram the Slavonic ritual was gradually driven out by the Latin, though the Slavonic maintained its ground in Dalmatia, after Innocent IV. had recognised its equality with the Latin ritual in 1248. At the present day the Slav liturgy is allowed throughout the diocese

Croatia a Catholic Country of Zeng, while in the rest of Croatia only the epistles and the gospels may be read in the Slav tongue. In the Hungarian

portion of Croatia adherents of the Eastern Church certainly maintained their existence, and even multiplied during the Turkish period after Suleiman II., owing to the influx of Bosnian and Servian fugitives; at the present day there are in the country thirteen monasteries of the eastern Greek Church. Notwithstanding this fact, Croatia has remained a distinctly Catholic country.

Among the towns, the most important, with the exception of the ancient Sissek, which dates from Roman times, was Kreutz, where the Hungarian king Koloman is said to have concluded his pact with the Croats in 1097, and where, at a later period, the Croatian national assembly was accustomed to meet. With these exceptions, town life developed comparatively late. For example, Varasdin secured municipal privileges from Andreas II. in 1209. Bela IV. was the first to promote town life by granting new privileges, a step to which he was chiefly forced by the devastations of the Mongols in 1224. At the head of the Croatian government was a ban; this dignitary was originally



GENERAL VIEW OF THE ANCIENT CITY-STATE OF RAGUSA, IN DALMATIA

This, one of the most picturesque towns on the Dalmatian coast, had a long and remarkable history in the Middle Ages as an independent city-state under republican government. Its merchants held an extensive trade throughout the east.

equivalent to a viceroy, and has retained his prestige to our own days, notwithstanding all the restrictions which the office has undergone. In the course of time the ban was appointed by the king, on the proposal of the estates, and was solemnly inducted into Agram by their deputies, accompanied by 1,000 riders, the "army of the banate." Holding in his right hand the sceptre as the sign of his knightly power, and in his left hand the standard as the sign of military power, he took his oath to the estates in the Church of St. Mark, according to the formula dictated by the royal plenipotentiary. The powers of the ban were great. He was able to call an assembly of the estates on his own initiative, without previously securing the king's consent. He presided over the national assembly and signed its decrees. He was the supreme judge, from whose decisions appeals might be made only to the king; he was the commander-in-chief of the collective Croatian troops, and in time of war led the army of the banate in person; coins were even struck bearing his name. In view of these facts, Lewis the Great divided Croatia between several bans in 1359; this, however, was only a temporary expedient, introduced to

provide the strong frontier government required to meet the Turkish danger.

The chief legislative body of Croatia was from ancient times the national assembly, which, previous to the union with Hungary, was summoned by the king, and after that union by the ban. It was originally held in Dalmatia, and after the transference of the central power northwards in some one or other of the Croatian towns, such as Agram, Kreutz, Warasdin, Cakathurn, or Krapina. The most important powers of the Croatian assembly enabled it to deal with questions of legislation, taxation, the levying of troops, the choice of officials, and administrative details. The attempts of Lewis the Great to unite the financial administration of Croatia with that of Hungary resulted in the revolt of Croatia after his



SEAL OF THE REPUBLIC OF RAGUSA

death; the plan was consequently abandoned by his son-in-law, King Sigismund.

Notwithstanding these privileges, Croatia never ran a steady course of development. It was a frontier land, and was involved, to its detriment, in every war. Hence it required another kind of supervision than that which Hungary was able to provide. Croatia suffered more particularly in the Turkish period, and it

then became wholly obvious that Hungary was unequal to the task of administering the country. The land became utterly desolate, and the taxable wealth of Croatia steadily declined. At a former period the county of Kreutz contained some 12,000 taxable houses, while in the sixteenth century there were hardly 3,000 to be found in the whole country.

Turks Oust

Venetians from Dalmatia

In the Venetian province of Dalmatia towns and districts enjoyed a certain measure of self-government under voivodes, rectors, and priors. Corporate life in the towns had flourished on the Adriatic since Roman times. Prosperity increased, and civilisation consequently attained a high stage of development. However, the Venetian supremacy came to an end after 1522; the decisive blow was struck in 1539, when the Ottomans seized the greater part of Dalmatia, while Venice was able to maintain her hold only of the islands. At that period Turkey was at the height of her power. Hungary herself was conquered, and in Pesth the crescent waved above the cross after 1541. Thus both parts of Croatia shared the same fate.

Only one small municipality on the extreme south of the Dalmatian coast land was able to maintain a measure of independence. This was the commercial Slav republic of Ragusa. The district of the modern Ragusa coincides with that of the Greek city-state of Epidaurus, the last mention of which occurs in the letters of Gregory I. During the Byzantine period it formed a part of the Thema of Dalmatia. After the immigration of the Slavs, the Romans, according to the account of Constantine VII. Porphyrogenetos, were driven out of the town, and founded hard by upon an inaccessible rock a new town, known in Latin as *Ragusium*, and in Slav as *Dubrovnik*. It was the seat of the Byzantine strategos, and of the bishop who was subordinate to the archbishop in Spalatro. In the twelfth century an independent archbishopric was founded here. The "Gens *Ragusea*" became more and more independent, and at the close of the eleventh century joined the Normans in fighting against Byzantium.

The Rock Republic of Ragusa

At the head of this city-state of Ragusa there appeared in the twelfth century "consules" and "comites," although the district was nominally under the rule of the Byzantine "*Dux Dalmatiæ et Diocliæ*." The

town was even forced to wage war against Venice, which would have been glad to occupy Dalmatia and Ragusa. After the death of the Emperor Manuel in 1180, the general confusion of political affairs enabled Stefan Nemanja of Serbia to threaten the district; the town then placed itself under the protection of the Norman kings of the Two Sicilies. After the conquest of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1204 the Venetian fleet appeared before Ragusa, which was then forced to acquiesce in the supremacy of Venice. The people of Ragusa were left in possession of their old city government, only from this time forward a Venetian "comes" resided in the town. Under Venetian supremacy the relations of Ragusa and Serbia became particularly friendly; and the rulers of the latter country several times presented the republic with important grants of land. After the death of Dusan, in the period of the war between the Magyars and Venetians for Dalmatia, Venice was forced, in 1358, to renounce her claims to the whole district between Quarnero and Albania; and Ragusa came under Hungarian rule, until, in 1526, it was incorporated with Turkey after the battle of Mohacs. The life of the town had long ago lost its national characteristics. Shut in between two Servian tribes, the Zachlumians and Narentanes, it was open to such strong Slav influence that at the beginning of the eleventh century the Roman element was wholly in the minority.

This Slav commercial republic was known throughout the East by reason of its extensive trade; even the Arab geographer Edrisi mentions Ragusa. The series of commercial treaties concluded by the town begins with an agreement with Pisa in 1169; this was followed by one with the Ban Kulin of Bosnia in 1189, and by another with Bulgaria in 1230. Especially favourable were the privileges granted by the rulers of Serbia, in return for which the people of Ragusa paid a yearly tribute—a thousand purple cloths and fifty ells of scarlet cloth every year on the day of St. Demetrius. To Stefan Dusan they paid only five hundred purple cloths, and even this he renounced in favour of the monastery of Chilandar, on Mount Athos, a regulation which remained in force until the French put an end to the republic in 1808. Bosnia received five hundred

CROATIA AND ITS WARRIOR RACE

purple cloths, and Hungary five hundred ducats. Almost the whole trade of the Balkan Peninsula was in the hands of the Ragusans, who outstripped even the Venetians and Genoese. Colonies from Ragusa were to be found in many Servian and Bulgarian towns. The flag of Ragusa was to be seen on every sea, and in every important town of the East its factories and consulates were to be found. It was not until the period of Turkish supremacy that the commerce of Ragusa began to decay, notwithstanding the various charters in the Slav language which it received from the sultans; it was forced, however, to pay a tribute of 12,500 ducats.

The prosperity of this little state naturally caused a considerable increase of culture in the fifteenth century. Mathematics and astronomy, and, later on, literature, and especially Slav poetry, were here brilliantly represented. Ragusa also exercised a strong influence upon the culture of the other Slavs in the Balkan Peninsula, and was known as the Slavonic Athens.

During the Turkish period Hungarian Croatia suffered nearly the same fate as Servia; the country became desolate. When, however, the Croats, independently



PEASANT TYPES OF CROATIA

of Hungary, raised the house of Hapsburg to the throne of Croatia in 1527, the country became of primary importance in Austrian politics; Austrian rulers recognised its value as a bulwark against the Turks. The warlike Croats soon became the most valuable support of the empire, not only against the Ottomans, but also against other powerful enemies in the west of Europe.

The fortification of the country began in the sixteenth century. The castles and citadels of the Croatian magnates were transformed into fortresses, and other strongholds were also placed along the frontier at important points. Such of the population as still remained in the district were then called in for military service, and fugitives from the neighbouring Turkish countries met with a hearty reception in Croatia.

Thus by degrees the deserted territory was repopulated. As, however, Croatia was not herself equal to these military burdens, and as, upon the other hand, neighbouring countries gained all the advantage from the military occupation of the frontier, it was only reasonable that Carniola, Styria, and Carinthia should contribute their share of the expense. Such was the beginning of the Croatian military frontier;



CROATIAN PEASANT WOMEN

at an early period Lewis I. had created a "capitanate" in Zeng, and Matthias Corvinus had settled fugitives upon the frontier.

The Archduke Charles performed valuable service in organising the military frontier of Styria. He constructed the great fortresses of Karlstadt, in 1579, and Varasdin, in 1595. The land on the far side of the Kulpa to the Adriatic Sea and the Slavonic frontier to the Save were thus fortified and divided into two generalates; one was the Croatian, or Karlstadt, frontier, the other the Slavonic, Windish, or Varasdin frontier. The point chiefly kept in view in constructing these fortifications was the defence of the waterways, especially the lines of the Save, Kulpa, and Drave, which had long been used by the Turks. Although by the Croatian constitution the ban was the commander-in-chief of all the troops on foot in Croatia, yet the military organisation of the frontier tended to make that district immediately dependent upon the empire; both frontiers were under the administration of the Council of War at Graz.

The Croatian estates certainly objected, for they invariably regarded the military frontier as an integral part of Croatia; they secured the concession that upon occasion the authorities upon the frontier would be ordered to act in concert with the ban.

To begin with, the foreign commanders did not readily submit to these arrangements; apart from the question of the ban, the estates of Carniola and Styria also supported the independence of the military frontier, for the reason that the frontier had already become a no-man's land, and was retained only by great sacrifices on the part of the monarchy, while Croatia had lost her right to it.

Notwithstanding the Croatian claims, the military frontier became a special crown land, and obtained rights of its own from the time of Ferdinand III. In accordance with these rights the peasants were free, and subject to the emperor alone. From the age of eighteen every frontier inhabitant was liable to military service, and was obliged to keep himself ready to take up arms for defence. The land was divided into districts or "capitanates." Every parish chose an overseer.

All the parishes composing a "capitanate" chose their common judge, who, like the parish overseer, was obliged to be confirmed in office by those under his command. As the Greek Church numbered most adherents among the population, it obtained equal rights with the Catholic Church.

The Croatian estates organised the country between the Kulpa and Unna on similar principles, and as the ban was here commander-in-chief, this frontier was known as the frontier of the banate. In the peace of Karlovitz in 1699, when the districts of Croatia and Slavonia, once occupied by the Turks, were given back, a third generalate was instituted in Essek for the newly freed Slavonia; however, in 1745 three Slavonic counties were separated and handed over to the civil administration.

The independence of the military province of Croatia was a matter of great importance to the Austrian rulers, as here they had the entire population forming a standing army always ready for war. Hence the Emperor Charles IV. began a reorganisation of all the Croatian military frontiers. The generalate of Essek was divided into three regiments, that of Varasdin into two, that of Karlstadt into four, and the frontier of the banate into two. In the eighteenth century military frontiers were organised, after the manner of the Croatian, along the whole Turkish frontier as far as Transylvania, the frontier of Szekl in 1764, and that of Wallachia in 1766. In times of peace it was necessary only to make provision for outpost duty in the cardakes standing along the Turkish frontier. Although foreign soldiers were removed from the frontier on principle, yet the official posts were for the most part occupied by foreigners, and the official language was entirely German. Every frontier inhabitant was liable to military service from the age of seventeen to sixty. The population was secure in the possession of their land; and the military spirit of the Croatian frontier population grew even stronger. Their privileges inspired them with a decided prejudice against the régime of the banate, under which the territorial lords heavily oppressed their subjects, and the established Church was the Roman Catholic.

Croatia
Under
Austria

Military
Service in
Croatia



SERVIAN ERA OF INDEPENDENCE

SERVIA, MONTENEGRO, AND BOSNIA UNTIL THE TURKISH SUPREMACY

AFTER the conquest of Bulgaria by Byzantium and the occupation of Croatia by Hungary and Venice respectively, the Servian race alone of all Slav peoples in the Balkan Peninsula retained any kind of independence, although they were by no means as yet a united state. At all times and in all places small nations have federated only when threatened by some external danger; thus it was that the Russian and Lithuanian states arose, and such is the history of all the Western European states, and of Servia among them. Under the great Tsar Symeon Bulgaria so devastated the Servian districts that they had to be re-colonised by returning fugitives, and part of the Servian tribes were forced to recognise Bulgarian supremacy.

In the tenth century the Zupan Ceslav succeeded for the first time in uniting several Servian tribes for a common struggle against the Bulgarians. After the destruction of the Bulgarian Empire by Basil II. Byzantine supremacy over the whole peninsula was established with a vigour which had been unprecedented since the time of Justinian I., and this state of things continued, under the dynasty of the Comneni, till the end of the twelfth century. The boundless oppression of the government often, however, caused revolts among the Serbs. The High Zupan Michael applied to Rome for support, received thence the title of

The Magyars king, and maintained his
Take Possession independence of Byzantium
of Bosnia for some time. The help of
the Hungarians was also not

despised. A prominent figure about 1120 is Uros, or Bela Uros, the Zupan of Rassa, whose family belonged to Zeta; he entered upon friendly relations with the Hungarians, married his daughter to Bela II., and helped the Magyars to secure possession of Bosnia. From the Rama, a tributary of the Narenta on the south of Bosnia,

the Arpads now took the title of "King of Rama."

Of even more importance for Servian history is the rule of the son of Uros, the famous Stefan I. Nemanja, who was also born in Zeta, the cradle of his race. Although the youngest of his family, he aimed at the principality of Rassa, and also at the general supremacy, which he was able to secure with the help of the Byzantines. **The Great Ambitions of Stefan I.** Though he had been baptised into the Western Church, he underwent a repetition of the ceremony according to the customs of the Eastern Church when he had arrived in Rassa, in order to secure the favour of the clergy and the people.

In the year 1165 the Emperor Manuel I. confirmed his position as High Zupan and gave him a piece of land, in return for which Nemanja swore fidelity to him. In the year 1173 Nemanja defeated his relations and secured the obedience of the refractory Zupans. In this way he founded one uniform hereditary and independent state. That process was here completed which was going on at the same time in Bohemia, Poland, and Russia. And in these states also families began to rule according to the law of seniority—that is to say, the eldest member of the ruling family exercised a supremacy over the rest until the transition to hereditary monarchy had been completed. Princes of the royal family who had hitherto enjoyed equal rights now became officials of the royal power. In Servia this change was completed at a much earlier date than in other Slav countries.

Nemanja also took in hand the organisation of the Servian Church. Converted to the Greek faith, he built monasteries and churches, suppressed the Roman faith, and cruelly persecuted the widely-spread Bulgarian sect of the Bogumiles, with the object of securing a uniform religion throughout his own state. The

Eastern Church thus became established in Servia, and the Eastern form of worship became the national worship, so that religion and nationality formed an undivided idea. At an earlier period the Servian churches and bishoprics had been subordinate to the Roman archbishopric of Spalato, and afterwards to that of

**The First
Eastern
Archbishop**

Antivari; now Eastern bishoprics and an archbishopric were founded for Servia alone. The king's youngest son, Rastka, was appointed the first Eastern archbishop in Servia—at the Synod of Nicæa in 1221—under the name of Sava. He divided the land into twelve bishoprics, and bestowed episcopal rank on none but Servians. Zica was made the residence of the Servian archbishops; at a later period Sava carried thither the remains of his imperial father, Nemanja, from Mount Athos; here, too, Servian kings were in future to be crowned, and this was realised in the case of Peter I. on October 9th, 1904. Sava also founded monasteries in Servia, all under the "rule" of Saint Basil, which he had found in force at Athos. He enjoyed immense prestige, and was highly honoured as the first national saint of Servia. In the year 1235 the independence of the Servian Church was recognised by the Greeks.

This ecclesiastical alliance did not, however, prevent Nemanja from attacking Byzantium when the advantage of his own state was in question. Immediately after the death of the Emperor Manuel, in 1180, he conquered, in alliance with the Hungarian king, Bela III., those Servian districts which had fallen under Byzantine supremacy. He then renewed his friendly relations with the emperor, and even secured the hand of the emperor's niece, Eudoxia, for his own son Stefan, an alliance which brought legitimacy and special prestige to his house. It seems that the ambitious Nemanja hoped to

**Byzantium
Weakened
by Quarrels**

bring Byzantium within his power. The circumstances were favourable to such an attempt. Servia was the only independent state in the Balkan Peninsula, while Byzantium was weakened by quarrels about the succession. Nemanja, however, did not feel himself sufficiently strong for the attempt. At that period the Emperor Frederick I. Barbarossa came to Nisch on his crusade. The Servian prince appeared before him, and a chronicler

assures us that Nemanja was willing to accept his country from Barbarossa as a fief. The emperor, however, who did not wish to arouse the animosity of the Greeks, declined to entertain the proposal.

In the year 1195 Nemanja, apparently with the object of securing the supremacy of his house, abdicated in favour of his eldest son Stefan, the second Nemanja, to whom he had already given the Byzantine title of despot. His second son, Vukan, received his hereditary district of Zeta. Nemanja himself retired into the monastery of Studenitza, a foundation of his own, under the title of "Symeon the Monk"; afterwards he went to Mount Athos, and died in 1200 at the monastery of Chilandar, which was also of his foundation. A struggle for the succession burst out between his sons, Vukan attempting to secure support in Hungary, and especially in Rome. Stefan also made applications to that quarter, and was crowned by the papal legate in 1217; he assumed the title "King of Servia, Diocletia, Travunia, Dalmatia, and Chlum." This step, however, cost him his entire popularity in the country. The

**Servia Under
Hungarian
Supremacy**

Archbishop Sava had repeatedly interposed in the quarrels of the brothers; Stefan now asked for further action of the kind. Sava crowned him in 1222 with a crown sent by the Byzantine Empire, at a great popular assembly, at which he read before him the articles of faith of the Eastern Church. The Hungarian king, Emerich, had availed himself of these quarrels to bring Servia under his supremacy. In 1202 he occupied Servia and assumed the title of "Rex Rasciæ"; but a struggle with his brother Andreas forced him to leave Servia. Stefan maintained his position until his death, in 1224. Since that time no Servian ruler ventured to break away from the Eastern Church, although many entered into connection with Rome.

Of the descendants of Nemanja, Milutin, otherwise named Stefan IV., or Uros II. (1275 or 1281 to 1320), began a career of ruthless conquest; he had no hesitation in forwarding his plans by repeated marriages with Byzantine, Bulgarian, and Hungarian princesses, with a corresponding series of divorces. He captured Greek provinces and maintained his possession of them even after the death of the Emperor Michael VIII. Palæologus in 1282. He



AN "ORTHODOX" SERVIAN WOMAN



YOUNG WOMAN OF BOSNIA



MONTENEGRIN OF THE "OLD GUARD"



A BOSNIAN FARMER

TYPES OF BOSNIANS. SERVIAN AND MONTENEGRINS

advanced as far as Athos. He obtained Bosnia from Hungary without striking a blow, as the dowry of his first wife. He also secured the favour of the Pope, whom he was able to keep in hand with empty promises. As he had no legitimate male heirs, he conceived the idea of uniting his empire with the Byzantine, in which plan

Servia's Fame Throughout Western Europe

he was supported by the Empress Irene, his second mother-in-law. Naturally he and no other was to have been emperor, and her children were to succeed him. Under him and under his son Stefan V.—Stefan IV. if we begin the series of Stefan kings in 1222—Uros III., who bore the nickname Decanski, Servia became famous not only in the Balkan territories, but also throughout Western Europe.

Meanwhile, however, Bulgaria had recovered from her downfall at the end of the twelfth century, and was waging a successful war with Byzantium. The powerful Servian kingdom now stood in the way of her further development. A struggle between the two for supremacy could only be a question of time. In the year 1323 the Bulgarian Boyars chose the Despot Michael of Widdin as their tsar; with him begins the supremacy of the Sismanides of Widdin, the last dynasty of Tirnovo. The new tsar began friendly relations with Servia, and married Anna, the daughter of Milutin, with the object of vigorously opposing the Byzantines and other enemies. Soon, however, the situation was changed. Michael divorced Anna about 1325 and married the sister of Andronicus III. of Byzantium.

It was only by the intervention of the Servian bishop and chronicler Daniel that war with Servia was avoided on this occasion; however, in 1330 it broke out. Michael brought about a great alliance between the Byzantines, Bulgarians, Roumanians, Tartars and Bessarabians. The Servian king advanced by forced marches against the allies, and suddenly attacked them on June 28th at Velbuzd. His army included 300 German mercenaries in armour; and Dusan, the son of Stefan, fought at the head of a chosen band. The Bulgarians were routed and their camp was plundered. Stefan contented himself with raising Stefan, the son of his sister Anna, who had been divorced by Michael, to the position of tsar, as Sisman II., and evacuated Bulgaria. Servia now held the

predominant position in the Balkan Peninsula.

Stefan, the conqueror of Velbuzd, met with a sad fate. He had been formerly blinded by his father, Milutin, and now came to a terrible end. His Boyars revolted under the leadership of Dusan and strangled him, at the age of sixty, though shortly before he had appointed his ungrateful son to the position of "younger king." Thus on September 8th, 1331, Stefan Dusan ascended the throne at the age of nineteen. Of desperate courage on the battlefield, Dusan also possessed all the qualities of a statesman. While Milutin confined his aspirations to a union of the Byzantine and Servian kingdoms, Dusan dreamed of a larger Servia which should embrace all the Balkan territories. Turning to account the weakness of the Byzantine and Bulgarian Empires he conquered Albania, Macedonia, Thessaly and Epirus between 1336 and 1340 and in 1345; even the Greeks, weary of civil war, are said to have invited his supremacy. In 1346 he assumed the title of tsar and had the youthful Uros crowned king, entrusting to him the

administration of Servia proper. In his documents we meet with the title "Stefan, Tsar and supreme ruler of Servia and Greece, of Bulgaria and Albania."

His title of emperor was also to the benefit of the Servian Church, as the previous dependency of the archbishopric of Servia upon the Byzantine patriarch was not wholly compatible with the existence of a Servian Empire. Hence in 1346 Stefan Dusan raised the Servian archbishop to the position of patriarch, notwithstanding the prohibition of the Byzantine Church. In 1352 the Servian Church was definitely separated from the Byzantine patriarchate. Henceforward twenty metropolitans and bishops were subordinate to the Servian patriarch. Servia was now at the zenith of her power. As Dusan was related to the rulers of Bessarabia and Bulgaria, he was able to form a confederation of these three kingdoms directed against Hungary and Byzantium.

The reign of Dusan was the golden age of Servia, chiefly for the reason that he provided the country with better administration and a better judicial system, and did his best to advance the civilisation and prosperity of the people. The code—*sakonik* or *zakonik*—which he left behind him, a

Defeat and Plunder of Bulgarians



An episode in the life of Stefan Dusan, who is seen denouncing a traitor. Dusan succeeded to the throne of Serbia in 1331, and his name is eminent among the national heroes of his country. He is remembered especially for his successful campaigns against the Greeks, and for the code of laws which he issued in 1349, just seven years before his death.



The battlefield of Kossovo, or the "Field of the Blackbirds," is one of unhappy memory to the Servian people, as twice in their history it was the scene of their defeat. Here Sultan Murad I. destroyed the Servian Empire when he inflicted, in 1389, a crushing defeat on King Lazar, who was killed on the battlefield. This famous fight decided not only the fate of Serbia, but that of the races of the Balkan Peninsula. The above picture, by a Servian artist, commemorates the second defeat, in October, 1448, when, on the same scene, Sultan Murad II. gained a great victory over John Hunyadi. The remnants of the Servian army and fugitives are seen retreating from the fatal field.

TWO FAMOUS EPISODES IN THE HISTORY OF SERVIA

legal monument of the greatest importance, is a permanent testimony to the fame of Dusan. His conventions with Byzantium, Ragusa, and Venice proved that he also cared for the commercial prosperity of his people. The art of mining, which had been introduced under Nemanja, became so widely extended under Dusan that there

Stefan Dusan were five gold and five silver
Dies on mines in operation. These
the March were worked chiefly by
Saxons, whom Prince Vladim

mir is said to have first brought into the country. Almost the only political mistake that can be urged against Dusan is the fact that he did not use his power to secure the possession of Bosnia, which was inhabited by a purely Servian population. As the whole of Bosnia was never entirely united with Servia, a spirit of individualism flourished in that country, which resulted, shortly after Dusan's death, in the foundation of the Bosnian kingdom under the Ban Tvrtko. Dusan's main object was the conquest of Byzantium, and chroniclers tell us of thirteen campaigns undertaken for this purpose. In 1355, when he was marching against the imperial city, he suddenly died. Had his son Stefan Uros IV. inherited his father's capacity together with his empire he would have been able to consolidate the great Servian state. Uros, however, was a weak, benevolent, and pious ruler, nicknamed by the nation "Nejaki"—that is to say, a man of no account. A revolt soon broke out. Even the first councillor of the tsar, the capable Vukasin, whom Dusan had placed at his son's side, stretched out his hand for the crown, and Uros was murdered in 1367. With him became extinct the main branch of the Nemanja dynasty, which had ruled over Servia for nearly 200 years.

In the civil war which then ensued the Servian nobility raised Lazar Grbljanovic, a brave and truthful man, to the throne. The new ruler, however, assumed the simple title of Knes or Prince.
The Turks Meanwhile the political situa-
in tion in the Balkans had under-
Europe gone a great change. The provinces formerly conquered by Dusan had revolted. Servia herself was too small and too undeveloped to become the nucleus of a great empire, and at the same time the administration of the country was in many respects deficient.

At this juncture a great danger threatened from abroad. For a long time the

Bulgarians and Serbs had been attacking the Byzantine Empire, hoping to aggrandise themselves at her expense, without suspecting that they were attempting to sever the branch by which they themselves were supported. The Turks in Asia began their advance upon the Byzantine Empire, and no force could check them. In the fourteenth century their military fame was so firmly established that the Byzantine emperors called in their assistance against the Bulgarians and Serbs. Soon, however, it became apparent that the most serious danger threatened all these peoples from the side of the Ottomans. In the year 1361 Murad I. occupied Adrianople and made that city his capital; Thracia became a Turkish province. The Byzantines were powerless to meet the danger. Immediately afterwards, in 1366, the Bulgarian Tsar, Sisman, became a Turkish vassal; his sister Thamar entered the harem of Murad. In the year 1371 the Servian usurper, Vukasin, marched against the Turks, but was defeated in the night of September 25th and 26th, and slain, together with his brother Johannes Ugljesa. The fatal field was known as Sirb-

Famous Fight sündighi—that is, the
That Settled Servian death. Servia, how-
Servia's Fate ever, was not yet subdued.

It was not until 1386 that Lazar was forced to become a Turkish vassal, and the Turkish danger then lay heavily upon all men's minds. To save the honour of his nation, Lazar prepared for battle, made an alliance with Bulgaria, Albania, and Bosnia, and defeated the Turkish governor at Plocnik at the time when Murad was occupied in Asia. Murad, in anger, spent a whole year in preparation, both in Asia and Europe, and marched against Servia through Philippopolis in 1389. On the feast-day of St. Veit (June 15th) was fought the battle of Kossovo, or Amsel, the famous fight which decided not only the fate of Servia but that of the races of the Balkan Peninsula, and, indeed, of South-east Europe as a whole. The Servian army was supported by the Croatian Ban, Ivan Horvat, by the Bosnians under their Voivode Vladko Hranic, by auxiliary troops of the Roumanian and Bulgarian tribes, and by Albanians. In the dawn the Emir Murad was murdered in his tent, according to Servian tradition, by Milos Obilic, who thus hoped to turn from himself the suspicion of treachery, and was cruelly murdered in consequence. The supreme command

was forthwith assumed by Bajazet I., the son of Murad. The Servians were utterly beaten; Lazar himself was captured, and was beheaded with many others beside the corpse of Murad. Serbia's future as a nation was destroyed upon that day.

Many songs and legends deplore the battle of Kossovo. It was not the superior force of the Ottomans, so the story goes, that brought about that fearful overthrow, but the treachery of a Servian leader, the godless Vuk Brankovic. In the Ottoman army was also fighting the Servian despot, or "King's Son," Marko (the son of Vukasin) of Priljep—a man of giant strength. These facts were the causes of the bitter defeat, and the Serbs fought like heroes. Even at the present day these magnificent epics form one of the chief beauties both of Slav literature and of the literature of the world; they have been admired even by Grimm and Goethe. The old, the blind, and the beggar sing at the present day in the market-place and on the roads the story of the famous old heroic legends, to the accompaniment of the *gusle*, and receive rich rewards from the people, who find in these songs a recompense and a

**The Lost
Glory
of Servia**

consolation for the loss of their past glory. As the Tartars trampled upon the necks of the Russians, so also did the Turks upon the Southern Slavs. For centuries the Slav races have had to endure unspeakable barbarity at the hands of the Ottomans. Their development was arrested, and they were forced to lag behind in the march of civilisation, while at the same time they became a bulwark to the peoples of Western Europe. For this reason it is unjust to taunt them with their half-civilised condition; yet the injustice has been too often committed.

Bajazet, who was still occupied in Asia, placed Stefan, the son of Lazar, as despot on the Servian throne. Stefan was forced to pay tribute and to join in the Turkish campaigns in person at the head of his army; at Angora, in 1402, Timur himself marvelled at the bravery of the Serbs. The nation never lost the hope of recovering its old independence. Stefan turned to Hungary for support and became a Hungarian vassal, following the example of other Danube states who looked to Hungary or to Poland for help. Upon his death, in 1427, he was succeeded by George Brankovic, a son of that Brankovic to whose treachery

the defeat of 1389 was ascribed. He made his residence in Semendria on the Danube. Meanwhile all the states of the Balkans had been forced to bow beneath the Turkish yoke after suffering bloody defeats. Bulgaria fell in 1393; Then Zartum, Widdin, and Moldavia; in 1455 Byzantium itself was conquered.

**The Doom
of
Servia** Brankovic died on December 24th, 1457, and was succeeded by his feeble son, Lazar, who died suddenly at the end of January, 1458. In 1459 Mohammed II. took over Servia as a Turkish province and divided it into pashaliks. Many of the most distinguished families were exterminated, and two hundred thousand human beings were carried into slavery. Thus the Servian state disappeared from the map of Europe. As once before, after their immigration, so also now, the Serbs were ruled from Constantinople, and it was on the Bosphorus that the fate of the Balkan territories was decided. The wave of Turkish conquest continued to spread onward. Hungary and Poland were now forced to take up arms against it, until the turn of Austria arrived. To these states the Balkan peoples without exception now turned for help. Apart from Dalmatia on the north, which was inhabited by Croats, alternately under Venetian and Hungarian supremacy, the Turks subjugated the whole of the Balkan Peninsula, and ruthlessly oppressive was their rule. As, however, they were concerned only to drain the financial resources of the peoples they conquered, and troubled themselves little about questions of religion or nationality, it was possible for the Balkan Slavs to retain their national characteristics until the hour of their liberation.

The former birthplace of the Nemanjids, Zeta, had a happier fate. This mountainous district, which took its name from the river Ceta or Cetina, once formed part of the Roman province of Dalmatia.

**Zeta's
Happier
Fate** The Emperor Diocletian had formed a special province of Prævalis in Southern Dalmatia, with Dioclea as its centre, from which town the whole province became known as Dioclitia or Dioclea. However, in the period of the Slav Serbs it was known as Zeta, and was regarded as the original land and hereditary property of the Nemanjids. St. Sava founded a bishopric and built the monastery of St. Michael at Cattaro. Every successor

to the throne first undertook the administration of Zeta. When, however, Dusan made his son Uros king and entrusted him with the administration of Servia proper, another governor had to be found for Zeta, and he was taken from the house of Bals. After the death of Dusan the house of the Balsics

When

Montenegro

Took its Name

consequently ruled in Zeta (1360-1421) and became involved in struggles with the distinguished family of the Cernojevic or Jurasevic in the Upper Zeta. At the outset of the fifteenth century the Venetians began to form settlements here, until eventually this Servian coast land fell into the hands of Venice, notwithstanding repeated struggles on the part of Servia. The family of Cernojevic, which had joined the side of Venice, now became supreme about 1455; Ivan Cernojevic became a vassal of Venice and received a yearly subsidy. He resided in Zabljak and founded the monastery of Cetinje in 1478 or 1485. His son George resided in Rjeka and Obod; under him in Obod the first ecclesiastical Slav books were printed between 1493 and 1495. It is at that time (first in 1435) that this country takes the name of Crnagora or Montenegro.

After the fall of the family of Cernojevic in 1528, or really as early as 1516, the country was ruled for centuries by the bishops, or Vladiks, of Cetinje. The bishop and head of the monastery of Cetinje was at the same time the lord of the country.

It is not correct to say that the Turks never ruled over Montenegro and that the people were able to maintain their freedom by heroic struggles; the fact is that the Ottoman supremacy in this mountainous district was never more than nominal,

Provinces Revolt

From the

Servian Empire

chiefly from the fact that they could not extract much gain from the poor inhabitants. But Montenegro was subject to the Shandshak of Skodra, and was obliged to send a yearly tribute thither, a fact which we learn from the Italian description of Mariano Bolizza of the year 1511. At that time Montenegro included ten settlements and 8,027 men capable of bearing arms.

After the death of Dusan one province after another—first Thessaly and Epirus, and then Macedonia and Albania—revolted from the Servian Empire. Even Servian tribes, who had willingly or unwillingly gathered round the throne of the Nemanjids until 1355, now followed their individual desires. This is especially true of their relations, the Bosnians, whose country had never been entirely subject to Servia. In former times Bosnia, like Hungary and Ragusa, had been subject to the Roman archbishopric of Spalatro; later, Bosnian rulers had expressly declared themselves Serbs and descendants of the Nemanjids. None the less they went their own way. Their first prince, or ban, of any reputation was Kulin (1180-1204). Naturally Hungary and Servia were rivals for the possession of Bosnia, which availed itself of these circumstances to maintain its independence. It is only on one occasion, however, that this little district secured a greater reputation; this was when favourable political circumstances allowed the Ban

**Bosnia's
Independent
Development**

Tvrtko, who regarded himself as a descendant of the Nemanjids, although his family belonged to the race of Kotromanovic, to secure the throne in 1376, since which date Bosnia has been a kingdom. This separation resulted in the fact that Bosnian civilisation developed upon somewhat different lines from Servian—a fact apparent not only in the adoption of Roman ecclesiastical customs, but also in literature and even in writing. Under King Tvrtko the doctrine of the Bogumiles, transplanted from Bulgaria, extended so rapidly that it became the established religion. Thus Bosnia in this respect also displayed an individualism of its own.

The final consequence was that under the Turkish supremacy the nobles, who were accustomed to religious indifferentism, went over in a body to Mohammedanism, in order to secure their class privileges. The possession of the Balkan Peninsula was secured to the Ottomans in 1453 in consequence of the overthrow of Constantinople, but it was not until 1463 that Bosnia was incorporated with the Turkish state; many citadels of the kind numerous in Bosnia held out even till 1526.





UNDER THE HEEL OF THE TURK

THREE CENTURIES OF MISERY AND DESPAIR

AND THE LIBERATION OF THE SOUTHERN SLAVS

UNDER the Turkish supremacy the peoples of the Balkan Peninsula entered upon a period of death and national sorrow; only the vaguest recollection of a better past endured. Immediately after the conquest of a province the Ottoman administration was introduced, the country was divided into provinces, or *pashaliks*, and these into districts, or *nahias*. The head of a *pashalik* was a pasha or vizir entitled to an ensign of three horse-tails, while the head of a *nahia* was called the kadi. There were *pashaliks* of Servia, Bosnia, Roumelia, Scutari, Widdin, etc., and the distribution of the provinces was often changed. The duties of the Turkish officials were confined to organising or maintaining military service, to levying the taxes, and to some administration of justice.

Side by side with the Turkish officials the institution of the *spahis* was of great importance. Upon Ottoman principles the whole country was the property of the sultan; he divided the conquered land among individuals, who received it either as hereditary property (*zian*) or for life tenure (*limir*), and were under the obligation of giving military service in return; these individuals were known as *spahis*, or horsemen. Thus, for example, the *pashalik* of Servia was divided among about 900 *spahis*, who were masters both of the soil and of its inhabitants. Many

Christian hereditary *spahis* by accepting
Nobles Mohammedanism; about the
Moslems middle of the seventeenth century there were in Roumelia, not including Bosnia, 1,294 *spahis*, who had formerly been Christian Bulgarians, Serbs, Albanians, or Greeks.

Side by side with the state administration there also existed a kind of provincial administration, which was left in the hands of the people. Every village was adminis-

tered by its judge and overseer (*seoski-knes* and *kmel*), who settled the affairs of the village and explained the traditional principles of justice, though only to those who had need of them and submitted to their decisions. They had no power to enforce execution, and dissatisfied litigants applied to the Turkish authorities. A district was also governed by the

System of *obor knes* (upper *knes*), origin-
Local ally appointed by the sultan.
Government

Local administration went no further than this. For the most part the people submitted to the decisions of their own judges and rarely appealed to the Ottoman authorities; at the same time the *kneses* and upper *kneses*, acting as intermediaries between the populace and the Turkish authorities, protected the multitude. At a later period, however, the upper *kneses* became hereditary, and enjoyed such high prestige that even the Turks were forced to respect them.

Apart from this the Servian Church remained independent under the patriarch of Ipek. It should be observed that the higher clergy at that time were chiefly of Greek origin, and the patriarch of Constantinople hoped to bring the Slavs over to the Greek Church by their means. In the seventeenth century the independence of the Servian patriarchate was abolished, and the Church was placed under the patriarchate of Constantinople, as it had been before 1346. In the year 1766 the patriarchate was abolished altogether, as also was the Bulgarian patriarchate of Ochrida in 1767; bishops were now sent out from Stamboul. Only the lower clergy remained purely national and shared the sufferings of the people.

Such were the powers which determined the existence of the subjugated people. The life of the *rayahs*, as subjugated peoples were called, was one without law or rights, and in every respect miserable.

Particularly oppressive was the weight of taxation. First of all came the sultan's or the state tax. Next the male population were obliged to pay a poll tax of three piastres and two paras to the state chest for every person between the age of seven and sixty; this was known as the haraj. Even the priests in monasteries were not exempt

Turkish Tax-gatherers at Work

from this tax. Three times a year the Turkish officials appeared in the villages, pitched their tents, and levied the haraj. The better to control the tax, a register of boys and men was kept. Besides this, married men paid an undefined tax, known as pores, twice every year, on St. George's Day and St. Demeter's day, to cover the cost of administration.

The kneses held a meeting in the central town of the nahia and estimated the yearly expenses of administration, which they then distributed among the individual inhabitants; naturally the estimate varied from year to year. Besides this the imperial exchequer collected taxes from the merchants for their shops and also from the tobacco planters; then there were customs duties, duties upon fishing, upon river traffic, etc. Besides the state taxes the rayahs had also to satisfy their territorial masters, the spahis. Every married man paid one piastre for poll tax, two piastres married tax, two piastres grazing tax (*kotar*) for the use of pasturage, one piastre meal tax per head, two piastres kettle tax for every brandy still, from four to ten paras acorn tax for every herd of swine, and finally a tenth of a field or garden produce; they were also liable to forced labour. Even the secular clergy were obliged to pay these taxes.

Naturally, the population were also obliged to provide for the support of their kneses, upper kneses and clergy. In Servia, for instance, a bishop extracted twelve piastres from every house, and on a journey through his diocese an additional five piastres as well as his maintenance; as they were obliged to buy their office at Constantinople, they were forced to recoup themselves in this way. The priests received tithes of agricultural produce, and occasionally payments for church services.

More oppressive even than these various taxes was the administration of justice. In every nahia a kadi was the judge, who was also assisted by a musselim, as the

executor of the judicial power. Above the kadi stood the chief judge, or mollah, of the whole province. All these officials supported themselves entirely upon court fees and fines. As they were able to obtain office only by bribery, the manner in which they exercised their powers may easily be imagined. Turkish law knew no other punishment than the monetary fine, except in the case of political misdeeds; even for murder the punishment was only the price of blood. Usually the officials pursued their own interests alone, and innocent people often suffered. The musselims were especially dreaded, as they continually came into contact with the people, were acquainted with their circumstances, and consequently could easily satisfy their desires or their vengeance upon any object. Beyond all this, the evidence of a Christian was not admitted by the courts, and the Ottoman administration of justice thus became a system of torture which could be escaped only by flight.

A further torment for the Christian rayah was the presence of the regular Turkish foot soldiers, the Janissaries; these forces were originally in possession of no landed property and only obtained pay. When, however, they were sent out from Constantinople, distributed among the provinces, and secured the imperial power for themselves, they were anxious to become landowners, like the spahis, and seized with the strong hand all that pleased them. The poor rayahs had no protection against their greed; they might console themselves with the words of Virgil, "Not for yourselves, ye birds, did ye build your nests; not for yourselves, ye sheep, did ye wear your wool; not for yourselves, ye bees, did ye gather honey; not for yourselves, ye oxen, did ye draw the plough."

Especially cruel was the levy of youths, which took place every five years, to supply men for the Janissaries, who then became Mohammedans. Towns only were able to secure immunity by the payment of large sums.

Far more humiliating and intolerable was the treatment of the rayah at the hands of the Mohammedans. It was at this point that the differences between conquerors and conquered first became plainly obvious. It was a difference expressed in outward form. The clothing

of the rayahs was simple. They were not allowed to wear the kaftan or gold or silver embroidery on their clothes. They were not to inhabit beautiful houses or to keep good horses. They were forbidden to wear swords. In the town the rayah might go only on foot. If a Christian appeared before Turks, he must hide his pistols; if he met them on the road, he must alight from his horse, and stand before them if they sat. Apart from this the Turk might call any Christian from the street and force him to bring water, look after his horse, or perform any other duty. Christian women were handed over to Mohammedans without reserve if they found favour in their eyes; at a marriage the bride was concealed in a cellar with her head veiled in cloths.

The result was that the Christians fled into the inaccessible mountains and forests, and from there defended themselves against their oppressors. Their numbers steadily increased. In the Slav provinces they were known as hayduks, and in Greece as klephts. They were robbers who also robbed the Christians upon occasion. But the spirit of freedom remained alive among their numbers, and they were respected by the population as avengers of the people and champions of freedom, were protected from the pursuing Turks, and were celebrated in song as heroes. As the Christians were forbidden to bear arms, the robber Christians became the only people able to defend themselves.

In their misery the people found consolation in their kneses and upper kneses, in the spahis, who generally treated them mildly, and particularly in the Church. It was the monks who were popular, rather than the secular clergy. The monasteries were at that time the centres of national life. They enjoyed privileges from the state, and were less dependent upon the Ottoman authorities. The monks alone were allowed to hear confessions and to celebrate the Communion. They were the only educated class, and preserved the remnants of Slav literature. The people swarmed to the monasteries from the remotest districts, and on dedication festivals lively scenes took place. Merchants then sold their wares; lambs and pigs were roasted; and to the sound of the shepherd's pipe or bagpipe the Servian youths danced their national dance, the

kolo, which was also known in Bulgaria, and the old men sang songs of the national heroes.

The Turkish danger and the menace of a common enemy formed a point of union which united the shattered fragments of the Servian-Croatian races, not only in political, but also in literary and civilised life. The Croatians, at least, had the possibility of satisfying their feelings of revenge in battle. The Serbs, who were forbidden even to wear arms, were obliged to endure their cruel fate in silent submission. At the period when Croatia began to surround herself with frontier defences, and thereby became more capable of resistance, Turkey was at the height of her power, and the Servian race could see no gleam of hope for a better future. Hence many of them turned their backs upon their native land and fled across the frontier to the more fortunate Croatia, that they might be able, at least from that point, to wage war against their oppressors.

However, in the seventeenth century, when the political development of the Ottoman state had reached its fulness, it became manifest that its fundamental principles were suited only to military and political life, and not for social life or the advancement of culture, and that, in consequence, the Turk was unprogressive and wholly incompetent to rule over other nations. The Turkish state was founded upon theocratic principles; the Koran formed at once its Bible and its legal code. If the subjugated peoples professed some other religion they could never be full citizens of the Ottoman Empire, but would be forced to remain in a position of subjection. Meanwhile, in Western Europe, civil law, as opposed to canon law, permitted members of other communions to become full citizens, so that subject races could more easily maintain their faith and become incorporated. In Turkey this was impossible. The Mohammedan alone was in possession of rights: the Christian rayah had no rights; his only guarantee for a better future was the downfall of the existing system. We can, then, well understand that the Christian populations were ever waiting for the moment when they would be able to shake off the oppressive yoke of Turkey. If the burden became intolerable the nation emigrated

**Oppression
of the
Christians**

**Croatian
Dreams of
Revenge**

**Christians
Biding
Their Time**

in a body. The strength of religious fanaticism among the Turks, both in past and present times, may be judged from the fact that religion rules the whole social and political life and culture of Turkey even at the present day.

In point of numbers the Slavs were superior to the Turks. The empire swarmed with Mohammedans of Slav origin, serving in the army as well as in the official bodies. According to the testimony of Paolo Giovio in 1531 and other competent authorities, almost the whole of the Janissary troops spoke Slav. Numerous Slavs rose to the position of vizir and grand vizir. Under Mohammed Sokolovic half the vizirs were Slavs in the sixteenth century. Several sultans were fully acquainted with the Slav language, and several chancellors issued Slav documents in Cyrillic writing. The Turkish Empire was, as is remarked by the Serbian historian, on the road to becoming a Mohammedan-Slav empire.

These facts, however, did not improve the life of the Christian rayahs. For almost three centuries these races had groaned under the Turkish yoke. Help was to be expected only from without. The first gleam appeared between 1684 and 1686, when Austria, under Charles of Lorraine repeatedly defeated the Turkish armies and occupied several provinces. At that time the court of Vienna conceived a great plan of playing off the Balkan peoples against the Porte, and entered into relations with the patriarch of Ipek, Arsen Cernojevic, and with George Brankovic, who professed to descend from the old Serbian royal family. Brankovic went to Russia with his brother in 1688 to collect money for the building of the Serbian metropolitan church and to secure Russia's help for the war against the Porte; at the court of Vienna he was made viscount and then count. The

The War of Liberation Austrian commander-in-chief, Ludwig Wilhelm, Margrave of Baden, issued an appeal to the Slavs of Bosnia, Albania, and Herzegovina, to join him in war against the Turks.

The Eastern Slavs had already given their favour to Austria, when the Vienna court seized the person of George Brankovic, who had already appointed himself Despot of Illyria, Servia, Symria, Moesia, and Bosnia, and imprisoned

him first in Vienna, then in Eger, where he died in 1711. This action naturally disturbed the relations between Servia and Austria. However, the war of liberation was continued. Among the Eastern Slavs there was an old legend that some day they would be freed from the Turkish yoke by a hero who would come riding upon a camel, accompanied with foreign animals. Utilising this legend, Enea Silvio Piccolomini, the general of the Margrave of Baden, appeared among the Serbian nations with camels, asses and parrots, and called them to arms. In 1690 the Emperor Leopold I. again proclaimed that he would guarantee religious and political freedom "to all the Slav peoples of the whole of Albania, Servia, Illyria, Mysia, Bulgaria, Silistria, Macedonia, and Rascia," and again called them to arms against the Turks.

In the same year 36,000 Serbian and Albanian families migrated from Servia under the leadership of the patriarch Arsen Cernojevic. From Belgrade they sent the bishop of Janopol, Jesaias Diakovic, to the court of Vienna as the plenipotentiary of the "Community of Greek Raizes." The emperor issued the desired guarantees for the whole people and for the three Brankovics in a special charter of liberties. Cernojevic received a guarantee of his position of metropolitan "for the whole of Greece, Rascia, Bulgaria, Dalmatia, Bosnia, Janopol, Herzegovina, and over all the Serbs in Hungary and Croatia."

The Serbs then passed over the Save and settled chiefly in Slavonia, Symria, and in some towns of Hungary; Karlstadt was chosen as the seat of the Serbian patriarch. The privileges of these immigrants were often enough disputed by the Hungarian municipal, ecclesiastical, and political authorities, but were invariably confirmed by the imperial court, which took the Serbs under its protection. Supreme successes against the Turks were secured when Prince Eugene of Savoy took the lead of the Austrian troops in July, 1697. The great victory of Zenta was the first indication of the fall of Turkish supremacy in Europe; henceforward the little state of Montenegro fought successfully against the Ottomans.

However, the first decisive effort was the Russo-Turkish war. Western Europe



A STREET DANCE IN SERVIA IN THE MIDDLE AGES

had long striven to induce Russia to take part in the struggle. Peter the Great was the first to take action in 1711, with that campaign which roused great hopes among the Balkan Slavs. At that date the first Russian ambassador, Colonel Miloradovic, a Herzegovinian by birth, of Neretva, brought to Cetinje a letter from Peter the Great, calling upon the Montenegrins to take up arms; he met with an enthusiastic reception. Thereupon Danilo Petrovic Njegos, the metropolitan and ruler of Montenegro (1697-1735), made a journey to Russia in 1715, and received rich presents and promises of future support,

Henceforward the Southern Slavs based their hopes rather upon their compatriots and co-religionists in Russia than upon Austria. However, the campaign of 1711 was a failure; and it was not until many years afterwards that Russia undertook a second advance, under Catharine II. In 1774 Russia secured a protectorate over the Danube principalities and over all the Christians of the Greek Church. Catharine again turned her attention to the warlike state of Montenegro and sent General George Dolgoruki to Cetinje in 1769; and from 1788 to 1791 the Russian lieutenant-colonel Count Ivelic and the Austrian

major Vukasovic were working in Montenegro with similar objects.

In the seventeenth century, when it became more obvious that the Turk was not invincible, and when enthusiasm had been roused by the hope of liberation, the Southern Slavs became more convinced than before of a relationship nearer than that of fate and political alliance; the feeling of blood relationship grew strong in them, and they began to call themselves brothers and members of a Slav race. The feeling of mutual connection extended not merely to the Southern Slavs, but spread over the whole Slav world. They appealed to their Russian kinsmen for help, and authors wrote enthusiastically of a great Slav family. Austria gave some stimulus to the movement by repeatedly summoning all the Balkan Slavs to common action against the Turks.

In the history of the Austrian Slav of that period there gradually arises from the background the outline of a new southern Slav Empire which was intended to embrace all the Southern Slav races. A name was invented for it, that of Illyria. The name was chosen to secure connection with past history. Illyricum had formerly been a Roman province, including Macedonia and Greece, with Crete, Dardania, and Dacia; in 476 it was assigned to the East Roman Empire. At that moment the phrase "the Illyrian nation" meant nothing more than the peoples professing the faith of the Greek Church, and as

most of the Serbs were members of this, they also entitled themselves the "Raizes, or Illyrian nation." Now the name of Illyria was extended to include the Croatians and Slavonians. It was specially used in this sense by the Roman Church, which had not forgotten the old diocese of Illyria, and used the term to denote the Slavs in the west of the Balkan Peninsula. From this ecclesiastical use the connotation of the name was extended. In Hungary, where fugitive Serbs made common cause with the Croatians, the Illyrian question was a constant subject of discussion.

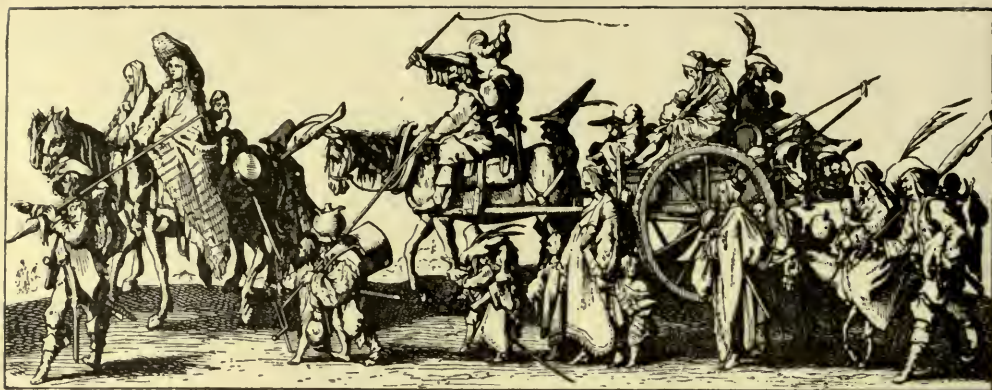
Maria Theresa protected the Croatians and Serbs from the aggressions of the Magyars, and created for the special protection of the Serbs a new administrative organ, the "Illyrian Delegation," in 1746. The court of Vienna also regarded the Hungarian Serbs as a valuable counterpoise to the Magyars. Under the Emperor Leopold II. the Illyrian national congress was held in Temesvar in 1790; demands were here issued for the separation of the Servian nation in the banat and in the backska (voievodina), for an Illyrian chancery, for the parliamentary equality of the Servian bishops with the ecclesiastical princes of Herzegovina, and for a governor, who was to be one of the emperor's sons. How the conception of Illyria first received official extension in the age of Napoleon belongs to another period and a later volume. VLADIMIR MILKOWICZ



TYPICAL TURKISH GENTLEMAN OF THE MERCHANT CLASS

GREAT DATES IN THE HISTORY OF SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE: A.D. 500 TO 1792

A.D.		A.D.	
500	Anastasius emperor	1204	Latin empire of Byzantium till 1261
518	Justin emperor	1218	John Asen II. Tsar of Bulgaria
527	Justinian emperor	1222	Golden Bull of Hungary
529	The Justinian code issued	1241	Mongols devastate Hungary, but retire
533	Overthrow of the Vandals by Belisarius	1261	Fall of Latin empire of Byzantium; Greek dynasty restored under Michael Palaeologus; Mongol invasion of Hungary repelled by Bela IV.
552	Narses defeats the Goths in Italy	1274	League between Ladislaus of Hungary and Rudolf of Habsburg
558	Repulse of the Huns and Avars	1288	Beginning of Ottoman power
565	Justin II. emperor	1301	End of Arpad dynasty in Hungary. Othman defeats Byzantines at Nicomedia
582	Maurice emperor	1309	Charles Robert of Anjou elected king of Hungary
602	Phocas emperor	1323	Sismanid dynasty in Bulgaria till 1393
610	Heraclius emperor	1330	Predominance of Serbia in the Balkans
613	Advance of Persians under Khosru	1342	Lewis the Great king of Hungary
622	Heraclius checks the Persian advance. The Hegira: date-year of Islam	1345	Servian conquests under Stefan Dusan
626	Defeat of Avars before Constantinople	1347	John Cantacuzenos joint emperor
634	Advance of the Saracen power	1356	Turks cross the Hellespont
640	Establishment of Slavs in Bosnia	1361	Turks occupy Adrianople
660	Founding of the Bulgarian kingdom	1363	Turks defeat Magyars and Slavs at Marizza
673	Saracens besiege Constantinople	1370	Lewis of Hungary elected king of Poland
712	Advance of Bulgarians	1386	Sigismund king of Hungary
717	Leo III. the Isaurian emperor	1389	Turkish victory at Kossova; subjugation of Serbia and Bulgaria
725	Beginning of Iconoclastic movement	1396	Turkish victory at Nicopolis
727	Defeat of Saracens at Nicea	1402	Overthrow of Bajazet by Tamerlane
739	Defeat of Saracens at Acroinon	1411	Sigismund of Hungary becomes German emperor [med I.]
750	Fall of Omayyad caliphate	1413	Recovery of Ottoman power under Moham-
773	Bulgarians checked	1442	Victories of Hunyadi over Turks
780	Constantine VI. emperor; Irene regent	1444	Turks defeat Hungarians at Varna
787	Second Council of Nicæa restores image-	1448	Turks defeat Hunyadi at Kossova
797	Irene empress [worship]	1449	Scanderbeg heads Albanian revolt [empire]
802	Fall of Irene ends Isaurian dynasty; Nicephorus emperor	1453	Capture of Constantinople; end of Byzantine
803	Treaty with Charlemagne [phorus emperor]	1456	Hunyadi defends Belgrade against Turks
813	Leo V. defeats Bulgarians	1458	Matthias Corvinus king of Hungary
820	Michael the Stammerer emperor	1451	Turks acknowledge Scanderbeg's independence
852	Boris king of Bulgaria	1467	Death of Scanderbeg
853	Christian mission of Constantine and Methodius among the Slavs [Churches]	1477	Turks subjugate Albania
866	Final breach between Greek and Roman	1479	Turks defeated by Matthias Corvinus [tria]
867	Basil I. emperor; Macedonian dynasty begins	1491	Invasion of Hungary by Maximilian of Aus-
869	Council of Constantinople	1517	Conquest of Mamelukes by Sultan Selim
886	Leo VI. emperor	1521	Suleiman the Magnificent takes Belgrade
895	Simeon king of Bulgarians	1526	Victory of Suleiman at Mohacz; Ferdinand of Austria becomes king of Hungary
912	Constantine Porphyrogenetos emperor	153	Turkish fleets commanded by Barbarossa
917	Defeat of imperial army by Simeon of Bulgaria, who takes the title of Tsar	1536	Alliance of Turks and French
926	Timislav king of Croatia	1545	Ferdinand of Austria pays tribute to Turks
941	Defeat of Russian fleet by Byzantines	1547	Treaty between Suleiman and Charles V.
963	Nicephorus Phocas emperor	1571	Overthrow of Turkish fleet at Lepanto
969	John Tzimisces emperor	1593	War between Austria and Turkey
971	Overthrow of Bulgaria by Tzimisces	1606	Peace of Zsitvatorok [Vizirs]
994	Conversion of Magyars by Adelbert	1656	Revival of Ottoman power under the Kuprili
997	Saint Stefan duke of Hungarians	1664	Austro-Turkish war; Turks defeated at St. Gothard [Khoczim]
1000	Saint Stefan king of Hungary	1673	John Sobieski of Poland defeats Turks at
1018	Subjugation of Bulgaria by Basil II.	1675	Sobieski defeats Turks at Lemberg
1040	Servia established as independent	1683	Sobieski defeats Turks before Vienna
1044	Peter of Hungary does homage to German emperor	1687	Defeat of Turks at Mohacz
1052	Independence of Hungary recognised	1697	Defeat of Turks by Prince Eugene at Zenta
1053	Suppression of Roman Churches in the East	1699	Peace of Carlowitz
1056	Macedonian dynasty ends with Theodora	1711	Peter the Great, foiled by the Turks, has to accept the treaty of Pruth
1071	Normans expel Byzantine rule from Italy	1716	Final repulse of Turks by Eugene at Peterwarden
1076	Capture of Jerusalem by Seljuk Turks	1737	Austro-Russian war with Turkey
1077	Saint Ladislaus king of Hungary	1738	Peace of Belgrade
1081	Alexius Comnenus emperor	1741	Hungary acclaims Maria Theresa
1087	Invasion of empire by Pechenegs	1774	Treaty of Kutchuk Kainardji between Turkey and Russia
1090	Annexation of Croatia by Hungary	1783	Russia annexes Crimea
1096	First Crusade	1788	Austro-Russian war with Turkey
1102	Coloman extends Hungarian kingdom	1791	Peace of Sistova
1132	Bela II. king of Hungary	1792	Treaty of Jassy
1143	Manuel I. emperor		
1144	Fall of Edessa; cause of Second Crusade		
1151	Manuel invades Hungary		
1173	Bela III. king of Hungary		
1185	Isaac Angelus emperor		
1187	Capture of Jerusalem by Saladin		
1190	Nemanja king of Servia		
1197	Asenid dynasty established in Bulgaria		
1203	Fourth Crusade; Crusaders take Byzantium		



THE STORY OF THE GIPSIES

HABITS & CUSTOMS OF A WANDERING PEOPLE

IT remains to give some account of one more people, which, coming from the East, has never found rest for the sole of its foot, but has dispersed itself over Europe, and has even crossed the ocean, and yet has retained its distinctive racial character. For more than 500 years the Gipsy people have traversed East and Central Europe, wandering restlessly from place to place. In general they live at the present day

among nations which have long ago been definitely settled and become organised, themselves still following their peculiar nomadic manners and customs under individual tribal chiefs. Even at the date of their first appearance in Europe the gipsies were able to give no adequate account of their origin or of their first home. The names which they apply to themselves are not without importance from an historical and ethnographical point of view. They call themselves by the old Indian name of an unclean caste "rom" = man, "romni" = woman. Another self-bestowed title is "kalo" (black), the opposite term to which, "parno" (white), is applied to all non-gipsies. Finally, the gipsies also style themselves "manusch" (people), while foreigners are known as "gadsio" (strangers). Upon rare occasions, and generally only in the course of public debate, they address one another as "sinte" (comrades).

More numerous are the names applied to the gipsies by the peoples with whom they came in contact. The German word "Zigeuner" is probably derived from the Phrygian-Lycæonian sect of the "Athin-ganoi," mentioned at the outset of the

ninth century by such Byzantine writers as Theophanes. Another derivation is from "tsjengi"; that is, musicians, dancers, etc. A third connects it with the Cangar tribe in the Punjab. It is, however, certain that the Germans received the name from the Czechs, who took it from the Magyars; the latter got it from the Roumanians, who again borrowed it from the Bulgarians. The name "Zigeuner" became general only in Eastern Europe and Italy (zingari); other names were used by the West Europeans. The Modern Greek Tuphtes, the Spanish and Portuguese Gitano, the Flemish Egyptenær, the English gipsy, are all forms of the title Egyptian. On their arrival in Central Europe the gipsies announced themselves to be Egyptians, whence their name "pharao nepe" (Pharaoh's people), still in use among the Magyars. In the Low-German speaking countries the gipsies were originally known as Suyginer, Zigöner, or even "Hungarians," and afterwards as "Tätern" or Tartars; in France they were called

The Protoges of the Bohemian King

Bohèmiens, as they came from Bohemia with letters of protection from King Sigismund of Hungary and Bohemia. Since the time of the appearance of the gipsies in Europe, the flood of theories respecting their origin and descent has mounted high. After the interesting linguistic essay of Andrew Boorde in 1542, one of the earliest dissertations "de Cingaribus" is to be found in the work of the Netherland Hellenist Bonaventura Vulcanius, "De literis et lingua Getarum" (Leyden, 1542); Job Ludolf also paid some

attention to their vocabulary in the commentary to his "Ethiopian History" published in 1691. The majority of scholars agree that the name of the sect of the Athinganer, the untouched, or those of another faith, has been transferred to the gipsies (cingani). Others looked for their origin in Zeugitana, or Carthage, a province formed under Diocletian and Constantine. Others, again, identified them with the Zygians, Canaanites, Saracens, Amorites and Jews, or regarded them as the descendants of Chus, the son of Cham (Genesis x. 6).

The Hungarian chronicler Pray made a nearer guess at the truth in considering their first home to have been the former Seljuk kingdom of Rum (Iconium), as the

In the little town of Fürstenau was a gravestone, erected on the vigil of St. Sebastian (19th January), 1445, to the deceased "noble lord Sir Panuel, duke of Egypt Minor and lord of the stag's horn in that country." The coat of arms upon the stone displayed a golden eagle

Fantastic Gipsy Monuments crowned, and above the tilting helmet a crown with a stag. Another monument with a fantastic coat of arms existed in the neighbourhood of Backnang in Württemberg dated 1453, to the "noble count Peter of Kleinschild."

There is no doubt that the gipsies had leaders, and that those who live in tents have leaders at the present day; these leaders have a distinctive sign, such as an



AN ENCAMPMENT OF THE FIRST GIPSIES IN CENTRAL EUROPE
From an engraving by Jacques Callot in 1604, now in the Dresden Cabinet of Engravings.

gipsies call themselves Rom. On their first appearance many assumed that they were pilgrims from Egypt, who were performing a seven years' penitential pilgrimage, in expiation of the refusal of their ancestors to receive the infant Christ in Egypt when he was fleeing from Herod with his parents. These and similar legends are related at the present day by wandering gipsy tribes in Hungary and in the Balkan territories. Here we have an explanation of the tenacious adherence to the belief in their Egyptian origin. The gipsy leaders also contributed to the spread of this belief; after 1400 they styled themselves "kings," "dukes," or "counts of Egypt Minor," and appeared as rulers of distinction in every district.

embroidered cloak, cloth, or goblet. The several tribes of the nomadic gipsies are also social units in so far as they are under the government of one voivode. In practice they are nowhere tolerated in large hordes, and have consequently broken up into smaller independent communities or societies ("mahlija," from "mahlo" = friend), under individual chieftains, the "schaibidso." In important cases these leaders appeal to the decision of the voivode, who may be spending his time with one or another tribe. The schaibidso is elected by the tribe, and the voivode confirms his appointment by eating bread and salt with him in public; he then commands the mahlija in question to regard the schaibidso as his plenipotentiary. Among the nomadic gipsies the position of voivode is hereditary

Legends of Nomadic Tribes

at the present day; if a minor should inherit, the position is occupied until his majority by one of his nearest relations. The installation of a voivode is a very simple ceremony. The voivode recites a form of oath, and is lifted up by his tribesmen while the women throw crab-apple seeds upon him, to keep away evil spirits. The voivode among the nomadic gipsies at the present day occupies a position which is merely honourable; formerly every mahlija paid him a yearly tribute proportioned to the position and the number of its members.

**The Home
of the
Gipsy Tongue**

Various investigators have been misled by confusing the "Romany" tongue with the "thieves' Latin" of one country or another. It was, however, long suspected, and has now been definitely proved, that the home of the gipsy language—and therefore of the gipsies—is in the north-west of India. It belongs to the same group as the Dardu languages spoken in Kafiristan, Dardistan, Kashmir, and Little Tibet.

The science of comparative philology has clearly proved the gipsies to be a branch of the Hindu nationality; it has also shown us by what route the gipsies left India, and in what countries their migrations have been interrupted for a longer or shorter period. The causes which drove the gipsies to migration, and the date at which their wanderings began, are shrouded for ever in obscurity. It is, however, tolerably certain that more than one migration took place. Possibly we have here the explanation of the fact that in many countries where they are now naturalised they are divided into two or more castes. Individual advances or disruptions may have taken place at an early date, while the first great movement or movements did not begin before the Christian era. The Persian and Armenian elements in the European dialects clearly

**In League
with
the Arabs**

show that the gipsies must have made their way first through Armenia and Persia, and have remained a considerable time in those countries. They entered Persia under the Sassanid dynasty, and were given the marshy districts on the Lower Euphrates as a settlement. They readily made common cause with the Arab conquerors; but after the death of the Caliph Mamun in 833 they left their settlements, and disturbed the country by

their plundering raids, until Ojeif ibn Ambassa was obliged to bring them to reason by force of arms.

The Armenian "Bosha" — that is, vagabonds—the gipsies of the Armenian faith (the Mohammedan gipsies of Asia Minor are known as "Chingene," or "Chinghiané"), who are chiefly to be found at Bujbat in the vilayet of Sivas, when not engaged in their favourite occupation of wandering, speak a language which possesses an unusually sparse vocabulary—about 600 words in all; no songs—but undoubtedly belongs to the Indian branch of the Aryan family of languages; their chief occupation is sieve-making. Neither in Turkish nor in Russian Armenia, whither part of them have migrated since 1828, do they bring their disputes before the state tribunals, but before the council of their elders, presided over by the Althopakal (expressly confirmed in office by the Porte; formerly called Jamadar); in Russian Armenia he is associated with an Ustadar or secular caste-chieftain. From Armenia members of the gipsy nationality may have migrated to North Africa through Syria, and thence, though

**Venetians
Tax the
Gipsies**

not before the nineteenth century, to the centre and north-west of South America, where, following the convenient waterways, they infest one republic and town after another; thus they visit Guayaquil in Ecuador every two or three years. Another and stronger division entered Europe through Phrygia and Lycaonia and across the Hellespont. Greece is to be regarded as the first European home of all the gipsies who are dispersed throughout Europe, including the Spanish. There is tolerable evidence for the presence of gipsies in Byzantium at the outset of the ninth century; and in Crete in the year 1322 we hear of them from the Franciscan Simon Simeonis.

About 1398 the Venetian governor of Nauplion, Ottaviano Burno, confirmed the privileges granted by his predecessors to John, chieftain of the Acingani. The Venetians allowed the gipsies to settle in the Peloponnese on payment of certain dues. Many ruins still known as Typhtocastron—that is, Egyptian or gipsy fortress—remain as evidence of their occupation. German travellers in the second half of the fifteenth century report the presence of these "Egyptian" settlers. In Corfu "Vageniti" were to be found before



THE BREAKING UP OF A GIPSY ENCAMPMENT

From the painting by Sir John Gilbert, by permission of the Corporation of Manchester

1346; about 1370-1373 there was a fully organised gipsy colony, the members of which are mentioned as being in the service of the barons, Theodoros Kavasilas, Nicolà di Donato of Altavilla, and Bernard de Saint-Maurice. About 1386 a "feudum Acinganorum" was founded from this colony, first conferred upon the Baron Gianuli di Abitabulo, then in 1540 upon the scholar Antonio Eparco, who carried on a correspondence with Melanchthon; in 1563 it passed into the hands of the Count Theodoro Trivoli.

In the first half of the fourteenth century those migrations in the Balkan Peninsula took place in the course of which the Albanians occupied Attica and the Peloponnese, while numerous Armenian families settled in Moldavia and many Roumanians migrated to the slopes of Mount Pindus; at that moment a large number of the gipsies began to advance into Wallachia. They must have been settled in the country by 1370, for in 1387 the Hospodar Mircea the Old confirmed a donation of forty Zalassi, or tent, gipsies

made by the last of his predecessors, Layko (Vlad I.), to the monastery of St. Maria in Tismana (Wallachia Minor) and to that of St. Antonius, "na Vodici" and others. When Wallachia afterwards became tributary to the Turks, the gipsies may have begun to migrate in large numbers to Transylvania and Hungary. Hence they spread over the whole of Europe. It was not until 1820-1830 that Alexander Ghika relaxed the serfdom of the gipsies in Wallachia, which was finally abolished on March 3rd, 1856.

In the year 1417 the first gipsies appeared in the Hansa towns on the North Sea and the Baltic. They produced commendatory letters from the Emperor Sigismund, and repeated the story of their Egyptian origin and their seven years' penitential pilgrimage, and thus gained the support both of Church and State as well as that of private individuals. In 1418 we find them also in Switzerland.

However, this friendly reception was soon followed by persecution, in accordance with the somewhat barbarous spirit of the

age. It was not so much the actual misdeeds or the annoying presence of the strangers as their unusual customs that attracted the attention of the authorities. It was also to the prejudice of this miserable and harmless race that they came from districts more or less in possession of the Turks. They were regarded as the

**In the Service
of Christianity's
Enemies**

advance guard or as the spies of the "hereditary enemies of Christendom." Thus, the recess of 1479 of the German imperial diet proclaimed, "with regard to those who are called gipsies and constantly traverse the land, seeing that we have evidence to show that the said gipsies are the spies and scouts of the enemy of Christianity, we command that they are not to be suffered to enter or to settle in the country, and every authority shall take due measures to prevent such settlement and at the next assembly shall bring forward such further measures as may seem advisable." In the following year the diet of Freiburg declared the gipsies outlaws—that is to say, the murderer of a gipsy went unpunished.

However, the gipsies were steadily reinforced by new arrivals from Hungary, and these measures produced little effect. In any case, it was found necessary to renew them in the recess of the diets of 1500, 1544, 1548, and 1577. On September 20th, 1701, the Emperor Leopold declared that on the reappearance of the gipsies "the most drastic measures would be taken against them." A worthy counterpart to this decree is the regulation of the Count of Reuss, published on July 13th, 1711, and made more stringent on December 12th, 1713, and May 9th, 1722, to the effect that "all gipsies found in the territory of Reuss were to be shot down on the spot."

Every conceivable crime was laid to the charge of the gipsies; among other

**Unjust
Gipsy
Executions**

they exhumed dead bodies to satisfy their craving for human flesh. In consequence of a charge of this nature, forty-five gipsies were unjustly executed in 1782 in the county of Hont in North-west Hungary. The accusation is based upon a misunderstanding of their funeral customs, in which the strongest characteristic of gipsy religious sentiment, the feeling of fear, is vigorously emphasised. In a

lonely corner of the village churchyard or at the edge of some secluded wood the corpse is interred, and the spot is marked with a curious post, shaped like a wedge, the upper end of which is hardly visible above the surface of the ground, while the lower end almost touches the head of the corpse.

This custom is connected with an older use, now disappearing, in accordance with which the relatives took away the head of the corpse after a certain time, buried it elsewhere and drove the post deep into the earth in its place—solely for the purpose of hastening the process of putrefaction. Only after complete putrefaction of the body, according to gipsy belief, can the soul enter the "kingdom of the dead," where it then lives a life analogous to that of earth. Gipsies may have been surprised in the performance of this custom, and have been consequently accused of eating the corpse.

By degrees the gipsies advanced from Germany over the neighbouring parts of East and Northern Europe. They entered

**The Last
of the**

Gipsy "Kings"

Poland and Lithuania in the reign of Vladislav II. Jagellon. In 1501 King Alexander I. granted a charter to Vasil, the "woyt cyganski." The diet of 1557 ordered the expulsion of the strangers, and this decree was repeated in 1565, 1578, and 1618. The gipsies, however, found life in this country very tolerable. They were governed by a leader of their own, whose position was confirmed by the King of Poland and by Prince Radziwill in Lithuania. The last of these gipsy "kings" was Jan Marcinkiewicz, who died about 1790, and was recognised as "king" in 1778 by Karol Stanislaw Radziwill. In 1791 they were given settlements in Poland.

At the outset of the sixteenth century the gipsies entered Finland and also the north of Russia. Catharine II. put an end to their nomadic existence by settling them on the crown lands, with a guaranteed immunity from taxation for four years. Many of them are living in Bessarabia, at Bjelgorod, and in the neighbourhood of Taganrog; but these South Russian gipsies generally came into the country through Roumania, and not by the circuitous route through Poland. They met with far worse treatment in Sweden; the first mention of them in that



THE WANDERERS FROM BOHEMIA: FIRST APPEARANCE OF THE GIPSIES IN FRANCE

From the painting by Sir John Gilbert, by permission of the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool.

country belongs to 1572. In 1662 they were banished by a royal decree which ordered the execution of any gipsy who returned. A Moravian decree of 1599 is couched in similar terms. Christian III. of Denmark, where the strangers had been known since 1420, issued a decree ordering them to leave the country within three months. After Frederick II.

**The Wanderers
in England
and Scotland**

had reiterated this order in 1561, Denmark was soon freed from the intruders. More fortunate was the fate of those scattered bodies who reached England about 1450 and Scotland about 1492; in spite of their proscription by Henry VIII. in 1531, and the decrees of his daughters Mary and Elizabeth, their numbers increased considerably. They were subject to a "king" from the Lee family; the last of these, King Joseph Lee, died in 1884. In 1827 a society was formed in England to improve the position of the gipsies.

In most of the Romance countries the gipsies met with an unfriendly reception so soon as they arrived. In 1422 they entered Italy (Bologna), but abandoned the country in a few years, as the clergy opposed them both in word and deed. The band which appeared in France in 1447 was allowed only five years of peace. When the gipsies plundered the little town of La Chapelle in the north-east of Châlons-sur-Marne, they were driven out by the peasants. In scattered bodies they travelled about the country until 1504. The first decree of banishment was then issued against them, and was repeated with greater stringency in 1539. Their extermination by fire and sword was decreed by the Parliament of Orléans in 1560, and was actually carried out by Louis XIII. and Louis XIV.

Only a small proportion of the gipsies were able to find refuge among the Basques, who had been visited by individual gipsies as early as 1538. But

**Spain's
Favourable
Reception**

in the night of December 6th, 1802, the gipsies in that country were taken prisoners, with few exceptions, by the order of the prefect of the Basses Pyrénées and shipped to Africa. In Spain a band of gipsies appeared near Barcelona in 1447, and met with a favourable reception. They suffered little or no harm from the decree of banishment issued by Ferdinand the Catholic in 1499 and repeated in 1539, 1586, 1619, or from the prohibition of Philip IV.

in 1633, extended in 1661 and 1663, against their use of their own language and their nomadic habits. Greater, from another point of view, was the influence of the regulations of Charles III., of September 19th, 1783. To those gipsies who renounced the use of their "gerigonza" (gipsy language), wandering habits, and dress, this decree granted toleration; it threw open all offices to them, and allowed them to practise any trade, thereby furthering the process of denationalisation. In Southern Spain they continue a highly satisfactory existence at the present day.

Hungary and Transylvania formed the second resting-place, and in a sense the new home of the gipsies in Europe. They must have reached these countries shortly after 1400, for as early as 1416 gipsies from Hungary are found in Moravia, Bohemia, and Silesia, and in the rest of Germany in 1417. Those who wandered to Germany brought letters of commendation from the Hungarian Palatine Nicholas Gara to Constance, where the Emperor Sigismund was staying at that time; he was thus induced to grant them the charter

**Hungarian
Concessions
to the Gipsies**

previously mentioned — its existence is confirmed by a letter of the Hungarian Count Thurzó of the year 1616. The gipsies who were left in Hungary and Transylvania enjoyed certain privileges, like the Roumanians and Jews who possessed no land, as "serfs of the king," in so far as their settlement upon private property was conditional upon the royal consent. As armourers they also enjoyed the special favour of the ecclesiastical and secular authorities. Thus, on September 23rd, 1476, King Matthias allowed the town of Hermannstadt to employ the gipsies upon necessary works; and on April 8th, 1487, he ordered the voivode to leave undisturbed those gipsies who had been conceded to the people of Hermannstadt.

In 1496, Vladislav II. granted a charter to the voivode Thomas Polgar, whereby he and his people were to be left unmolested, as they were then preparing munitions of war for Sigismund, Bishop of Fünfkirchen. As in Poland, the dignity of gipsy king had been conferred upon nobles before 1731, so also in Transylvania and Hungary the ruler chose the chief voivode of the gipsies from the ranks of the nobility. In Transylvania the position was usually occupied by one nobleman,

and at times by two. In Hungary, on the other hand, there were always four chief voivodes, whose seats were Raab, Levá, Szatmár, and Kaschau. The gipsies were under their jurisdiction, and were obliged to pay a poll-tax of one florin a year. Under Peter Vallou, who was made chief voivode of Transylvania by Prince George Rakoczy, and even allowed to take the oath, the position was abolished by law.

From the date of their first appearance in the Theiss and Carpathian districts, the gipsies were especially famous as musicians. In this capacity they found employment at the courts of the princes and magnates; in 1525 they were even "installed" at the national assembly of Hatvan as musicians. Their yearning, heartrending melodies, composed, as it were, of passionate sighs, are played with incomparable purity, certainty and feeling. Soon this romantic people acquired a privileged position among the Hungarians; noble and citizen, peasant and student, alike delighted in the sound of a gipsy violin. These poetic nomads remain one of the most interesting features both

The Nomads as Poets and Musicians

of the Hungarian plains and of the Transylvanian forests. The fame of such gipsy musicians as Barna, Berkes, Bihari, Patikasus, Rácz, Salamon, or of the female violinist Zinka Panna, soon extended far beyond the frontiers.

Here, also in Transylvania and Hungary, are to be found the truest lyric poets among the gipsies, men living in joyful seclusion from the world, or considering the world only in the light of their own experience. The existence of a ballad poetry among the gipsies had long been denied, without due consideration of the fact that a people of such high musical talent could not fail to possess a store of ballads.

It is difficult to imagine anything more perfect than these lyrics, which are to be found among the wandering gipsies of Hungary and the Balkan territories by those who will take the pains to search. The authorship of these songs is unknown; they come forth from the people, and remain a national possession. One poetess only has left 250 gipsy poems in writing, the Servian wandering gipsy, Gima Ranjicic, who died in 1891. Beauty and education were the curse of her life. A reader of her poems published in a German trans-

lation can reconstruct a life of suffering, of desperate struggle, and unfulfilled hope. Beyond this, the intellectual achievements of the gipsies are few. Whether the Madonna painter Antonio de Solari, known as Il Zingaro (about 1382-1455), is to be accounted a gipsy is a matter of doubt. The gipsy women earn a fair

Money in Fortune-Telling

amount of money by the practice of incantations, fortune-telling, card play, and the like, and enjoy a reputation among the villagers as leeches and magicians. In the belief of this outcast people there are women, and sometimes men, in possession of supernatural powers, either inherited or acquired. Most of the female magicians (*chahalji*; also known as "good women," *latche romni*) have been trained by their mothers from early childhood, and have inherited the necessary prestige. They play a considerable part in all the family festivals of the wandering gipsies.

In other countries these restless strangers have been forced to settle down; but most of the gipsies in Hungary, in the Balkans (the Mohammedan *Zapóri*), and in America continue their nomadic existence at the present day, almost invariably within the limits of one country or nationality; hence they are able to maintain their ancient customs more or less unchanged. But in these countries the governments have taken a truly benevolent interest in the gipsies, and have done their best to make them a civilised race. Thus, by a regulation of November 13th, 1761, the Queen-empress Maria Theresa ordered the name "gipsy" to be changed to that of "new Hungarian" (in Magyar, *új magyarok*) and the gipsies to be settled in the Banate. The authorities built them huts, and gave them seed, and even cattle; but as soon as the supplies were consumed the objects of this benevolence started again upon their wanderings. Only a small body remained and became a settled industrial community. On

The Wasted Benevolence of Maria Theresa

November 29th, 1767, Maria Theresa issued another and more stringent edict, to the effect that the gipsy children were to be taken away and brought up by "Christian" people at the expense of the state, while the marriage of gipsies was absolutely prohibited. This edict produced little or no effect in comparison with the trouble involved. On October 9th, 1783, Joseph II. issued a "general regula-

tion" containing the following severe conditions: gipsy children were not to run about naked in public places, and were to be taken early to school and to church. All children above four years of age must be redistributed every two years among the neighbouring communities in order to secure diversity of instruction. Adults were strictly prohibited from wandering; even the settled gipsies were only to visit the yearly market under special supervision. They were forbidden to trade as horse-dealers. The use of their language was forbidden under a penalty of twenty strokes, and intermarriage was strictly prohibited.

In the first half of the nineteenth

1870. Little effect was produced by the decree of the Hungarian ministry of the interior prohibiting vagrancy, issued on July 9th, 1867. The Archduke Joseph, who was well acquainted with the nomadic gipsies, settled several families, but in less than ten years they had all deserted their new home. The gipsies have a kind of "residence" in Debreczin, formerly a pure Magyar town. A few years ago the Hungarian Government announced their intention of taking the work of settlement in hand with greater seriousness.

Numbers of gipsies settle down every year under the pressure of circumstances. Thus, not only in Hungary, but also in the other countries of Europe, with the



A GIPSY ENCAMPMENT IN SCOTLAND

From the painting by Fred Walker.

century political confusion and attempts to secure freedom so entirely occupied the attention of the state that it was impossible to deal further with the gipsy problem. Attempts to settle the gipsies were made by private individuals. Bishop John Ham opened a gipsy school at Szatmar in 1857, and the priest, Ferdinand Farkas, founded an educational institution at Neuhäusel; both experiments speedily came to an end. The efforts of the Servian government to put an end to the wanderings of the Mohammedan tent gipsies, or *gurbeti*, were more successful between 1860 and

possible exception of Roumania, the number of gipsies is decreasing every year. There are now only about 12,000 in the whole of the British Islands. In Prussia, where they were left in comparative peace until the ordinance of 1872, there are hardly 11,000; noteworthy are the small colonies which have survived in Lorraine from the French period in the parishes of Barenthal, Wiesenthal, and Götzenbruck. To-day there may be about nine hundred thousand gipsies in Europe and at least as many again in the other continents of the world. HEINRICH VON WLISLOCKI



HUNGARY

BEFORE THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

THE MAGYARS IN THE MIDDLE AGES

THE district occupied by the modern state of Hungary was, long before the arrival of the Magyars (pronounced Madyars), a beaten track for immigrating nations and a battlefield and resting-place for the most different races. The valleys of Hungary breathed something of the attraction of primeval life. Powerful fortresses rose at an early period in the frontier districts, protecting the main roads. Long ago Kelts and Thracians invaded these districts and founded a kind of civilisation. The Romans then occupied the west and south, and in the course of two centuries created a flourishing community. The waves of the great migration, however, swept away the Roman settlers, together with the few barbarians inhabiting the country, into other districts. The Roman legions retired to Italy before the advancing Huns.

After the death of Attila, in 453 A.D., his kingdom fell to pieces; the Huns were incorporated with other races and disappeared from the scene. Goths, Gepids and Langobards now maintained their position for a longer or shorter time upon the arena and destroyed what scanty remnants of Roman civilisation had survived. These Teutonic hordes were in their turn driven out by the Avars, who occupied the eastern frontiers from 626, notwithstanding their defeat, until the Frankish Emperor Charles broke their power in 803. Their deserted territory was occupied by Slav nomads and some Bulgarians, together with the remnants of the Avars, until the end of the ninth century, when it was seized by the nation,

Struggles of Barbaric Hordes

one of whose names it was henceforward to retain. The name "Hungarian" has no connection with the Huns. Ungari is merely a variant of Ungri = Ugri, Ugrians.

Probably the Magyars were originally settled in the south of Ingria, on the Isim, Irtish, Om, and in the wooded steppes of Baraba, but at an early period were driven into the districts between the Caspian and the Black Seas, where they settled between the Don and the Kuban, and became a fishing people. On this hypothesis they are a genuine branch of the Ugrian group of the Mongolian race, to which the Fins and the true Bulgarians belonged. It was the influence of their Hun neighbours that first induced these Ugrians to adopt cattle-breeding, an hereditary occupation of the Turkish nomads. The bracing effect of the dangers which threatened them on every side as they pushed forward in the vanguard of their race gradually changed their national character, with the result that they were eventually inferior to no Turkish nation in political capacity.

For a long period the Magyars paused in their migrations and settled in the plains on the Lower Don, where they had their chief market town in Karch. Muslim ben Abu Muslim ab-Garmi (about 830-845), and other Arabs constantly confused the Magyars with the Bashkirs, who resembled them in nationality and name, and were settled eastward of the Pechenegs in the steppes between the Ural and Caspian seas, bounded on the north by the Isgil Bulgarians on the

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Kama; to this confusion is due the hypothesis, long vigorously supported, of a "Magna Hungaria" in South-east Russia as the first home of the Magyars.

The truth is that their district, which lay upon the Maeotis, bordered that of the Alans, Khazars and Bulgarians, and extended to the Kuban on the north-west end of the Caucasus; it was known as "Lebedia" to Constantine VII. Porphyrogenetos. About 833 these Western Turkish Khazars found themselves so oppressed by the Magyars that they applied for protection to the Emperor Theophilus. The result was the construction of a fortified trench and the building of the brick fortress of Sarkel on the Don. Cut off in this direction by the Khazars, the Magyars removed to the Lower Danube in 839-840, where they intervened in the Bulgarian and Greek struggles.

Soon we find them loosely dependent upon the Khazars. However, when these latter, in alliance with the Guzes of the Sea of Aral, drove the Pechenegs from their possessions between Atil and Jajyk this movement proved unfavourable for the Magyars, for the Pechenegs had been little weakened, and now appeared in a hostile attitude upon the Don; the Magyars, therefore, about 862, turned their backs upon Lebedia, which was henceforward closed against them, and established themselves to the west of the Dnieper, on the Bug and Dniester. This new home is repeatedly referred to as Atelkuzu. The khan of the Khazars was equally hard pressed, and made a proposal to Lebedias, the first tribal chieftain of the Magyars in Chelandia, to become prince of the Magyars under his supremacy. He, however, declined the proposal.

Although hemmed in by the Khazars and Magyars, the power of the Pechenegs grew rapidly. After the years 880-890

the Magyars found it impossible to continue their marauding expeditions eastward; for this reason they abandoned Atelkuzu, which had lost its value for them, and had become absolutely unsafe in the east upon the Dnieper, and moved further westward in 889. This second and final forced movement of the Magyars from the north shore of the Black Sea is of importance in the history of the world; driven forward by the Pechenegs, and also from the Balkan Peninsula, which at the invitation of the Byzantines they had devastated in 894, from the Pruth and Sereth, to meet with expulsion in 895 from the bold Bulgarian Symeon, the Magyars

in 896 pushed their way like a wedge amid the South-east European Slavs; here they remained and developed their civilisation, and for a thousand years continued to occupy this position.

The Magyars advanced into the districts of the Theiss and Danube, across the North Carpathians, through the pass of Vereczke. It is said that the chieftains of the several races—together with Arpad and his son Liuntis, who ruled the predominant tribe of the Kabars, Kursan is also mentioned—executed a closer form of agreement upon this journey; choosing Arpad as their leader, they concluded a

"blood-treaty" by catching blood from their arms in a basin and drinking it. The nomadic races who had spent their previous existence on the steppes of Hungary were at once attracted by the flat country which surrounded them in their new home in Pannonia, with its great expanses, its pellucid atmosphere, and its lack of colour. Like every steppe people, they were accustomed to live in a state of warfare, and depended partly upon the booty which they were able to extort from their settled neighbours by their bold cavalry raids. Some time, however, before their



ARPAD, THE LEADER OF THE MAGYARS
Chosen by the chieftains as the leader of their race, by concluding a "blood-treaty," each chief making a wound in his own arm and drinking the blood.

How Arpad was Chosen by "Blood-treaty"

appearance in the plains of the Theiss they had progressed beyond the savagery of a primitive race.

The occupation of this new home was effected without difficulty; there was, in fact, no one to bar the way. The scanty population was soon incorporated with the new arrivals, who first settled in the plains of the lowlands, where they found abundant pasturage for their herds of horses and cattle. From this base of operations they then extended their rule towards the natural frontiers of the region they occupied. Their only conflicts took place on the north-west, in the district of the Waag River, and finally Moravia

Major succumbed to their attacks in 906. The several chieftains settled with their tribes in the places appointed to them, and built themselves castles, which served as central points both for defence and for economic exploitation. Arpad himself took possession of Attila's castle, in the ruins of which, according to the somewhat unreliable *Gesta Hungarorum* of the anonymous secretary of King Bela, the Hungarians "held their daily festivals; they sat in rows in the palace of Attila, and the sweet tones of harps and shawms and the songs of the singers sounded before them." Minstrels sang the exploits of fallen heroes to the accompaniment of the lute, and story-tellers related legends of the heroes of old.

The warlike spirit of the brave Hungarians found, however, little satisfaction in this peaceful occupation. **Magyars on the Warpath in Italy** They invaded Upper Italy in 899, 921, 924, 941-942, 947 and 951, Saxony in 915, Central and even South Italy in the winter of 921; in 922, 926, and 937 they raided Burgundy; South-west Franconia in 924, 937, and 951, and Suabia in 937. Advancing upon their hardy steeds they ravaged and plundered far and wide. They held

Central Europe terror-stricken for half a century; then, laden with rich booty and slaves, they returned home. The Czechs, who had become the neighbours of the Magyars after the fall of Moravia, often suffered from their raids. On July 5th, 907,

Death of Arpad the Bavarians experienced a severe blow. After 924 a Magyar division from Venice appears to have joined in a piratical raid, conducted by the Emir Thamar of Tarsus; others made their way to Galicia and Andalusia about 943. Neither the death of Arpad, in 907, nor the defeat inflicted upon them in 933 by the German king Henry the Fowler put an end to their extensive raids;



FOUNDER OF THE HUNGARIAN KINGDOM
With the rule of Geza, great grandson of Arpad, the Magyars passed from nomadism to a settled nationality and his son Stefan I., who reigned as king of Hungary from 997 till 1038, consolidated the kingdom of which he was the real creator.

in 934, in alliance with or under the rule of some hordes of Pechenegs, part of whom had been converted to Mohammedanism about 915, they undertook an invasion of the East Roman Empire, upon a scale which reminds one of the typical crusade; they devastated the boundary fortress of Valandar and advanced to the walls of Constantinople. In 943 and 948 this attempt was repeated upon a similar scale. It was not until 955, when they suffered a dreadful defeat at Augsburg and lost the East Mark of Germany for the second time, that a considerable transformation took place in the intellectual and social life of the

Magyar nation. Contact with foreigners, even by way of enmity, and in particular the large immigration of foreign Slavs, who had amalgamated with the Hungarian nation, had brought about a new state of affairs, and convinced the upper classes that no nation could live by military power alone in the midst of peaceful nationalities. The great grandson of Arpad, "the duke" Geza (972 to 997), accepted Christianity. His government marks the point at which the Hungarians passed from the simple conditions of life in their heathen nomad state to the position of a settled nation.

When Wajk, the son of Geza, who was baptised as Stefan I., ascended the throne in 997, he found the path already prepared; in the course of four decades he was able to complete the work of civilisation begun by his father, and to secure for Hungary a position among the nationalities of Europe. With statesmanlike insight he

Stefan

**Brings Hungary
to Rome**

joined, not the Greek, but the Roman Church, and thereby threw open his country to the new intellectual movement which was beginning to stir the West. His German wife, Gisela, a daughter of the Bavarian duke Henry II. who died in 995, was his faithful supporter in these labours. The Pope, Silvester II. (999-1003), in recognition of his services to Christianity, in 1000 conferred upon him the dignity of king together with extraordinary ecclesiastical privileges for himself and his successors. By the foundation of monasteries and bishoprics Stefan laid a firm basis for the organisation of the Roman Church in Hungary. Many tribal chieftains certainly took up arms against these innovations, but Christianity took firm root after a short time. In particular, the worship of the Virgin Mary was rapidly popularised, owing to her easy identification with their own Nagyasszony, the "mother of the gods."

King Stefan also introduced innovations in military, judicial, and economic institutions. He effected nothing less than a revolution in the domestic and public life of his subjects. To him is due the division of the country into *comitates* or counties. In spite of the fact that his constructive activity was directed chiefly to works of peace, he was forced on several occasions to take up arms. After a victorious campaign against the Pechenegs and Mieczyslaw II. of Poland, the successor of Boleslav Chabri, he was obliged to measure his strength, after 1030, with the German emperor, Conrad II., and in the

**The Great
Work of
Saint Stefan**

peace of 1031 was able to extend his kingdom westwards beyond the Fischa to the Leitha and Danube. The remainder of his life the great king spent in mourning for the loss of his son Emerich. On August 15th, 1038, the real creator of the Hungarian kingdom ended his laborious existence; deeply revered by his people, he was canonised by the Church in 1087. Stefan the Saint was succeeded by Peter Orseolo (1038-1041 and 1044-1046),

Samuel Aba (1041-1044), Andreas I. (1046 to December, 1060), and Bela I. (1060-1063), whose daughter Sophie is regarded by the Askanians, the Hohenstauffen, the Guelfs, and the Wittelsbachs as their common ancestor. Then followed Salomon from 1063 to 1074—he married in 1063 Judith, or Sophie, the daughter of the Emperor Henry III. and of Agnes of Poitou—and Geza I. (1074-1077). During this period development was impeded by quarrels about the succession, and internal disturbances. The efforts of the German Empire to maintain the supremacy which had been secured over Hungary in 1044 came to an end in 1052 with the fruitless siege of Pressburg undertaken by the Emperor Henry III.; the campaign of Henry IV. in 1074 was equally unproductive of definite result. The last efforts of heathendom were crushed with the suppression of a revolt begun by the heathen population under their tribal chieftain Vatha, killed 1046, and his reputed son Janos, who died about 1060.

St. Ladislaus I. (1077-August 29th, 1095) and Koloman the author (1095-1114) were able to continue the reforming work of Stefan. Towards the end of the eleventh century Hungary occupied an important position among the independent states of Europe. St. Ladislaus, who survived in Hungarian legend as a type of bravery and knightly character, incorporated the inland districts of Croatia with his kingdom, founded a bishopric at Agram in 1091, and divided his new acquisition into counties. His successor, Koloman, whose interests were primarily scholastic and ecclesiastical, though he also turned his attention to legislation, subdued the Dalmatian towns with the object of erecting a barrier against the growing power of Venice. From this time Croatia has remained a component part of the Hungarian territory.

While the empire was extending its boundaries westward, the eastern frontier was troubled by the Cumanians. In 1091, when the authorities were occupied with Croatia, this nation made a devastating invasion into Hungary; Ladislaus captured most of them in two campaigns, and settled them in the districts of the Theiss. He did his best to introduce security of property. In the momentous struggle between the Pope and the

empire he promised to support the Roman Church against the Emperor Henry IV., but was far-sighted enough to take no direct part in the quarrel. In the year 1192 he was canonised. During the government of Koloman, the first Crusaders, led by Count Emiko of Leiningen, marched through the land in disorderly array, and were for that reason driven beyond the frontier, while a friendly reception was extended to Godfrey de Bouillon.

After the death of Koloman, his weak-minded and dissipated son Stefan II. occupied the throne from 1116 to 1131; during his government the Venetians

recovered the larger part of the Dalmatian district. When he died without issue, the Hungarians submitted to Bela II. (1131-1141), who, together with his father, Duke Almos of Croatia, had been previously blinded by King Koloman for participation in a revolt. Hardly had the blind king entered upon his government when the country was invaded by Borics, the son of Koloman by a Russian wife, Eufemia, who had been divorced for adultery. Borics

was supported by the Polish Duke Boleslav III., who was put to flight by the German troops of the king.

On the death of Bela II. his son Geza II., who was a minor, came to the throne (1141 to May, 1161), and Borics then attempted

to secure the help of the Crusaders, who were passing through Hungary. However, the Emperor Conrad and King Louis VII. declined to support this hazardous project. Borics now fled to the Byzantine Emperor Manuel. This ruler had inspired further life into the

decaying Byzantine Empire, and was attempting to make Greek influence once more preponderant in the Balkan Peninsula. As Hungary stood in the way of his plans

he attempted to undermine her independence by every means in his power. At the instigation of Borics he invaded the south of Hungary, but was driven back by Geza II. and forced to make peace.

Borics afterwards met his death at the head of Greek troops in a conflict with the Cumanians. The Emperor Manuel now took the Dukes Stefan and Ladislaus under his protection; they had sought

refuge with him after revolting against their brother Geza in 1158. Under this ruler took place the first great migration of the Germans to Northern Hungary and Transylvania. On the death of Geza the Hungarian throne naturally fell by inheritance to his son Stefan III. (1161-1172), but Manuel by means of bribery secured the election of his favourite Ladislaus II. in 1162. After his early death the Emperor Manuel brought forward Stefan IV., the other brother of Geza,

as an opposition king; Stefan, however, was speedily abandoned by his supporters and overthrown by Stefan III. in 1164, in alliance with the Premyslid Vladislav II. Manuel concluded peace with Stefan III. and took his brother Bela to Constantinople to be educated.

The danger which Byzantium threatened to the Hungarian Empire came to an end in 1180, with the death of the Emperor Manuel; shortly before that date he had given Hungary a king in the person of Bela III. (1172 to April 20th, 1196), who used his Greek education solely for the

Byzantium's Intrigues Against Hungary



TYPES OF THE ANCIENT MAGYARS

The history of this people, said to be a branch of the Mongolian race, dates back to the sixth century. They are described as possessing "regular features, shapely figures, black hair and eyes, dark complexion, impulsive temperament, and intense patriotic feeling."

Crusaders in Hungary

benefit of the people. Bela III. recovered the Dalmatian districts and Syrmia from the Venetians, and occupied Galicia for some time. By his marriage with Margaret, the sister of Philip Augustus of France, French customs were introduced into Hungary. Andreas II., the son of Bela III. (1205-1235), overthrew his brother

French Customs Introduced

Emerich, who died in the middle of September, 1204, and also his son Ladislaus III., who died on May 7th, 1205, in Vienna, and undertook a crusade on his own account in 1217. On his return home he lived in a continual state of dissension with his nobles. After a long struggle, in which the malcontents, under the leadership of Benedict Bor, otherwise Bank ban, killed the Queen Gertrude in 1213, Andreas II. issued the "Golden Bull"—a piece of legislation of the first importance to the Hungarian constitution. By this measure he broke the power of the counts and gave extensive privileges to the ecclesiastical and secular nobility of lower rank, securing to the latter a permanent influence upon government legislation and administration.

Under the government of his son, Bela IV. (1235-1270), the Mongols of Batu invaded the country in March, 1241, and spread appalling devastation for a year. The Austrian duke, Frederick II. the Valiant, the last of the Babenbergs, meanwhile occupied the West and plundered the treasures of Queen Maria, who had taken refuge with him. After the departure of the invading hordes the king returned home from Dalmatia, and with the help of the Knights of St. John soon restored prosperity and undertook a campaign against the Austrian duke, who fell, leaving no issue, in the battle of Vienna Neustadt on June 15th, 1246. Bela IV. now occupied his valuable heritage, but in July, 1260, was forced to divide it with the Bohemian king, Premysl Ottokar

Bohemian Supremacy in Hungary

II., and finally to renounce it entirely since the power of Bohemia extended to the Adriatic Sea, and in Germany the "dreadful period without an emperor" of the interregnum had begun.

Ladislaus IV. (1272-1290), the son of Stefan V. (1270-1272), and a grandson of Bela IV., helped the Hapsburg ruler to win a victory for Ottokar at Dürnkrut on August 26th, 1278, and then wasted his time in dissipation and feasting with the

Cumanians, to whom he was related through his mother, the daughter of a Cumanian chief. He was hardly able to expel the Tartar invaders. On August 31st, 1290, he was murdered by a company of his dearest friends, the Cumanians. Rudolf of Hapsburg made an unjustifiable attempt to hand over Hungary to his son Albert, as a vacant fief of the empire; his real object, however, was to secure concessions in that quarter.

The male line of the house of Arpad became extinct after Andreas III. He was recognised only by Dalmatia and Croatia (1290 to January 14th, 1301), being opposed by Charles Martel of Anjou, who died in 1295, a stepson of Rudolf of Hapsburg and a protégé of Nicholas IV. Under the government of the Arpads the Hungarian nation had imbibed the spirit of Christian civilisation, though without sacrificing their natural interests on the altar of religion. The general policy of the Arpads had been to connect the development of the Hungarian nationality with Western civilisation, and to put down infidelity and barbarism with the sword. The country was covered with churches,

Christianity and Early Hungarian Literature

monasteries, and schools, of which latter the high school at Vessprim soon became a scientific and artistic centre. No less obvious is the influence of Christianity in the most ancient remains of Hungarian literature. The first book written in the Hungarian language at the outset of the thirteenth century is the "Funeral Service with Proper Prayers"; this service clearly reflects the spirit of the nation which had so long wandered upon the storm-lashed plains and only a short time before had buried its dead with their horses.

Upon the extinction of the male line of the Arpads several members of the female line came forward with claims to the vacant throne. Charles Robert, the grandson of Maria, daughter of Stefan V., was a member of the Neapolitan Anjou family, and had secured a considerable following from 1295, even during the lifetime of Andreas III.; however, the Hungarians, if we may believe the somewhat questionable traditions on the point, elected the king, Wenzel II. (Wenceslaus) of Bohemia, whose mother, Kunigunde of Halicz, was descended from the family of the Arpads. He did not accept the election, but handed over the Hungarian



MARGARET, QUEEN OF HUNGARY, SETTING OUT FOR PALESTINE

The daughter of Louis VII., King of France, Margaret became the second wife of Bela III., and was the means of introducing into Hungary much of the refinement and elegance which, even at that early period, distinguished the French court. After the death of Bela, in 1196, Henry VI., Emperor of Germany, determined upon sending an army to aid the Crusaders in Palestine, and at the head of the troops furnished by Hungary, Margaret, the youthful widow, set out in person. Margaret was not destined to return from her voluntary expedition, as she died in Palestine.

crown to his son, Wenzel III., who assumed the name of Ladislaus V., as king in 1302.

However, the party of Charles Robert caused Ladislaus so much trouble during his stay in the country that he returned to Bohemia in 1304. The party of Wenzel now elected Otto III., Duke of Lower Bavaria (1305 to 1308), whose mother, Elizabeth, was also a descendant of the house of Arpad. While upon a visit to Transylvania he fell into the hands of the Transylvanian voivode, Ladislaus Apor, in 1307; after spending a year in captivity he secured his freedom, abdicated the crown, left the country, and died in 1312.

By means of the intervention of the Pope, Charles Robert was chosen king; he was able to secure the predominance of the house of Anjou in Hungary for nearly a century. He proved an admirable ruler, who not only kept the oligarchy in check, but also improved the prosperity of Hungary by the introduction of a reformed system of defence and of agriculture; he also brought the nation into immediate contact with Italian civilisation. He secured the crown of Poland to his son and successor, Lewis, and the crown of Naples came under his influence by the marriage of his other son, Andreas.

In Touch With Italian Culture

On the death of Charles Robert his son Lewis I. came to the throne (1342 to 1382), and Hungary secured a highly educated and knightly ruler, to whom she gladly gave the title of "the Great." Lewis introduced a beneficial innovation by a regulation which obliged the territorial serfs to pay a ninth of the products of their fields and vineyards to the nobility, in order that these might the more easily be able to fulfil the heavy obligation of supplying troops for military service; by prohibiting the alienation of noble lands from the families which owned them, this Angevin introduced the Hungarian custom of *aviticilas*—that is, hereditary succession. To this reform Lewis the Great owed his brilliant military successes.

His attention was soon claimed by the confusion in the kingdom of Naples, where his brother Andreas had been murdered by his own wife, Joanna I., in 1345. Lewis appeared in Naples with a large army at the close of 1347, conquered the town, and inflicted punishment upon the supporters of his sister-in-law, who fled to Provence. This victory of the Hungarian arms in Naples considerably raised the prestige of Lewis throughout Europe. Owing to the opposition of Pope Clement VI. he was unable to take permanent possession

of the conquered territory, but the long stay which he made in Italy (1347, 1348-1350) had a great influence upon the education of his nobles. In two campaigns, 1356 and 1358, he humbled the republic of Venice, and finally reconquered Dalmatia from Quarnero to Durazzo. For a short period (1365-1369) he also occupied part of Bulgaria. It was under his government that Christian Europe was first threatened by the Turkish advance into the Balkan Peninsula; this advance he prevented in 1366 for some time. To secure his dynasty and extend it, he betrothed his daughter, the heiress Maria, to Sigismund of Luxemburg, a younger son by a fourth marriage of the German Emperor Charles IV.; his other daughter, Hedwig, was betrothed to William, Duke of Austria. Both, however, died without children. Lewis did not secure possession of the crown of Poland until 1370; his power now extended from the Baltic to the Adriatic, and for a time even to the Black Sea. These acquisitions of territory increased his prestige and his influence among the states of Europe, but contributed very little to the consolidation of the Hungarian kingdom owing to the undisciplined nature of the Polish nobility and the favoritism of his mother Elizabeth. As Lewis I. had no sons, his daughter Maria (1382 to 1385) ascended the throne after

his death, but was unable to maintain her position. Poland fell into the hands of her sister Hedwig, who had become the wife of Jagellon of Lithuania. How-

ever, in Hungary Maria was forced to deal at once with certain revolted noble families, who called to the throne, in 1385, King Charles III., the younger of Durazzo, from Naples. This Angevin king was crowned as Charles II., and after a reign of thirty-six days was assassinated on February 24th, 1386. The nobles took Maria prisoner, and her mother Elizabeth they strangled. Maria's husband, Sigismund of Luxemburg, appeared at the right moment in Hungary with a Bohemian army of Wenzel to free his consort from imprisonment, and the regency was entrusted to him at the close of March, 1387. While these disturbances undermined the power of Hungary from within, the Ottomans were continuing their conquests in the Balkan Peninsula. In

1389 the fate of Servia was decided. In 1393 the fortress of Widdin fell, the house of the Sismanids of Tirnovo was overthrown, and Bulgaria became an Ottoman province. Sigismund then turned for help to the Christian states of Western Europe. However, his splendid army,

half composed of Hungarians, was destroyed at Nicopoli by the Turks, with the loss of more than 50,000 men. South Hungary soon became a desert. Sigismund then found himself entangled in a long and fruitless war with Venice for the possession of Dalmatia. As German Emperor his attention was

long occupied, after 1410 and 1411, by ecclesiastical difficulties. By the burning of the reformer, John Huss, the Hussite heresy was widely spread in Bohemia,



LEWIS THE GREAT

The greatest figure in Hungary before Hunyadi. He reigned from 1342 till 1382, and besides greatly extending the power and territory of his country, advanced its civilisation.



QUEEN MARIA AND HER CONSORT SIGISMUND

These old woodcuts represent Maria, the daughter of Lewis the Great, and her husband, Sigismund of Luxemburg. The latter, who was also German Emperor, was made regent of Hungary in 1387.



and the devastating influence of the movement extended also to Northern Hungary.

After a reign of fifty years Sigismund died and left the throne to the husband of his daughter Elizabeth, Albert of Austria. Under his government (1437-1439), Hungary nearly fell into the hands of the Turks, and was saved from destruction only by John or Janos Hunyadi, Baron of Szolnok and Count of Temesvar; he was one of the most capable generals and noblest figures in the Magyar nation. After the unexpected death of Albert, disturbances broke out at home and abroad. One party of the nobles chose Vladislav III. of Poland, while another

deceived by the optimism of the papacy, broke the treaty. The result of this rashness was his total defeat at the battle of Varna on November 10th, 1444, where Vladislav and Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini lost their lives. During the minority of

King Ladislaus V. Posthumus, Hunyadi was chosen regent of the empire, and ruled from June 5th, 1446, to Christmas, 1452. He devoted superhuman efforts to checking the aggrandisement of the nobility and the advance of the Turks. After the capture of Constantinople bands of Turks appeared before Belgrade. Owing to the enthusiastic preaching of the Minorite, John of Capistrano, the people joined



THE HISTORIC CASTLE OF JOHN HUNYADI, THE GREAT HERO OF HUNGARY

offered the crown to Ladislaus (Posthumus), the son of Albert, born after his death on February 22nd, 1440. These quarrels about the succession came to an end only upon the death of the queen widow, Elizabeth, on December 19th, 1442. In the end Vladislav I. secured recognition

(1442-1444). The brilliant successes which Hunyadi had gained over the Turks on the occasion of their incursion into Transylvania and South Hungary in 1442 inspired the king to attack the enemy in his own country in 1443; he was defeated, and forced to conclude the peace of Szegedin in the middle of 1444. A few days afterwards Vladislav,

**Hunyadi's
Victories Over
the Turks**

the army of Hunyadi in such numbers that he was able to relieve Belgrade with great rapidity (July 21st, 1456). The whole of Europe was delighted with this brilliant feat of arms. However, on August 11th John Hunyadi ended his heroic life. The memory of this great man was but little honoured by King Ladislaus. Persuaded by the calumnies of the dead man's enemies, he executed his son Ladislaus, who had murdered the influential Count Ulrich of Cilli in Belgrade; the other son, Matthias, he took with him into captivity in Prague. After the sudden death of King Ladislaus V., on November 23rd, 1457, shortly before the arrival of his consort, Isabella of France, Matthias

returned home, and was placed upon the throne by the nobility on January 24th, 1458. Thus the short connection between Hungary and Bohemia again terminated for the moment. The thirty-two years of the reign of King Matthias Hunyadi (1458–

Hunyadi's Able Son on the Throne

1490), known as Corvinus, from his coat of arms, is the second period of prosperity and the last effort at independence on the part of Old Hungary. With an iron hand Matthias secured peace at home by the stern punishment of the rebellious nobles, and by making the grant of offices and dignities conditional upon good service. His government

is a series of military and political successes, accompanied by a steady advance in intellectual and economic progress. The Hussite, John Giskra, who had occupied almost all the fortified possessions in Upper Hungary, recognised the power of the young king and came over to his service in 1462. Matthias became entangled in the changing vicissitudes of a long war with the Emperor Frederick III., who had been joined by the dissatisfied nobles; the struggle was brought to an end between 1485 and 1487 by the permanent conquest of Vienna, of Austria below the Enns, and some parts of Styria. The troubles in Bohemia were satisfactorily terminated by the conventions of Ofen and Olmütz on September 30th, 1478, and on July 21st. 1479; these secured to Corvinus the title of King of Bohemia, and gave him possession of Moravia and the duchies of Silesia and Lausitz. He undertook a great expedition against the Turks, who marched triumphantly into Breslau and Vienna. When they invaded Transylvania he sent Count Paul Kinizsi of Temesvar to help the Voivode Stefan Bathori; they defeated the enemy on the Brotfeld at Broos on October 13th, 1479. Under the government of Corvinus the Turkish danger lost its threatening character for some time; by

the organisation of a standing army, the "Black Squadron," which maintained good discipline, he created a military power, the admirable organisation of which acted as a strong barrier against the storm advancing from the south.

At that period the new spirit of humanism was potent at the king's palace at Ofen, in the castles of the bishops, and in the high schools. Matthias was entirely under its influence. The movement of the renaissance found an enthusiastic reception and a ready support, not only in the seats of Dionys Szechy and John Vitez, the ecclesiastical princes of Gran and

Grosswardein, but also at the king's court. Italian masters, including Benedetto da Majono (1442–1497), built and decorated a royal palace in which historians, poets, and rhetoricians assembled. The prothonotary, John of Thurócz, continued his "Chronicum pictum Vindobonense" to the year 1464, while Antonio Bonfini, the "Hungarian Livy," who died in 1502, wrote the king's history, and Martino Galeotti, who died in 1478, collected his decrees.

Among the circle of scholars who gathered round Corvinus, a European reputation was won by Marsilio Ficino and by the later Bishop of Fünfkirchen, Janus Pannonius, with his Latin epics, elegies, and epigrams. King Matthias had one

of the most famous libraries of his time, the "Corvina," containing about 3,000 manuscripts and 60,000 volumes; it was carried off by the Turks, and a few scanty remnants of it now existing

**Brilliant
Age of
Corvinus** were sent back from Stamboul in 1869 and 1877. The period which ended with the death of this second Hunyadi

was indeed a brilliant age. Its influence was transmitted to the minds of the coming generation, and facilitated the transition to the Reformation, which in Hungary found minds prepared to receive it by the intellectual culture of that age.



HUNYADI, THE HERO OF HUNGARY
John, or Janos, Hunyadi was the saviour of his country, as it was due to his military prowess that Hungary was saved from the Turkish yoke in the middle of the fifteenth century.



JOHN HUNYADI'S SON, MATTHIAS CORVINUS, AND GEORGE PODIEBRAD IN THE CAMP BEFORE SPIELBERG IN 1463

On April 6th, 1490, King Matthias died at Venice at the age of fifty. The creation of a powerful Danube kingdom, which the genius of the great Corvinus had brought to pass, proved to be of a transitory nature. He had married twice, but there

Death of the Great Corvinus

were no children either by his first wife Katharina Podiebrad, or by the second, Beatrice of Aragon, whose praises are sung by Bonfini. With the consent of the nobles he therefore designated his natural son, the Duke John Corvinus, as his successor. Seduced from their promises by the intrigues of Queen Beatrice, the ecclesiastical and secular dignitaries elected to the throne the Bohemian King Vladislav, a member of the family of the Jagiells or Jagellon family; his younger brother, John Albert, who had been brought forward during his minority, gave up his claim on February 20th, 1491, in return for compensation in Silesia.

Beatrice had supported the election of Vladislav in the hope that she would marry the king, who was still a bachelor, but in this she was entirely deceived. The great nobles were tired of the iron rule of Matthias, and longed for a weak king under whom the power of their families could be extended as they pleased. From this point of view Vladislav II. (1490-1516) fully realised their hopes; he lived at Ofen, a mere figurehead, who with his nobles carried on the government and bought peace from foreign enemies at the price of disgraceful conditions.

The Roman Emperor Maximilian reconquered Vienna and the Austrian territories. The great nobles laid heavy burdens upon the towns and serfs, and made them feel inexorably the weight of their recovered power and dominion. the same time John Zapolya, Count of Zips, one of the richest territorial

owners, was secretly aiming at the throne; in 1505 he induced the estates to decree that they would not again elect a foreigner in case Vladislav should die leaving no male heir. To secure his family interests Vladislav in 1515 made a convention with the Emperor Maximilian regarding the succession, and betrothed his son Lewis to the Archduchess Maria, the emperor's granddaughter, and his daughter Anna to the Archduke Ferdinand.

A short time before—in 1514—a terrible revolt of the peasants had broken out under the leadership of George Dozsas. Zapolya caused the “belliger cruciferorum” (leader of the Crusaders) to be burnt upon a red-hot iron throne, and reduced the country to a state of apparent peace; but the misery and distress of the common people had risen to a high pitch.

After the death of King Vladislav, the throne was occupied by his son Lewis II., then ten years of age (1516-1526); during his minority the affairs of state were

conducted by a regency of three. In the midst of the disastrous party struggles which were continually fostered by Zapolya, the ambassador of Suleiman appeared in Ofen and offered peace on condition that Hungary should pay the yearly tribute to the sultan. The demand was refused and the emissary imprisoned, though no measures were taken to protect the

frontier. When Suleiman invaded the country in 1526, Lewis II. was able to bring only a small army against him. The disaster of Mohacs, on August 29th, cost the childless king his life and put an end to the unity of the Hungarian state. Suleiman captured Ofen, devastating the country far and wide, and marched home in October, retaining only Syrmia, to secure his possession of Belgrade.



KING MATTHIAS AND BEATRICE OF ARAGON

Matthias, the greatest son of John Hunyadi, died in 1490 after a brilliant reign, though he had not succeeded in creating a great Danube kingdom. Beatrice was his second wife, and he left no heir.



THE HAPSBURG POWER IN HUNGARY AND THE SPREAD OF PROTESTANTISM

HARDLY had the Turks retired when disputes about the succession broke out. One portion of the nobility chose John Zápolya as king on November 10th, 1526; the remainder, on the ground of the compact concerning the succession which they had concluded with Vladislav, raised the Archduke Ferdinand, a brother of Charles V. and king of Bohemia, to the throne on the 16th and 17th of December. Ferdinand appeared with an army in the summer of 1527, captured Ofen on August 20th, and drove the opposition king, Zápolya, to Poland. However, after the retirement of Ferdinand, Zápolya returned with the help of Suleiman, conquered Ofen, and accompanied the sultan's advance to the walls of Vienna on September 21st, 1529. The attempt of the Turk to conquer Vienna was unsuccessful. However, Zápolya was able to secure the Hungarian throne with his help, while Ferdinand retained his hold only of the countries bordering on Austria. Henceforward, for nearly two centuries Hungary

**Hungary a
Battlefield for
Two Centuries**

became a battlefield and the scene of bloody conflicts between armies advancing from east and west respectively. French policy, which was working in Germany, Italy, and Constantinople to undermine the growing power of the house of Hapsburg, induced the sultan to undertake a second campaign in June, 1532, against Vienna. On the march, however, his quarter of a million soldiers were stopped by the seven hundred men of Nicholas, who held out for three weeks before the little fortress of Güns, so that the Turk was obliged to give up his project; he returned home, devastating the country as he went. This movement eventually induced the two kings to come to a reconciliation on February 24th, 1538, at Grosswardein. Each ruler was to retain the district which he had in possession, and after the death of John Zápolya the whole country, including that beyond the Theiss and Transylvania, was to be

inherited by Ferdinand; any future son born to the Magyar was to receive only Zips as a duchy.

This peace was, however, dissolved in 1539 by the marriage of John Zápolya with the Polish Duchess Isabella, who bore him a son, John Sigismund, in 1540. By the help of the Croatian, George Utis-
Treachery of the Sultan senich, known as Martinuzzi, Bishop of Grosswardein, the Queen Isabella, who became a widow in 1540, was able to secure the recognition of her son as king. The Porte promised protection. However, on September 2nd, 1541, the sultan treacherously occupied Ofen, and incorporated it with his own kingdom. The little John Sigismund was left by the Turks in possession only of Transylvania and of some districts on the Theiss, while the northern and western counties remained in the hands of Ferdinand. The latter afterwards secured the help of Martinuzzi in December, 1541, under the convention of Gyula. The Elector Joachim II. of Brandenburg and the Duke Maurice of Saxony made an attempt to recover Ofen at the end of September, 1542, but were hindered by insufficiency of means.

In view of the threatening aspect of the Turks, Martinuzzi persuaded the queen in 1548 to surrender her territory in return for an indemnity. Isabella and John Sigismund came to an agreement in 1551 with the Silesian duchies of Oppeln and Ratibor, while John Castaldo, Ferdinand's field-marshal, occupied Transylvania, and "Frater Georgius" was rewarded with a cardinal's hat. As Ferdinand's army was not strong enough to dispel the attack, Martinuzzi attempted to gain time by negotiating with the Porte. This aroused the suspicion of Castaldo. On December 17th, 1551, he caused Martinuzzi to be treacherously murdered in the castle of Alvincz by the Marchese Alphonso Sforza-Pallavicini and the private secretary Marcantonio Ferrari. In view of repeated

**Queen Isabella
Surrenders
Territory**

attempts to accentuate the devotion of the Austrian hereditary territories and the value of the contingents offered by the German Empire, it is worth pointing out that the very dexterous policy of "brother George" was dangerous to Hungary, inas-

Transylvania Under the Ottoman Heel

much as it served to clear the way for the inevitable supremacy of the Turks. Isabella and John Sigismund soon returned to Transylvania, which now became a permanent vassal state of Turkey, though it received full religious freedom in 1557. Ferdinand, one of the best princes of his age, could not oppose the victorious advance of the Ottomans, for at that time the interests of the Hapsburgs extended over half Europe, and he could not use his power against the Porte alone. Temesvar fell in 1552, notwithstanding the heroic defence of Stefan Losonczi; in Dregely, George Szondy died a hero's death, with the whole of the garrison. Castaldo was forced to retire from Transylvania in 1556, and peace secured the sultan in the receipt of a yearly tribute from Ferdinand.

After Ferdinand's death, his son and successor Maximilian (1564-1576) became entangled in the war with John Sigismund in the very first year of his reign. The result was a fresh campaign of the Turks, in the course of which Nikolaus Zrinyi met his death, with the whole of his garrison, in the fortress of Szigetvar on September 7th, 1566. John Sigismund Zápolya now founded a principality of Transylvania under Turkish supremacy, but on the condition that the estates should on every occasion have free choice of their prince. After his death, in 1571, Stefan Báthori (1571-1575), a far-seeing and important man, was placed upon the new throne; however, in December, 1575, he exchanged his throne for the more ancient kingdom of Poland, as the husband of the Jagellon princess Anna. As regards

the services of the Hungarian nobility, who did their best to break away from the Hapsburgs and lived in constant effort to secure this end, a sufficient proof of their selfishness is their oppression of the lower classes, who had revolted against the Ottomans in 1572 from pure patriotism. Stefan's brother Christopher was succeeded in 1586 by his son Sigismund Báthori.

Meanwhile Maximilian had died, and the inheritance fell to his son Rudolf (1576-1608). Hungary was devastated under his rule by a Turkish war, which lasted fifteen years (1591-1606), while Transylvania was ravaged both by the Turks and by the armies of Rudolf. Sigismund Báthori, who had married Marie Christine

of Styria in 1595, soon divorced her, and exchanged his land for Oppeln and Ratibor in 1597. In 1598, however, he regretted his action. He returned home, abdicated in 1599 in favour of his nephew Andreas, and retired to Poland. Rudolf, who would have been glad to get Transylvania under his own power, incited Michael, the Voivode of Wallachia, to make war against Andreas Báthori, who fell in that campaign. The nobles then recalled Sigismund Báthori in 1601; but he was driven out, in 1602, by George Basta, the field-

marshal of Rudolf, with the help of the Turks. With the object of definitely getting the country into the possession of Rudolf, Basta had secured the murder of the Wallachian voivode in Thorenburg, or Torda, on August 19th, 1601, and exercised so inhuman a despotism as governor, that Transylvania was brought to the lowest point of distress. In exasperation and despair the nobles, after the suppression of a revolt begun by Moses Székely in 1603, appointed the Calvinist Stefan Bocskay as prince in 1605, and he soon occupied almost the whole country, with the help of the Turks. Although the sultan recognised him as



THE FAMOUS CROWN OF HUNGARY

Among the historic crowns of Europe none has had a more varied history than that of Hungary, known as the crown of St. Stefan, the lower part of it having been given by Pope Sylvester II. to King Stefan. Fifty kings have been crowned with it during a period of 800 years.

The Peace of Vienna Concluded

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king, Bocskay brought about a reconciliation with Rudolf, and concluded the peace of Vienna in June 1606, with Rudolf's brother Matthias, who had been appointed governor in Hungary; in accordance with this agreement the constitution was to be restored in its old form, and the Protestants were to retain their religious freedom undisturbed by the untenable edicts which Rudolf had issued on this subject in 1604.

After November of the same year the intervention of Bocskay brought about the peace of Zsitva-Torok with the Turks. The Turks retained the districts which they possessed at that time, but Hungary was no longer to pay tribute after one final instalment of 200,000 florins. Bocskay survived the conclusion of the peace of Vienna only for a short time; he died on December 29th, 1606. This arrangement, "without prejudice to

appearance of Luther, performed a remarkable service in fostering the spirit of union. During the piteous strife of contrary interests it spread so rapidly in the course of a century that it overran almost the whole nation. In the stern theology of Calvin,

which the nation called the "Hungarian Faith," the people found the support which saved them from collapse. "From the time of the introduction of Christianity," says the Hungarian writer on æsthetics, Zoltán Beöthy, "the Protestant movement was the first great enlightening influence which passed over the whole nation. The apostles of the new faith appeared in hundreds, the messengers of a more penetrating and more national culture." The Protestants founded numerous schools and printing-presses, which published the first Magyar grammars, dictionaries and histories. To this period belong the whole series



JOHN ZAPOLYA, KING OF HUNGARY

Zápolya was chosen king by the nobles in 1526, but was ousted by the King of Bohemia. In 1529, however, with the aid of Suleiman, the Turk, he restored himself, and held the throne until his death.



QUEEN ISABELLA

Isabella was the wife of John Zápolya and mother of King John Sigismund, and Zrinyi was a Magyar leader who met his death at the hands of the Turks at Szigetvar in 1686.



NIKOLAUS ZRINYI



STEFAN BATHORI

Báthori exchanged the throne of Transylvania for Poland.

the Catholics," far from bringing the wars of religion to an end, rather tended to exasperate partisan feeling.

In these difficult times of degeneration, Protestantism, which had made an entry into Hungary immediately after the

of translations of the Bible, among which that by Kaspar Károlyi obtained a reputation which has remained undiminished from that period right up to the present day. In the course of this intellectual movement, there appeared in 1565, a year after

the birth of Shakespeare, the first dramatic production of Hungarian literature, under the title of "The Treachery of Melchior Balassa," probably composed by Paul Karádi, which, with biting satire and poetic vigour, described the life of a noble given over to the sins of that age. Literature was circulated through the country not only by the clergy, but also by wandering minstrels, who passed from castle to castle, and from place to place, and sang their songs to the accompaniment of the lute or violin. Of them, the most highly

Reformation. A Protestant who had been converted by the Jesuits, Peter Pázmány (1570-1637), Archbishop of Gran from 1616 and Cardinal from 1629, was a zealot in the cause of conversion, and was specially successful among the high nobility. By his sermons and pamphlets, which he collected in his "Kalauz," or "Hodegeus" ("guide"), as his great work was called, he converted many nobles to the Roman Catholic faith. In 1635 he refounded the Jesuit University at Tyrnau, which was burnt down in the sixteenth century; this



THE DESTRUCTION OF SZIGETVAR BY THE TURKS ON SEPTEMBER 7th, 1566

This picture of the assault in which Nikolaus Zrinyi was killed is taken from a woodcut of the period.

educated was, perhaps, Sebastian Tinódi (about 1510-1557), whose historical songs and rhymed chronicle recount the whole history of those years of warfare and distress. The heroic and careless-minded knight, Valentin Balassy (1551-1594), was the first great Hungarian lyric poet whose "Blumenlieder" were to be revived two centuries later. Romantic poetry at that time entered upon a peculiar period of prosperity in Hungary. Under Rudolf's successor, Matthias, whose reign lasted from 1608 till 1619, began the Catholic Counter-

was afterwards changed into the High School of Budapesth. The Reformation in Hungary seemed doomed to collapse.

Only in Transylvania was Protestantism strong enough at this period to check the progress of the Counter-Reformation and to protect the Protestants who were persecuted in Hungary. When the Thirty Years' War broke out under Ferdinand II. (1619-1637), the successor of Matthias, the throne of Transylvania was occupied by Gabriel Bethlen (1613-1629), the successor to Gabriel Báthori (1608-1613); to

him Protestantism in Hungary and Transylvania is indebted for its preservation.

When the Bohemians revolted against Ferdinand II. in 1619, Bethlen espoused their cause, and brought the greater part of Hungary, including the crown, into his power. On January 8th, 1620, he was appointed king in Neusohl, and was also recognised by the Porte at the price of the sacrifice of Waitzen on November 5th, 1621. However, on January 6th, 1622, he concluded peace with Ferdinand II. at Nikolsburg, for the power of the Hapsburgs had increased considerably since the battle of the White Mountain.

Soon, however, he again took up arms against Ferdinand, as the ally of the German Protestant princes. He was induced by the victory of Tilly over the allies of the "Winter King" to renew the peace on the 8th of May, 1624, and was even desirous of marrying a daughter of Ferdinand, in order to unite his power with that of the Hapsburgs against the Turks. Catholic influence prevented this project, and Bethlen married Katharina, a sister of the Elector George William of Brandenburg. In the year 1626 he advanced for the third time against the brave Mansfeld; as, however, King Christian IV. of Denmark was also defeated by Tilly, he finally concluded peace with Ferdinand on December 28th, at Pressburg. After a reign of fifteen years, he died without children on November 15th, 1629; he was the greatest prince of Transylvania, and largely forwarded the progress of culture, science and education.

After Stefan Bethlen had made an unsuccessful attempt at the regency, the Transylvanians chose as their prince

George Rakoczy I. (1631-1648), a son of that Sigismund Rakoczy who had been prince of Transylvania from February, 1607, to March 3rd, 1608. After a series of difficulties at home and abroad he was forced to take up arms against King Ferdinand III. (1637-1657), in the interest of Hungarian Protestantism. In September, 1645, the contending parties concluded peace at Linz, and a full measure of religious toleration was secured to the Protestants; this agreement was an advance upon that of Nikolsburg, in so far as the concessions formerly made to the nobility were now extended to the citizens and serfs.

Rakoczy died on the day of the proclamation of the Peace of Westphalia, and was succeeded by his son George Rakoczy II. (1648-1658). In 1653 he secured the supremacy of Moldavia, and that of Wallachia in 1654, after the death of Matthias Basarab, as Constantine Basarab then submitted to him. On the other hand, he wasted his strength in 1657 in a fruitless war against Poland as the ally of Charles X. of Sweden. He was consequently deposed by the Turks, and died on June 6th, 1660, of the wounds he had

received at Szamosfalva on the 22nd of May. The Grand Vizir placed Franz Rhédey on the throne in November, 1657, and, upon his speedy abdication, installed Achatius Bárcsay in November, 1658. The latter, however, was expelled by John Kemény. Against him the Vizir Ali set up an op-

position prince on September 14th, 1661, in the person of Michael Apafi (1661-1690). After a rule of one year Kemény fell, on January 24th, 1662, at Nagy-Szőllös, near Schässburg. As Transylvania grew weaker, Hungarian Protestantism was hard beset



KING FERDINAND II.

This Hapsburg ruler of Bohemia and Hungary had to meet a revolt of Bohemia in 1619; and Gabriel Bethlen, joining with the Bohemians, secured part of Hungary.



GABRIEL BETHLEN

Though Bethlen, King of Transylvania, succeeded against Ferdinand, with the aid of Bohemia, he was, later, glad to make friends with the Hapsburgs. George Rakoczy II. ruled Transylvania from 1648 till 1658.



GEORGE RAKOCZY II

Though Bethlen, King of Transylvania, succeeded against Ferdinand, with the aid of Bohemia, he was, later, glad to make friends with the Hapsburgs. George Rakoczy II. ruled Transylvania from 1648 till 1658.

from day to day, and at the same time the Turks were extending their conquests and occupying the most important fortresses in Upper Hungary and in the Austrian territories. Under the son and successor of Ferdinand III., the strict Catholic, Leopold I. (1658-1705), the distress of the country began to reach its

A Literary Hungarian Protestant

zenith. In those troubled times the greatest figure of Hungarian Protestantism was Albert Szsnczi Mólnár, who wrote his Hungarian Grammar and Dictionary at German universities, and translated psalms, which he set to French tunes, a setting used at the present day in the Calvinistic Churches of Hungary. In the battles of that year a conspicuous figure is Nikolaus Zrinyi (1616-1664), a great-grandson of the hero of Szigetvar; he composed an epic poem, "The Peril of Sziget," in which he sang the exploits of his great ancestor, whose military capacity had long hindered the progress of the Ottomans. Leopold's field-marshal, Raimondo Montecuccoli, won a victory over the Turks on August 1st, 1664, at St. Gothard on the Raab; but, in consequence of the danger threatened to his rear by the Magyars, concluded a peace at Eisenburg, by the terms of which the Turks retained possession of all their previous conquests.

This disgraceful retreat stirred up exasperation in Hungary, and a conspiracy was set on foot in 1667; the leaders, however, who reckoned on French and Turkish support, the Counts Peter Zrinyi, Franz Nádasdy, and Franz Christopher Frangepani were executed on April 30th, 1671. Franz Rakoczy, the son-in-law of Zrinyi, was spared, while Franz of Wesselényi died a natural death on March 28th, 1667, before the discovery of the conspiracy. The Vienna government took advantage of this occasion to overthrow the constitution and to extirpate Protestantism. The property of Protestant nobles was confiscated, priests and teachers were transported in bands and served in the galleys of Naples, while executions and condemnations were of daily occurrence. Thousands fled to Transylvania and to

the Turkish frontier districts, whence, under the name of Kurutzen or Crusaders, they continually made incursions into the royal domains. These struggles, however, with the mercenaries of the foreign government did not become important until 1678, when Emerich Tokoly placed himself at the head of the movement. With the exception of some few castles the whole of the royal district fell into the hands of Tokoly, who was appointed Prince of Hungary by the sultan, and chosen king in 1682 by the diet of Kaschau, an election confirmed by the Porte on August 10th, 1683. The defeat of Vienna brought his rule to a speedy end, and Leopold now sent his armies into Hungary in conjunction with his German allies. On September 2nd, 1686, the citadel of Ofen again fell into the hands of the Christians after one hundred and forty-five years of Turkish rule. The grateful nobles abolished the elective monarchy in 1687, and recognised the hereditary rights of the house of Hapsburg by primogeniture in the male line.

The Turks lost one district after another; and when Prince Eugene of Savoy had inflicted a fearful defeat upon them at Zenta, on September 11th, 1697, the Peace of Karlovitz was concluded, by the terms of which Hungary was freed from the Turkish yoke with the exception of the valley of the Temes and part of Syria. Transylvania had been so



EMERICH TOKOLY

Who headed the movement against Hungary in 1678 and was appointed Prince of Hungary by the sultan in 1682; his spell of power was short.

closely conjoined with Hungary, on May 10th, 1688, that Apafi now possessed only a shadow of his former power. However, the persecution of the Protestants and the oppression of the people still continued. Leopold's generals, including Antonio Caraffa, who had secured Transylvania for the Hapsburgs, after the death of the prince Apafi in 1690, exercised so inhuman a despotism, that the general exasperation broke out again in 1703. Franz Rakoczy II. (1676-1735), a son of the above-mentioned Franz I., took the lead of the malcontents. At that time Leopold was occupied with the War of the Spanish Succession, and almost the whole country fell into the hands of the nobles, and was declared independent on June 7th.

Hungary Free From the Turkish Yoke



THE RECAPTURE OF THE CITADEL OF OFEN BY THE CHRISTIANS IN 1686

For nearly a century and a half the citadel of Ofen, which is the modern Buda, had been held by the Turks, and was an important centre of the Ottoman power in the west. But after the defeat of Vienna, Leopold I., who was a strict and zealous Catholic, sent his armies into Hungary in conjunction with his German allies, and on September 2nd, 1686 Ofen was rescued from the dominion of the Turk. In the following year the grateful nobles abolished the elective monarchy which had hitherto obtained, and the House of Hapsburg was established on the throne of Hungary.

After the death of Leopold, his son Joseph I. (1705-1711) undertook the government; and the nobles then declared at the diet of Onod, in 1707, that the throne had passed from the Hapsburgs. An appeal to arms resulted in Joseph's favour in 1708. Rakoczy fled, and his field-marshal Karolyi concluded peace with the

**Hungary's
Debt to
Protestantism**

king at Szatmar on May 1st, 1711. With this peace the momentous period of internal struggle, for which the high nobility were chiefly to blame, came to an end.

The fact that the Hungarian nation was not destroyed in the severe struggles of those years, but was able to preserve its national independence, was owing primarily to Protestantism, which preserved

custom of buying and carrying off women in the modern Hungarian ceremonies of wooing and marriage; on the other hand, the peculiar funeral customs of Hungary have been considerably modified by Christian beliefs.

Tenaciously clinging to these traditions, the nation watched the One Hundred Years' War, which was carried on by those of their number who had been exasperated beyond bounds by the arbitrary rule and the religious persecution which their king had directed from Vienna. The war is, as it were, an epitome of the national history; the splendour and the sorrow of this period is reflected in a rich and brilliant ballad poetry, which was inspired in particular by the revolts of Tokoly and Rakoczy. From the events of his own

time Stefan Gyongyosi (1640-1704) found material for those narrative poems which remained popular among the nation for over a century. Shortly after Descartes, John Apáczai Cseri, who had been educated in the Netherlands, came forward, between 1654 and 1655, as the representative of rationalism, with his "Hungarian Encyclopædia." By this work he created a Magyar vocabulary for philosophy some fifty years before Chr. Thomasius had done the same for German. At the

same time there were a number of historians and

chroniclers, such as John Szalardi, Prince John Kemeny, Nikolaus Bethlen (1642-1716), Michael Cserei (1668-1756), and also the narrator of ancient customs, Peter Apor (1676-1752). The most distinguished work in the literature of that time is certainly the "Letters from Turkey" of

**Famous
"Letters from
Turkey"**

Klemens Mikes (1690-1762), who shared the banishment to Turkey of Franz Rakoczy II., and clung with moving fidelity to his defeated master and to the country he had lost.

Under the government of Charles III. (1711-1740) peace slowly began to gain ground, although the Turkish war broke out twice during his reign. After the first campaign the king not only recovered, in 1718, by the Peace of Passarowitz, the



DRESSES OF HUNGARIAN SOLDIERS IN SIXTEENTH CENTURY

From an old wood engraving in "The Triumph of King Maximilian I."

the old native conceptions derived from ancient and in part from heathen times, and indeed almost justified their right to exist side by side with new trains of thought. As the Roman Church at the introduction of Christianity interfered but little in family life and popular custom, so also Protestantism, as being in close sympathy with the idea of nationality, did its best to preserve traditional use and custom. In the midst of religious and political dissension at home and abroad, Protestantism placed national unity above religious uniformity. It was rather a conservative than a destructive force in its influence upon ancient family customs, of which many fragments have survived from that day to the present. A case in point is the survival of the old



A countess in the dress of a lady of rank



The typical national costume of a nobleman



A Hungarian baron in the dress of his rank



The Prime Minister in the costume of a noble

THE COSTUMES OF THE OLD HUNGARIAN NOBLES

From a series of photographs of present-day nobles in their national dress.

E. N. A.

Turkish portion of Hungary, but also made acquisitions in Wallachia and Servia.

After the death of Charles III., his daughter Maria Theresa (1740-1780) ascended the throne, but her right to the succession was immediately and vigorously disputed. The Prussian king, Frederick II., invaded Silesia; the elector, Charles Albert of Bavaria, occupied Upper Austria and Bohemia with French help; and the Spaniards attacked the Italian possessions. At the diet of Pressburg, on September 11th, 1741, the nobles enthusiastically placed their lives and property at the disposal of the young queen. In a short time the Hungarian and Austrian troops drove the French and Bavarians out of Bohemia and occupied Bavaria. Only Frederick II. was able to deprive the queen of some comparatively small amount of territory, as she was thrice obliged to cede to him a part of Silesia. During the years of peace the queen devoted her attention to improving the material and intellectual prosperity of her subjects, and introduced beneficial reforms into ecclesiastical and educational organisations.

While the national spirit was thus stirred to new life, literature also entered upon a remarkably flourishing period. Full of gratitude, Maria Theresa summoned the chief nobility to her court, and

formed a Hungarian bodyguard of their sons, in 1760, at Vienna, who became the pioneers of a new culture through their close connection with the intellectual movements in the West. In the year 1772 there appeared from the pen of George Bessenyei (1752-1811) "The Tragedy of Agis;" in this, as in his other dramas and in his epic poem of King

Matthias, the poet showed a masterly power of imitating the French, and especially Voltaire. He thus became the founder of the "French School," among whom Alexander Baroczi (1737-1809) and Joseph Peczeli became conspicuous as translators of French works of literature.

With the accession of the son of Maria Theresa, the humanitarian Joseph II. (1780-1790), the kings of the house of Lorraine and Tuscany came to the Hungarian throne. Joseph continued the work of reform, but without displaying his mother's tact. In 1784 he made German, instead of Latin, the official language of the state and of the schools; in 1785 he

divided the country into ten new districts, and placed foreigners at the head of these.

A dangerous ferment arose in 1789 when Charles Augustus of Saxe-Weimar was nearly set up as an opposition king with Prussian support; and Joseph II. shortly before his death on January 30th, 1790, was forced to repeal all his innovations.

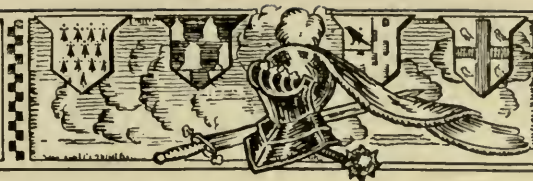


FRANZ RAKOCZY II.

With whose defeat at Szatmar, in 1711, Hungarian internal strife came to an end.



THE CITADEL AND CATHEDRAL OF GRAN, THE ANCIENT CAPITAL OF HUNGARY



GERMAN ELEMENT IN HUNGARY AND ITS INFLUENCE DURING 800 YEARS

AFTER the overthrow of the rule of the Avars, the frontiers of the great Frankish dominion were occupied by German colonists; Frankish and Bavarian nobles obtained extensive possessions, especially in the mountainous country which borders the frontiers of Styria, and even then bore some traces of Roman civilisation. When the Hungarians occupied the country at the end of the ninth century, they left the German settlements for the most part undisturbed, but prevented their increase. Many of the fortified frontier strongholds may have been overthrown in the course of the Magyar attacks; but they did not disappear entirely.

Friendly relations with Germany were secured in 995 by the marriage of Stefan with Gisela, the daughter of the Bavarian duke, Henry II., for the reason that this lady brought with her many clergy and nobles and their retinues, who

Culture in the Train of a Princess

helped to bring about the rapid extension of Christianity and culture. The immigration of German knights, monks, and other people became more rapid after the husband of Gisela had ascended the throne of Hungary; however, among the German colonies proper we have certain information concerning only one as originating from that early period, that is, Deutsch-Szatmar on the Szamos, which was founded by Gisela herself.

The apostle-king, as Stefan I., or Saint Stefan, has been called, organised his court upon German models, and throughout his reign displayed a consistent tendency to favour the noble immigrants. In his advice to his son Emerich, who died prematurely, he wrote that the introduction of foreigners was to be regarded as a necessary means to the support of the throne and to the increase of the imperial power; "treat these guests well and hold them in honour." Upon the whole, this was the attitude adopted by his successors of the Arpad family.

The counties of Eisenburg and Ödenburg on the slopes of the Leitha mountain range, at the base of which lies the Lake of Neusiedel, and also the valleys formed by the spurs of the Eastern Alps of Styria and Austria, are inhabited by the German people of the Hienzes. Upon an area of some 400 square miles are to be found

The Heinzes, 30,000 Slavs ("Water-Croatians"), 10,000 Jews, about
or "Henry's 5,000 Magyars, and about
People" 300,000 Germans, for the most

part Catholics. The name Hienz, or Haenz, points to their German origin, for their neighbours would not have given this little people any name of German form. Probably the name is derived from Heinz, Henz, or Aenz (Heinrich or Henry), and consequently has the meaning "Henry's people," meaning either the Emperor Henry III. or Count Henry of Güssing (1228—1274), who founded one of the most powerful families, was for a time palatine of the empire, and is often mentioned in the frontier wars against Styria and the Austrians. He founded numerous fortresses in these districts, including the castle of Ternstein and the town of Güns. His sons, Ivan, or John, Peter, Nicholas, and Henry, all occupied high positions, and are named in the documents "Henry's sons"; they all worked to secure the prestige of their family. Almost all the fortresses on the western frontier were in their possession. The garrisons of these fortresses were exclu-

Prosperity sively German, recruited for the
Among the most part from the surrounding
Bavarians inhabitants, and may there-
fore have taken the names
Hienzes, or Haenzes, or have received
it from their master.

The remnants of that Bavarian settlement founded here by Charles the Great to oppose the Avars—though we need not assume that the colonial activity of Charles extended beyond the east frontier into Pannonian territory—developed into

flourishing Bavarian communities under the Frankish margraves; like these, the settlements of the Hienzes suffered no doubt considerable damage from the occupation of the country by the Hungarians, but soon received important reinforcements in the numerous German prisoners brought by the Hungarians

**The Rich
Fruits of
Industry**

from German countries in the course of their raids. This German group of communities was especially strengthened in the first place by the neighbourhood of Austria and Styria, and further by the incorporation of German nobles. The wooded frontier district, which even at the time of the Emperor Henry III. was so inhospitable that he was able to penetrate into Hungary only by following the long windings of the Raab, was transformed by the industry, the native vigour, the common-sense, and the God-fearing work of the Hienzes into a rich agricultural, timber-growing, and vine-bearing district; here these people clung tenaciously in the midst of their progress to the manners and customs of their forefathers, and preserved their nationality among a Finno-Ugrian population.

Political circumstances were almost invariably favourable to the progress of the Germans, notwithstanding the many disturbances which constantly burst over the West. In 1440, when Eisenstadt was mortgaged by Queen Elizabeth to the Austrian duke Albert, the German nationality received a strong reinforcement. With the consent of the Hungarian nobility King Matthias Corvinus ceded considerable districts to the Emperor Frederick III.

The neighbours of the Hienzes are the "Heidebauern," or heath-peasants, who lived upon the "heath" on the shores of the Lake of Neusiedel, on the Schütt, and near Pressburg. This people is of Suabian origin; they migrated from the district on the Bodensee to Hungary during the

**Turks Expelled
to Make Room
for Germans** Reformation, to escape the persecution of the neighbouring Austrian nobles, and were protected by Maria, the consort of Lewis II., about 1626. When, however, the Counter-Reformation in Hungary prepared to suppress Protestantism by more vigorous measures after 1640, some of the heath-peasants returned to the bosom of the Catholic Church.

The neighbourhood of the Austrian territories brought with it the consequence

that the settlements of the Hienzes and of the heath-peasants took but little share in the internal disturbances or the foreign wars of the Hungarian kingdom; for that reason they were able to preserve their German nationality.

After the expulsion of the Turks, the ecclesiastical and secular nobles attempted, by bringing in German colonists, to restore the depopulated and devastated districts in the neighbourhood of the capital, on the heights of the Vertesgebirge and of the Bakonyer Wald, on the Central Danube and in the corner between the Danube and the Drave. At the end of the seventeenth century the Archbishops of Gran settled Suabians and Franks upon their property. In 1690, in the county of Pesth, Suabian immigrants founded the town of Izsaszeg, and six years later restored the ruins of Duna-Haraszti. The Duke Charles of Lorraine and Prince Eugene also settled Germans on their property at Ofen; their example was followed by the Counts Zichy, Raday, and Grassalkovich. In the year 1718 Germans from

**Secret of
German
Success**

the Rhine districts were settled on the property of the lords in the counties of Tolna and Baranya. The Austrian field-m Marshals, who had been rewarded with extensive lands in Hungary after the expulsion of the Turks, attempted to attract German colonists thither. In the majority of such settlements the German nationality has survived to the present day, though weakened in many respects.

Of much greater, and sometimes of decisive political importance, have been the Germans in Northern Hungary. Belonging for the most part to the population of Lower Saxony and Central Germany—Thüringen and Silesia—they reached their present home, between the last third of the twelfth century and the middle of the thirteenth, in the course of several advances to the slopes of the Carpathians. Their main calling was mining, but they owed much of their prosperity to their commercial activity and their manufacturing industry; and they received grants of municipal privileges through which they were enabled to produce a prosperous burgher class. Beginning with the district of the heath-peasants, whose representatives in Germany sent a few offshoots over the Danube, their central point was Pressburg, which the Hapsburgs

made, from 1642, the town for the coronation of the Hungarian kings and the seat of the assembly. Most of these advance posts have been absorbed, with a few scanty exceptions, by the surrounding Slovak-Ruthenian population.

The most northern points of the German nationality were formerly the mining towns of "Lower Hungary." The first Germans may have settled here at the same date when others occupied Zips in the second half of the twelfth century. The oldest mining colony, Schemnitz, received corporate privileges from Béla IV. as early as 1244. The "municipal and mining code of Schemnitz," composed in two sections on the basis of that royal document in the thirteenth century by the "sworn representatives of the town," detailed in forty sections the "town rights" and in twenty the "mining rights," and was, in the course of the fourteenth century, extended to include most of the remaining mining towns, so far as they had not already charters of their own.

In 1255 the men of Neusohl acquired the right to carry on mining free of taxation; their only obligation was to pay a tenth part of the gold and an eighth of the silver to the royal treasury, and to serve under the king's flag in campaigns. They, too, were allowed the ordeal of battle, after the old Saxon custom, with swords and round shields. It was, however, King Stefan V. who first gave Neusohl its charter of freedom in the year 1271. Kremnitz, which had been the seat of the imperial chamberlain from 1323, was given rights hitherto enjoyed only by the rich Kutenburg in Bohemia, by King Charles Robert, with the consent of the secular and ecclesiastical nobles. Thus the people of Kremnitz were able to live under judges of their own choice, and could be prosecuted for debt by none in the whole country.

In 1424, when King Sigismund handed over the mountain towns to his second wife, Barbara of Cilli, who died in 1451, the result was that they remained a coherent group in the possession of the Hungarian queen, and received extensive privileges enabling them to attain a prosperity which aroused the envy and the avarice of the lords of neighbouring castles. The castles which surrounded that district in a circle

were partly in possession of the Hussite leader Giskra, and partly in that of the family of Doczy and of other nobles. In 1497 the quarrel broke out, but soon ended in a compromise. Meanwhile the mining towns enjoyed the favour of the powerful families of Thurzo and Fugger, with whose support they were able to emerge victoriously from the struggle.

The Richest Man in Hungary Towards the close of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries the mining towns attained the zenith of their prosperity, notwithstanding the attacks of the Turks and the devastations of hostile armies. Their export copper trade extended beyond Cracow to Danzig and the Hansa towns, even to Antwerp and Venice. The lessee of the mines of Neusohl, Alexius Thurzo, chancellor of the imperial exchequer, was regarded in 1523 as "the richest man in Hungary," while his relations in Augsburg, the Fuggers, were for a long time bankers of the Hungarian kings.

The disturbances of the seventeenth century brought grievous consequences upon the mining towns. In 1620 Gabriel Bethlen caused himself to be proclaimed King of Hungary in Neusohl, and from 1619 the mining towns were forced to pay him heavy taxes. During the disturbances in the time of Rakoczy and Tokoly, these towns were not only the scene of warfare, but also lost their prosperity in consequence of extortions and devastation. Towards the end of the seventeenth century the mines became less productive, for natural reasons. As an additional calamity came the persecutions of the Counter-Reformation, to which members of the Lutheran doctrine were exposed. The impoverished mining towns were now occupied by Slovaks and here and there by Magyars. The nobility seized the greater part of the mines. A century, however, was needed to reduce the German

German Nationality in Ruins nationality in this place to its present low ebb; to-day only family names and place names are German, the population is Slovak. Passing over the ruins of German nationality in the north-west, we come to the extreme north of Hungary to the southern slopes of the Carpathians, where we find the vigorous German tribe of the people of Zips, who since the seventh century have had a settled home amid the romantic surroundings of the high

mountain range, and by their steady industry have secured prosperity and reputation among the neighbouring peoples. The wealth of timber, the number of mountain streams, and the nature of the natural products of the "Silva zepus" (in Magyar Szepes) limited the agricultural possibilities of the place, and naturally turned the inhabitants to industrial occupations. Thus the inhabitant of Zips became a workman; "his log huts, originally scattered about, gradually drew closer together, and from this uncouth nucleus developed the towering town."

The Stormy Times of Geza II.

The first definite occupation of Zips by the Germans probably falls in the stormy period of Geza II., who was in alliance with the Welf duke, Henry the Lion. Tradition speaks of the Count Reinold, who was the king's chief justice, and led his brother compatriots into this district about 1150. A contemporary Byzantine writer, Johannes Kinnamos, speaks of an army of Czechs and Saxons which was gathered by Geza in 1156, for a war against Constantinople. It was not until the end of the twelfth century, under Bela III., that the main reinforcement reached Zips; this was drawn chiefly from Central Germany, especially from Silesia. The modern dialect of Zips is allied to that of Silesia.

At the beginning of the thirteenth century individual stragglers followed, after Gertrude of Andechs-Meran, the first wife of Andreas II., had conferred property in Zips on several Tyrolese noble families; from their leader, Rüdiger of Deutsch-Matrei, the Berzeviczy derived their descent. The oppressive rule of the nobility of German extraction seems even then to have become so highly unpopular that in 1213 the national Magyar party began a bloody revolt against the queen regent, who favoured the Germans. After the invasion of the Mongols, which divides the history of Zips, like that of so many other districts, into two stages, a large influx of immigrants appeared in the fourteenth century, chiefly from Silesia and Thuringia.

Magyars in Revolt

In a short time the German places in this remote mountain district became so prosperous that the society of the clergy of Zips, founded about 1232 under their provost, and known after 1248 as a "sodalitate," or "confraternity,"

arranged the secular or ecclesiastical affairs of the country. In 1274 Ladislaus IV. confirmed the rights of this society; in 1297 Andreas III. also gave it the right to collect tithes. Before 1271 Stefan V. had given his "faithful Saxons of Zips" a "privilegium" as a guarantee of their "independence." Thereafter these "royal places" had to pay three hundred marks of silver every year, in return for which they were free of all other contributions, and in time of war had to place fifty armed men beneath the king's banner. They were allowed to choose their own count, who governed them according to their rights, and also their clergy. Hunting, fishing, and mining rights were also recognised in their charters.

After the death of the last Arpad in 1301, under the leadership of the soldier Matthæus of Esak, of the mountain fortress of Trentschin, the nobility of the Waag district attempted a revolt. The people of Zips, who had formerly done homage to Wenzel and Otto, now joined the Angevin Charles Robert, who with their help decisively defeated the west Hungarian nobility at Rozgony, in the valley of the Tarcza, in 1312. In recognition of the services which they had "willingly done him since his youth," and for their "manly and faithful struggle against Matthæus of Trentschin, in which they spared neither person nor purse," Charles Robert, in 1318, confirmed the privileges of the twenty-four royal towns.

On the basis of this charter the chiefs, representatives, and elders, in 1370, drew up an important legal code, the "arbitrium"—that is, free choice or convention—of the Saxons in Zips; this was recognised in the same year by King Lewis, and thus became law. Ecclesiasticism, a love of discipline, a strong sense of honesty, are the most striking features of this code. Manufactures at this flourishing period were controlled by guilds and associations. Trade and industry began to develop in the towns and plains. Numerous foreigners lived here all the year round, for the reason that a vigorous commercial intercourse went on between this place and Poland and Silesia.

Exactly 100 years after the confirmation of the privileges by Charles Robert, the first heavy blow fell upon Zips. On November 8th, 1412, the Emperor-king



HUNGARIAN VILLAGE IN THE CARPATHIAN MOUNTAINS



PRESSBURG, THE ANCIENT CAPITAL OF UPPER HUNGARY



A VALLEY OF THE EAST STYRIAN ALPS IN THE LEITHE MOUNTAINS

IN THE LAND OF THE MAGYARS: TYPICAL SCENES IN HUNGARY

Sigismund I., who was in a constant state of financial embarrassment, mortgaged the thirteen settlements of Zips, together with the royal fiefs of Lublau, Puddlein, and Gnesen, to Vladislav of Poland. The alliance of the towns of Zips was continued for a time even after their alienation. They were handed over to Polish officials,

The Doom of the Germans

who soon began to exercise an arbitrary authority in the mortgaged district and made it an hereditary starosty. At the instance of the Hungarian Diet, Vladislav III. promised to give back the country in 1440, but in the agreement of Altenburg between Hungary and Poland the mortgage was renewed in 1474. This agreement sealed the doom of the German nationality in the northern districts and in part of the southern.

Further damage was inflicted by the intrusion of the Hussites and the supremacy of Bohemian mercenaries under Giskra. Political independence disappeared; towns that remained Hungarian were deserted, and were handed over by the king to the noble families. Thus King Matthias conferred upon his faithful Emerich Zapolya the hereditary county of Zips, and also, in 1480, the possession of the town of Kasmark, which had been made a royal free town, together with the nine parishes attached to it. In 1655 Kasmark alone had been able to resist the intrusion of the Magyar nobility and of the Slavs, and secured recognition as a free town.

In the course of these distresses the Germans of Zips would in no long time have suffered an invasion of foreign nationalities had not the German element in Upper Hungary been strengthened by the Reformation with its German preaching and its German hymns. The close connection with Germany, in the high schools of which several pupils from Zips studied the sciences every year, brought

Friends and Foes of the Reformation

with it the consequence that men like Martin Cziriak, a pupil of Melan-chthon, Thomas Preisner, and George Leutscher boldly and successfully fought against the Catholic clergy. The Reformation was carried out, therefore, in 1546 throughout the country of Zips notwithstanding the decrees of 1523 and 1525, in which it was declared that "all Lutherans with their supporters and adherents would be regarded as open

heretics and enemies of the sacred Virgin Mary, and would be punished by execution and confiscation of their property."

On the 26th of October, 1540, the entire clergy of Zips publicly acknowledged the Lutheran creed. The intellectual revival brought with it fresh development of trade and manufacture. The linen and cloth fabrics of Zips, and the leather and metal work of the country, were famous far and wide on the North Sea and the Baltic, in the midst of Russia and in Constantinople. At Whitsuntide, Greeks, Russians, and Serbs, even North Germans, were in the habit of visiting the country to make their purchases. The inhabitants were an enterprising and energetic little people, who kept in touch with the mother country in their new mountain home and created a civilisation which raised the citizens and the peasants of the time to a height of prosperity and intelligence unusual in Hungary.

Soon, however, this revival of German science and art was exposed to severe attacks. In 1588 opposition to the new faith began at the instigation of Martin Pethe, the provost of Zips, and in 1604 the opposition developed into a vigorous counter-reformation. The government Catholic commissioners appeared in Zips and attempted to force the inhabitants to surrender their churches to the Catholics; but the people rose in revolt and drove out the commissioners. The disturbances under Stefan Bocskay and the peace of Vienna of 1606 put an end for some time to the persecution of the Protestants in Zips.

But in 1632 the Jesuits, in conjunction with the Magyar Catholic nobles and with the military and civil authorities, began again the work of forcible conversion. The Protestant clergy lost their property and were driven out of the country; their churches were taken from them by the soldiers and handed over to the Catholics. This work was continued by a process of forcibly denationalising the towns and parishes and by electing Magyar nobles as councillors and judges. Notwithstanding the vigorous support which they gave to all those political risings which took place in the interests of the new creed, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, under Bocskay, Bethlen, Tokoly, and Franz Rakoczy, the Germans of Zips had

to suffer the hardest treatment from their own allies. Devastation, persecution, and oppression of every kind produced the result that the Germans grew steadily weaker through the advance of the Hungarians and of the productive, adaptable and capable Slovaks.

Notwithstanding the depth of this overthrow, wherever a hand's-breadth of favourable soil was to be found, the irrepressible vigour of the inhabitants brought forth new results. German industry and economy survived the worst disasters, and eventually succeeded in producing a feeble similitude of former prosperity. Among the free towns, industrial and commercial life continued to flourish. The German language was predominant notwithstanding the prevalence of Magyar, Slav, and Low Latin, and was the medium of constant communication with foreign countries. The feeling of German nationality was, however, terribly shattered.

In 1772 thirteen places mortgaged to Poland were reunited with Hungary, and "the sixteen towns of Zips" were placed under a special Count, as judge and supreme administrative official; the Empress-queen Maria Theresa not only confirmed the previous privileges, but added new rights in 1775.

It is an indisputable fact that wherever the German nationality in Hungary has devoted itself to trade and manufacture the lapse of time has brought annihilation, in spite of the prosperity and culture acquired, whereas the communities especially devoted to agriculture and cattle-breeding have been able to maintain their position to the present day.

The home of the Transylvanian Saxons is encircled and traversed by the Carpathians, with their snow-clad summits white under the midsummer sun, with their wooded valleys full of flowers, birds, and animals, with their rushing brooks and streams. Here, more than seven centuries ago, the Germans found the counterpart of their earlier home, and here they settled. Many a storm burst over this peaceful centre of German civilisation; but intervals of rest continually recurred during which this offshoot of the parent stock put forth new growth.

The chief settlements of the Germans in Transylvania were made under Geza II. for the protection of the south-east

frontier of the empire against the Cumans, who had established themselves in Moldavia and Wallachia after the subjugation of the Pechenegs, and made constant incursions into the neighbouring provinces. These immigrants came partly from the Lower Rhine, partly from Flanders, and are designated as "Teutons from beyond the forest;" they are also known as "Flemings." The title "Saxons," or Saxones, which afterwards became universal, does not appear before 1206. Their settlements extended along the banks of the Alt to its confluence with the Homorod, and from the Maros to the valley of the Kokel River. The proximity of savage tribes forced the settlers to build fortified churches and castles where the inhabitants of the plain could take refuge in time of need. In course of time these strongholds developed into towns and places of greater size. A favourite point of entrance for marauding bands was upon the extreme south of the Burzen district; for this reason Andreas II. allowed the Teutonic Order to build stockades and towns here in 1211; Kronstadt then became the capital. The Order was, however, forbidden to populate the district of Burzen with Saxons from the neighbouring provinces, and new settlers were brought in.

After the expulsion of the German knights, which took place in 1225, in spite of the vigorous support accorded to them by Pope Honorius III., Kronstadt soon became prosperous and exercised a kind of hegemony over the other colonies; the town is first mentioned in a document of 1252. The German colonies in the district of Nösen seem to be of earlier date; in 1264 Bistritz seems to have been in existence for some time. These north-eastern Transylvanians, like those of Deés, probably came from other parts of Hungary, and settled here to carry on the mining industry. The chief places, which were under their own counts in 1300, together with their surrounding districts, formed the private property of the Hungarian queens from an early date; thus on July 16th, 1264, Pope Urban IV. orders the king's son Stefan (V.) to restore the towns of Bistritz, Rodna, Senndorf, and Baierdorf which he had unjustly taken from his mother, Maria. On December 29th, 1330, the

Happy and
Peaceful
Germans

Kronstadt
Becomes
the Capital

Hungarian
Queens' Private
Property

"citizens and colonists of Bistritz and those belonging to that jurisdiction" received a charter from Queen Elizabeth, with the consent of her husband Charles, by the terms of which they were placed exclusively under the jurisdiction of judges elected by themselves. In a short time the German settlements rose to

German Prestige at its Highest a prosperity and political importance which secured them the favour of the Hungarian kings. Thus, about 1185, Béla II. was able to report to Paris, upon the occasion of his betrothal, the receipt of 15,000 marks from the foreign settlers of the king in Transylvania. The rapidity with which the prestige of the Germans increased and the height to which it rose is evidenced by the "Andreanum" of the close of 1224; in this edict Andreas II. confirmed and increased all the privileges granted to the Germans from Broos to Draas, near Neps, upon their immigration; he united the independent districts of the settlers brought in by Geza II. into one province governed by an elected "count" as supreme judge who resided in Hermannstadt.

The progress of prosperity was, however, soon checked by the Mongol invasions of 1240-1242. The fortified towns and strongholds of the country could provide refuge for comparatively few. The majority fled to the mountains, where they perished. Under the fostering care of the kings the German settlements recovered comparatively quickly after the retreat of the Mongols. Such new settlements as Klausenburg were also founded by Stefan V., before 1270, as Duke of Transylvania; for the benefit of his soul he conferred this fief upon the Church of Weissenburg. As Hungarian nobles were not allowed to settle upon Saxon soil, and as the Germans of that district enjoyed the rights of nobles, the last of the Arpads, Andreas III.,

From Wilderness to Garden

summoned them to participation in the Hungarian diet in July, 1292, and in August, 1298. In 150 years the "Saxons" had cleared and completely transformed the former wilderness. About 300 strongholds, forts, and fortified churches protected the goods and chattels of freemen, and guaranteed the security of this once doubtful Hungarian possession. The swamps were drained and became fruitful, arable land. Upon the mountains and in

the lonely valleys, in the fertile lowlands of the Kokel River, and where the stony slopes of the Carpathians bring forth a scanty harvest, dwelt a people whose industrial and agricultural labours and peaceful devotion to the arts had created a flourishing country, while their representatives sat in the diet side by side with the barons and prelates of the empire.

When the house of Arpad became extinct in 1301, hard times began for the Saxons of Transylvania. Like all the Germans in Hungary, they had joined Otto, the duke of Lower Bavaria; he accepted their well-meant invitation, fell into the hands of the treacherous voivode Ladislaus, or Apor, and was soon forced to leave the country. The Saxons were then exposed to the oppression of the Bishop of Weissenburg, and the powerful voivode deprived them of the rich silver mines of Rodna. In 1324 they were forced to take up arms in defence of their rights of 1224, which had been again secured to them on May 25th, 1317, by Charles Robert, who had become sole ruler in the meantime. This period of oppression was followed

Hard Times for the Saxons by a time of prosperity under the government of Lewis I., who favoured Saxon trade in every possible way. From 1369, Kronstadt possessed staple privileges against Polish, German, and other foreign merchants, especially cloth merchants. The fairs in Germany and Poland were visited by bands of Saxons. The trade route led to Germany through Prague, and passed to the south-west through the Danube territories to Dalmatia and Venice. Numerous schools and churches, monasteries and hospitals, were founded, and the citizen guilds, brotherhoods, and trainbands were admirably organised.

After the death of Lewis the great troubles again began. Under Sigismund (1387-1437) internal disturbances broke out, in the course of which the neighbourhood of Klausenburg was devastated by the king's opponents. But the greatest danger menacing Transylvania was the advance of the Turks. In 1420 they destroyed the old "Saxon town" of Broos, and carried the inhabitants away to slavery; in the next year they overwhelmed Kronstadt. Previous to and during their invasions the first gipsies entered the country. In Hungary the struggles of the Magyar nobles with the German citizens were beginning, and at

this time the three hard-pressed "peoples" of Transylvania, the Hungarians, the old Magyar Szeklers, and the Saxons, concluded the "Union" at Kapolna on September 28th, 1427, and swore "to protect one another against all and sundry who should attack them; only, if the king should infringe the rights of one of the contracting peoples, the other two should appear before him on bended knees and ask his favour. For the rest, upon the second day following an appeal for help, the parties should start with all their forces to give aid as quickly as possible and should march at least twelve miles daily."

In the year 1438 the Turks destroyed the town of Mühlbach and captured some 75,000 slaves, after fruitlessly besieging Hermannstadt for forty-five days. On November 10th, 1444, the banner of the Saxons waved over the battlefield of Varna, and in October, 1448, they fought against the hereditary enemy on the Ansfeld under John Hunyadi. But the domestic life of the German settlers was shattered by these military disturbances.

The Turks on the Warpath Klausenburg and Winz soon received a Magyar influx of population, which speedily became predominant and broke off connection with the other Saxon districts. On the accession of Matthias Hunyadi, the Hungarians, Szeklers, and Saxons renewed the alliance of Kapolna at Mediasch in 1459, with a view to resisting any possible attacks of the king. The revolt was stifled by the rapidity of his movements. To these internal disturbances were added the invasions of the Turks, who continually renewed their harassing incursions, even after their defeat on the Brotfeld in October 13th, 1479. King Matthias recognised the services of the Saxons and increased their territory.

Notwithstanding the troubles of the age, their close and profitable intercourse with the mother country had enabled the Saxons to surpass every other nationality within the empire in respect of culture. Every year several Saxon youths went as students to the German high schools at Wittenberg, Jena, and Tübingen, and brought back a knowledge of science and art for the benefit of their own country. By these channels of intercourse the great ecclesiastical Reformation of the sixteenth century reached the Saxon colonies and

rapidly secured the general support. In 1519 Saxon merchants brought Luther's writings from the fair of Leipsic; in 1521-1522 the first evangelical preachers, the Silesian Ambrosius and Conrad Weich, appeared in Hermannstadt. The energy of a pupil of Melancthon, the Saxon preacher Johannes Honter (1498-1549),

Transylvania and Hungary Break Apart who brought a printing-press with him, secured the success of the Reformation in Transylvania in 1547. The struggle for the throne between Zápolya and Ferdinand I. cost the Saxons heavily in life and property. After the death of Zápolya Suleiman II., who claimed the suzerainty of Transylvania, conferred the country upon Johann Sigismund Zápolya, who was then in his minority. His authority was limited to the district on the further side of the Theiss, and the period of the separation of Transylvania from Hungary then begins, to last for 150 years. For a short time Transylvania came into the power of King Ferdinand, but after the death of Johann Sigismund in 1571 the sultan transferred it to Stefan Báthori, who brought in the Jesuits. In December, 1575, he was elected King of Poland, and then handed over Transylvania to his brother Christopher, who also seconded the efforts of the Jesuits to bring the country back to Roman-Catholicism.

At that time the Saxons were exposed to extortion of every kind. They found a supporter in Stefan Bocskay, who was chosen prince by the nobles and Szeklers on February 22nd, 1605, but died on September 29th, 1606. Siegmund Rakoczy occupied the country from February, 1607, but abdicated on March 3rd, 1608. Gabriel Báthory now ascended the throne. He captured Hermannstadt and attempted to get possession of Kronstadt. But on October 16th, 1612, the people of Kronstadt inflicted a severe defeat upon

Crazy Tyrant Deposed and Murdered him, under the leadership of their burgomaster, Michael Weiss, who lost his life in the battle. Shortly afterwards the population of Transylvania rose in a body against this crazy tyrant; he was deposed and murdered at Grosswardein, while in the act of flight, on October 27th, 1613. Gabriel Isethlen, the leader of the revolt, restored the old privileges of the Saxons. After his early death on November 15th, 1629, a Saxon chronicler justly wrote:

"God grant this famous hero peaceful rest and a joyous resurrection hereafter, for he left the country securer than he found it." In the age of the two George Rakoczys (1631-1660) Transylvania suffered from wars with Moldavia, Wallachia, and Poland. Recognising the situation as impossible, Michael Apasi broke

The Saxons' Rights Conceded away from the Turkish supremacy and placed Transylvania under the protection of Leopold I., by the Tractatus Hallerianus of 1686, the terms of which he was compelled to repeat with greater emphasis in the convention of Blasendorf of October 27th, 1687. The country was occupied by the imperial troops, and at the diet of Fogaras the oath of fidelity was taken to the Hapsburgs as the hereditary kings of Hungary. Some resistance was offered only by the lower classes of Kronstadt; the town was forced to surrender to the general Veterani on May 16th, 1688. By the "Diploma of Leopold" of December 4th, 1691, the Saxons were secured in the possession of their rights. The government of the Queen-empress Maria Theresa, who made Transylvania a principality in 1765, was followed by the ill-considered reforms of her son Joseph II., when the special constitution of the Saxons was in great measure sacrificed.

Far in the south, in the Banate of Temes and in the Bacska, are the last and most recent German settlements in Hungary. The Banate of Temes is bounded by the Danube, the Theiss, the Maros, and the mountains of Transylvania. After 166 years of Turkish rule it was restored to Hungary by the peace of Poscharevatz on July 21st, 1718, which followed the victories of Prince Eugene of Savoy. During the Turkish supremacy the wide lowlands and hill districts of the counties of Torontal and Temes were transformed into a desert. Consequently Count Claudius Florimond

Prosperity Under Wise Government Mercy, the first governor of this waste, brought in colonists from Germany, Italy, and Spain after the year 1720. In

1728 there were ten villages occupied by Suabians, one village of Italians, and one of Spaniards. Under Mercy's government, between 1722 and 1730, the town and fortress of Temesvar were restored, and numerous villages were founded and occupied with colonists who came from Trèves, Cologne, Alsace-Lorraine,

Luxemburg, and the Black Forest. After the count's heroic death at Crocetta, near Parma, on June 29th, 1734, the settlements entered upon a period of distress, the devastation of the Turkish wars, between 1737-1739, thinning their numbers.

Under Maria Theresa a special colonial commission was set on foot in Vienna on July 22nd, 1766, which brought in Catholic colonists from the districts of Havenstein, Trèves, Lorraine, and the Breisgau. At that time more than 25,000 Germans are said to have found a home in the Banate. Moreover, the Emperor Joseph II., who made a personal visit to the Banate, issued an "immigration patent" on September 21st, 1782, in which he gave a special invitation to "members of the German Empire in the Upper Rhine district" to take up settlements. By the terms of this patent the immigrants were to travel free of expense, to receive allotments of ground for building and cultivation, necessary implements, and a certain sum of money. The Germans came in large numbers, built fourteen

The Emperor Fosters Immigration new settlements in 1784-1786, and increased thirteen others. The neighbouring county of Bacs, which had been wrested from the Ottomans immediately after the victory of Mohacs in 1687, received attention at a later period than the Banate. In accordance with the "colonisation patent" of 1763 full arrangements were made by a royal commission for the occupation of the district by Germans. The greatest influx of settlers took place between May 1st, 1784, and November 30th, 1785; during that period 2,057 families, amounting to 9,201 persons, entered the county of Bacs. Then, by the decree of April 24th, 1786, further immigration at the expense of the state was stopped. As most of the Germans were of the agricultural class, numerous large villages arose, which have preserved their German character to the present day. The number of Germans here amounts to about 30 per cent. of the whole population. The chief places inhabited by Germans are Apatin Cservenka, Csonopla, Kula, Alt-Futak, Alt-Szivacz, Bajmok, Stanisics. In spite of the number of languages spoken upon this frontier district, German is at the present time predominant.

HEINRICH VON VLISLOCKI
HANS F. HELMOLT

EASTERN
EUROPE TO
THE FRENCH
REVOLUTION.



THE
WESTERN
SLAVS
I

BOHEMIA, MORAVIA AND SILESIA THE RISE AND FALL OF THE CZECH KINGDOM

THE realms of which we are accustomed to think to-day inclusively as Austria are occupied by an extraordinary composite of nationalities. Throughout the greater part of it the Teuton has planted himself, but in only a small portion of the whole is he the historical lord of the land. In fact, he is a colonist. Hungary is a Magyar kingdom, ethnologically of Mongol origin. The south-west, as we have also seen, is Slavonic. The north-west—Bohemia and Moravia—is also Slavonic. Yet the sceptre of the whole has passed to the ruling house of the German wedge thrust in between the southern and the western Slavs. Thus, while the house of Hapsburg is of the West, and throughout its history essentially a western power, the great bulk of its dominions to-day belongs historically to the East of Europe.

The Farmer King of Bohemia

Bohemia, with Moravia, forms the central district of Europe. Every wave of barbarian migration surged against it, most of them seem at one time or another to have worked into it or through it—Kelt and Teuton, Mongol and Slav. Who was in occupation at any given time till long after Rome had ceased to be imperial, it is nearly impossible to determine. It seems, however, tolerably clear that in the sixth century the Slavs were in possession; and in the seventh, the Mongol Avar "Empire," of which little enough is known, disappeared as the Huns disappeared; leaving the Slavs to work out their own future.

The further development of the Slav settlement, its extension, and its political organisation, are hidden from us by a gap in tradition, extending over more than a century and a half. We may, however, conclude that the international development of the country progressed considerably, from the Bohemian legend as related by Kosmas in the beginning of the twelfth

century, which tells of Krok, Libusha, and Premysl, the farmer of Staditz, who was called from the ploughshare to the throne, and became the ancestor of the first royal house of Bohemia.

It is probable that political and social life in Moravia developed much more quickly and strongly during the same period; for before Bohemia emerges from the obscurity of legend into the clear light of history, there rises on Moravian soil, quietly and without any legendary history, a self-contained principality known as the Moravian kingdom of the Moimirids, after the founder of the dynasty, Moimir. During the military period of Charles the Great it is unknown, and it appears in its full power only during the peaceful reign of Louis the Pious. While Moimir did homage to the German emperor and offered presents, he extended his power eastwards, driving out of his country the neighbouring Slav prince who had settled in Neitra. The Frankish counts in the East Mark and in Pannonia had every opportunity of watching the growth of the neighbouring Moravian kingdom, and the fact that the Slav prince took refuge with them upon his expulsion, and received their support, tends to show that Moimir's aspirations met with no approval upon this side. However, serious opposition to the powers rising on the frontier of the empire formed no part of the policy

of Louis the Pious. After the treaty of Verdun, in 843, Lewis the German took over, with his districts in the east, the task of securing supremacy of the empire formerly founded by the Emperor Charles over the neighbouring Slavs; it was inevitable that a struggle between the two states should break out, as indeed the Franks had already expected on their side. Even the fragmentary

Louis the Pious a Man of Peace

Moimir's Heroic Struggle

descriptions which have come down to us give an idea of the fury and extent of this struggle, in which the weaker side, the Moimirid principality, always reappears upon the scene, heroically maintaining its position in spite of repeated defeat. Moimir himself escaped into his fortified castles from the first attack which the

German Armies in Moravia German king delivered in the year 846. His rule, however, was brought to an end by a domestic conspiracy led by his own nephew Rastiz, or Rastislav. The second Moimirid then received the inheritance of his uncle from the hands of the Franks, to govern the land likewise under their supremacy. The struggle, however, soon broke out anew, because Rastislav followed in his predecessor's footsteps, and strove to secure complete independence of the Frankish kingdom. German armies repeatedly marched upon Moravia in the years 855, 864, 866, and 869. However, no decisive battle took place. At one time by pretended submission, and at another by flight into his impregnable castles, Rastislav forced the Franks either to make peace or to retire from the inhospitable country. Once again domestic treachery placed the Moravian prince in the power of Lewis, in 870. The defeater of Rastislav, his nephew Svatopluk (Zwentibold), secured the supremacy over the whole of Moravia under the protectorate of France, while his uncle was punished by blinding and confinement in a French monastery.

The political struggle for the foundation of a powerful Slav empire was accompanied, from the outset, by a serious attempt to break the ecclesiastical ties which united these countries with Germany. German, Italian, and Greek priests were working simultaneously in the country, and the disastrous consequences to the land afforded the prince Rastislav a plausible excuse for appearing before

Early Missioners of the "True Faith"

the Roman Pope Nicholas I. with a request that he should decide what priests should henceforward be permitted to preach and teach in Moravia. The Pope, however, is said to have declined to consider the question, or perhaps to have decided it against the wishes of the Moravian prince, who in 863 asked for fresh teachers from the Greek emperor Michael III. to preach the true faith to the Moravian nation in their own language.

The mission was entrusted to the brothers Constantine and Methodius of Thessalonica. Their spiritual work in Moravia began in the year 864; as, however, they possessed no high ecclesiastical rank, they confined themselves at first to the education of the children. As they desired to fulfil the object of their mission, the introduction of divine service in the Slavonic language, both into the Moravian and also into the neighbouring Slav kingdom of the Pannonian prince Kozel, the brothers, accompanied by the most capable of their scholars, betook themselves to Rome in 867, in order to secure the Pope's permission for the use of the Slavonic liturgy. Pope Hadrian II. is said to have fulfilled the wish of the Moravians in 868.

Feeling, however, a presentiment of approaching death, Constantine resolved not to return to Moravia; he entered the monastery at Rome, took the name Cyril as a monk, and died shortly afterwards, on February 14th, 869. The continuation of his apostolic work was left to his brother Methodius, who had been consecrated bishop at Rome. Hardly, however, had he returned to Moravia with the intention of resuming the struggle against the German clergy, so successfully begun, when the revolution took place which cost Rastislav his throne and freedom, and transformed Moravia practically into a Frankish mark. Methodius then succumbed to his opponents; for two and a half years, during the first years of the reign of Svatopluk in Moravia, he remained a prisoner in a German monastery.

Friendly as were the relations existing between the new Moravian prince and the neighbouring German Empire, and in particular with Karlmann, the count of the East Mark, they continued but a short time. So soon as Karlmann had reason to suspect the fidelity of Svatopluk, he seized his person and his property, and retained him at his court in honourable confinement, with the idea that his removal would make it easier to establish Frankish supremacy in Moravia. However, the oppressed Moravian population began a desperate attempt to secure their freedom. Karlmann thought that he could entrust the task of crushing this movement to no more suitable person than Svatopluk, so entirely had the Slav won

the confidence of the German. Hardly, however, did Svatopluk find himself among his own people, ere he gave rein to his long-repressed fury, and with one blow destroyed not only the army which had been sent to his support, but also all semblance of Frankish dominion in Moravia. In the two following years (872 and 873) Karlmann was unable to break down the resistance of Svatopluk. Not until the year 874 have we direct evidence of the conclusion of a peace at Forchheim, under which Svatopluk promised fidelity, obedience, and the usual annual tribute. Peace for eight years followed this act of submission.

During the period of this national rising the Moravians also remembered Methodius in his imprisonment abroad; their representations at Rome eventually induced Pope John VIII. to order the Bavarian bishops to liberate the Moravian apostle. Methodius immediately proceeded—about the outset of the year 873—to Kozeľ, in the Pannonian principality, and shortly afterwards to Moravia, where he was received with marks of high respect on the part of the prince and people. Svatopluk, however, failed to appreciate the help which might have been given to his political plans by a firm establishment of the Slavonic Church in the country. During the dogmatic quarrels between Methodius and the Bavarian clergy he



PURE GIPSY TYPE OF BOHEMIA

maintained a position of neutrality; he went so far as to express the wish that Methodius should prove his orthodoxy before the Pope at Rome. The latter was thus for the second time obliged to journey thither, and in the year 880 returned to his diocese under full papal protection, and with further recognition of the dignity of his position. Even now, however, it was impossible for him to gain a complete victory over his opponents in Moravia; the Bavarian clergy maintained their position in the country, and threw obstacles in his way. It was not until the last years of his life—he died on April 6th, 885—that his position in Moravia became more peaceful.

Within this period (882–884) occurred many violent political struggles between Svatopluk and the neighbouring Frankish districts. The Moravian prince then appeared as the protector of one of two families who were struggling to secure the position of count in the Traungau and in the East Mark, while Arnulf, or Arnolf, the son of Karlmann, who governed the marks of Karantania and Pannonia, supported the opposition party. The war began in 882. In 883 Svatopluk was raging in Pannonia “like a wolf,” and in the following year hostilities were renewed. The feud was repressed only upon the interference of the Emperor Charles III. in the East Mark in August,



TYPE OF BOHEMIAN WOMAN

884. In 885 peace was concluded between Svatopluk and Arnulf, and resulted in a mutual understanding so complete that, when Arnulf became candidate for the crown of Germany in Frankfort in the year 887, Svatopluk zealously supported him. Under such circumstances the work of Cyril and Methodius could not flourish in Moravia, the more so as the death of the latter had thrown the entire responsibility upon the feeble shoulders of a disciple. In the very year of the death of Methodius, the year of Svatopluk's reconciliation with the Franks, a general persecution of the disciples of Methodius began in Moravia; only a few received permission from Svatopluk to leave the country. The Slav priests then took refuge in the south Slavonic countries, where their liturgy found a field unexpectedly productive.

Slav Priests' Flight from Persecution

Thus, politically as well as ecclesiastically, Moravia remained in peaceful dependence upon the Frankish Empire until the year 890. At that time divergent conceptions concerning the relation of the Moravian princes to the German king brought forth new points of difference, which were to be solved only by further fighting. In the first campaign in 892, and more especially in the following year, the Moravians held the field; but in the year 895, when the power of the Slav kingdom for resistance was to be tested for the third time, Svatopluk died a sudden but natural death. With him disappeared irrevocably the whole splendour of the Moravian kingdom. The violent struggle between the brothers, who were the heirs of Svatopluk, accelerated the downfall, and the strength of the country was further weakened by the secession of both Bohemian and Silesian districts, over which the military power of Svatopluk had extended his dominion. Under these

Moravia Falls Before the Wild Magyars

circumstances it was impossible for the country to resist for any length of time the fearful attacks of the Magyars, who advanced with barbaric ferocity. In the year 906 Moravia succumbed to this enemy, whom she had hardly had time to observe, much less to guard against, after concluding, in the year 901, a peace with her great enemy the Franks, which in no way limited her constitutional independence. The Moimirids had eyes

only for the limitations which hindered their national development upon the west, and failed to see the dangers which threatened their unprotected eastern frontier; this neglect brought about the downfall of their carefully constructed empire.

The downfall of the old Moravian kingdom made room for the development of other Slavonic states which had existed under the protection and government of the Moimirid Empire at the time of its highest power; such were the Bohemian duchy on the west and the Polish duchy on the north-east of Moravia. The fortunes of Bohemia in particular were, during the ninth century, often closely linked with those of her more important neighbour on the east. The expeditions of the Franks were on several occasions directed against both countries. The activity of the Slav apostles in Moravia seems to have been not unheeded in Bohemia; there is evidence for the fact that the Bohemian Duke Borivoi was baptised by Methodius. In individual points, however, the relations of the two countries in politics and religion are somewhat obscure, for the reason that the history of Bohemia is of a very legendary character until late in the ninth century. Borivoi, a contemporary of Svatopluk, is the first historical prince in Bohemia, and his name follows a long series of mythical rulers.

Christianity Established in Bohemia

However, the foundation of a uniform kingdom, and the definite establishment of the Christian faith in Bohemia, belong to the period of the sons of Borivoi—Spitignev and Wratislav—and his grandsons—Wenzel the Saint and Boleslav I. As early as the reign of Wenzel, or Wenceslaus, took place the first inevitable collision between the German Empire, which had gained in strength since the accession of Henry the Fowler and the Slav power, which had grown up during the Hungarian wars. The struggle had fatal effects upon German prosperity. Wenzel was a peace-loving prince, whose mind was bent more upon the salvation of the Church than on temporal success; he readily recognised the supremacy of the German king, and agreed to the old tribute, when Henry I. appeared before Prague in the year 928. When, however, Wenzel, in the course of domestic struggles, lost his life in the year 935 at the hands of his brothers and allies, and Boleslav I.,



WENZEL OF BOHEMIA: "THE GOOD KING WENCESLAUS"

Wenzel's thoughtfulness and regard for others endeared him to his people. Of his humility and consideration a pretty story is told. One cold, frosty night, so runs the tale, he saw a poor man in the snow gathering fuel. His heart was touched, and calling on his page to "Bring me flesh and bring me wine, bring me pine-logs hither; thou and I will see him dine, when we bear them thither," they went out "in the rude wind's wild lament" on their mission of mercy.

"the fratricide," became duke, the war with Germany broke out afresh. The Bohemian prince held out for a long time in the frontier fortresses and abattis, which protected his country against King Otto I., then hard pressed by enemies on many sides. Eventually, however, Boleslav's strength grew feeble, and in 950 he submitted to the same conditions

**The New
Polish
Empire**

under which his brother and predecessor had recognised German supremacy. In the

battle of the Lechfeld, in the year 955, a Bohemian auxiliary force fought side by side with the troops of the united German races. Boleslav, who protected his frontiers against the impetuous Magyars, pursued the defeated enemy, and inflicted further defeat upon them.

About this time appeared a dangerous rival to the rising Premyslid principality; this was the Polish Empire. We first become acquainted with the existence of this new power in the lowlands between the Oder and the Warthe about 963; its political centre was Gnesen, and it extended south-west to the modern Silesia, where it touched the Bohemian kingdom. At first the two Slav principalities maintained friendly relations; the Polish Duke Mesko I., who died in 992, married Dubrava, the daughter of Boleslav I. of Bohemia. She it was who won over both her husband and his people to Christianity. As early as the year 968 a Polish bishopric was founded in Posen, some years before that of Prague. Bohemian auxiliary troops supported Mesko in his struggles against his northern neighbours. The Polish and Bohemian princes—the latter was the son and namesake of Boleslav I.—made an alliance, and joined in helping the Bavarian Duke Henry against the Emperors Otto II. and Otto III. in the years 976 and 983-985.

Then, however, the bond of friendship between the two brothers-in-law was broken; Dubrava had died in 977. In the year 990 our authorities speak of the "bitter hostility" existing between the two, as the Pole had captured a considerable district from Bohemia, and had succeeded in maintaining his position in a series of battles. Accurate geographical information is wanting, but from the mention of the place Niemtsch it has been concluded that the scene of the war was Silesia. A long period of

**Bohemia
Rushing to its
Downfall**

bitter struggle between the two neighbouring states followed, which severely tested the resources of the Premyslid kingdom.

After about a century of development Bohemia had now arrived at a turning-point which is marked upon the one hand by a decline in political power, and on the other by violent domestic convulsions. That period came when Adalbert, the second Bishop of Prague, abandoned "the blind nation rushing to its own downfall," left his country and his home, and in 997 sacrificed his life in missionary work among the savage Prussians. It is the period when a noble native family, the Slavnikings, from which Adalbert was sprung, was exterminated by Duke Boleslav II. and the nobility. The contagion of discord soon extended to the royal family, and the Premyslids and the Bohemians were governed by dukes, designated by the chroniclers as "basilisks," or "poisonous vipers."

Hardly had Boleslav III., the son of Boleslav II., assumed the government in the year 999 when he attempted to destroy his younger brothers, Jaromir and Udalrich, and upon the failure of his attempt drove them out of the country with their mother; they found a refuge at the imperial court in Germany. The condition of affairs naturally enabled the warlike Polish Duke Boleslav I. Chabri (992-1025) to seize Bohemia, with the help of dissatisfied Bohemian nobles, at the outset of the year 1003, after previously conquering the German frontier land between the Oder and the Elbe, and also Moravia. He declined, however, to do homage to the emperor for his new dominions, and Henry II. resolved to deprive the Pole of his latest acquisitions. Bohemia was reconquered at the first attack, in 1004, and Prince Jaromir was invested with the Duchy of Bohemia. The struggle for the other conquests of the Pole ended in a long war between the German emperor, who was supported by the Bohemians, and Boleslav Chabri; the war occupied almost the entire reign of this prince.

In the course of the struggle between the Bohemian and Polish powers victory returned to the flag of the former, especially after the death of Boleslav Chabri, when a period of internal confusion began in Poland; while in Bohemia, after the short rule of Jaromir, his brother

Udalrich seized the reins of government, with the support of his bold son Bretislav. To Bretislav is in particular due the achievement of obtaining from Poland the land of Moravia in 1029, the last of the great conquests of the period of Boleslav Chabri. The union of this district with Bohemia materially increased the prestige and the strength of the Premyslid dynasty.

After the death of his father Udalrich, in 1034, Bretislav took over the sole government. In 1039 he undertook an expedition into Poland with a large army and made a victorious advance as far as Gnesen, plundering and devastating the land on all sides. At the point where

the corpse of the Bishop of Prague, Adalbert, had been laid to rest after his martyrdom at the hands of the Prussians, in 997, Bretislav atoned for the ingratitude of his forefathers to this noble man; he made his Bohemian and Moravian subjects renounce at the martyr's grave, while they were in arms, a number of heathen customs of long standing, against which Adalbert had inveighed. The "sacred burden," the remains of the martyr, were then brought back to his native land.

The conquests, however, of certain districts of Poland had to be abandoned when the Emperor Henry III. protested against them. Like Henry II. before him, his son was determined to prevent the crea-

The Disloyal Nobles of Bohemia

tion of a great Slav empire on the east of Germany. Bretislav accepted the challenge forthwith, and in 1040, the first year of the war, he secured a great success. In the following year, however, the course of the campaign was so disastrous to the Bohemians, owing to the treacherous desertion of certain nobles to the emperor's cause, that the Bohemian ruler was forced to sue for peace. Only two Silesian districts of his Polish conquests were

left to him, and these were shortly afterwards perforce restored to the Polish prince in return for a yearly tribute. Henceforward Bretislav renounced all military operations against the German Empire, and, indeed, supported the

Bretislav the Friend of Peace emperor in his campaigns, especially against Hungary. Bretislav secured peace and quiet for the advancement of

civilisation and economic prosperity in his territories. During his government in Bohemia and Moravia several important monasteries were founded. In the interior of his extensive empire he hoped to be able to secure permanent order, even after his death, through his heirs. He

bequeathed to his first-born son, Spitigne, the government in Bohemia, together with the general right of supremacy; Moravia he divided among his three younger sons, Wratislav, Konrad, and Otto. A fifth son, Jaromir, was intended for the Church.

Bretislav had, however, taken inadequate measures to secure the performance of these conditions, and the reaction began immediately after his

death in 1055. Spitigne deprived his Moravian brothers of their rule, destroyed the nobility of Moravia, who attempted to offer resistance to his aggressive measures, and finally, for unknown reasons, expelled from Bohemia the Germans, who had acquired great influence during his father's reign; he also banished his mother, Judith von Schweinfurt, the first German princess who had occupied the throne of the Premyslids. His government, however, lasted scarcely six years (1055-1061).

His brother and successor, Duke Wratislav II., reverted to his father's policy. Bretislav had given Moravia its first monastery by his foundation at Raigern in 1048, and Wratislav, notwithstanding the great difficulties raised in his path by his brother Jaromir-Gebhard, Bishop of



THE ANCIENT CROWN OF BOHEMIA

This famous crown of Bohemia, often called the crown of St. Wenceslaus, dates from the fourteenth century, and is kept in the treasury of St. Veit at Prague.

Prague, founded the bishopric of Olmütz in 1062, which afterwards became the ecclesiastical centre of Moravia. Of very considerable importance to Bohemia and to the German Empire are the personal relations upon which Duke Wratislav entered with the Emperor Henry IV.; these endured unchanged during the whole

Bohemian Duke Assumes Title of King

government of the two rulers, notwithstanding the general secession of the princes from the emperor and the warnings of Pope Gregory VII. As a reward for this personal fidelity and for the constant military help which the formidable reputation of his troops was able to give the emperor, the Bohemian duke was rewarded at different times by neighbouring pieces of territory, though he was unable to maintain a permanent supremacy over them, and in the year 1086 he was allowed to assume the dignity of king, though this was merely a personal concession to himself.

So great was the reputation possessed by Wratislav in Germany that the Archbishop Wezilo of Mayence announced the elevation of the Bohemian duke to the dignity of king in these words to the Pope: "All are agreed that he would have been worthy of even higher favour, if any such could have been found for him." Only in his own house did Wratislav fail to secure peace. There were continual quarrels, now with his brother the Bishop of Prague, now again with his other brothers the Moravian princes, and also with his son and his nephews. These differences often caused local disturbance, and sometimes forced him to take up arms against his opponents. The cause of them among the Premyslids—and they were to endure for almost the next century and a half—consisted in that regulation for the succession, the "Justitia Bohemorum," which Duke Bretislav is said to have arranged upon his death-bed, and according to which supremacy was to fall to the eldest son of the house. It was the Moravian princes who more particularly revolted against the power of the Duke of Bohemia in the attempt to establish their claim to the Bohemian throne. During the reign of the two successors of Wratislav, who died in 1092, his sons Bretislav II. and Borivoi, we have struggles with Udalrich of Brünn and Lutold of Znaim in 1101, and some

Throne of Bohemia in Dispute

years later—in 1105 and 1107—with Duke Svatopluk of Olmütz; these produced very serious disturbances. At the same time the Premyslid power was involved in numerous military enterprises abroad, at one time against Hungary, at another against Poland—now upon its own initiative, and again as following the German kings.

The relations of the country to the empire were by no means undisturbed by this internal confusion; on the contrary, the emperor was often called in as arbitrator. This struggle increases in dramatic force until it reaches its highest point in the year 1125. Duke Vladislav, also a son of Wratislav II., had died, and had been succeeded in the government by his younger brother Sobeslav; he was opposed by his cousin Prince Otto of Olmütz, who found a powerful ally in King Lothar of Süpplingenburg. Hitherto German kings had offered no direct interference in the struggle of the Bohemian rivals, but Lothar led the army to Bohemia in person to support the cause of his protégé Otto. The result was the fearful battle of Kulm on February 18th, 1126, in which

Bohemia's Wars of Succession

not only the German knights in the king's service met with total defeat, but the Moravian prince was also slain. The wars of succession were, however, not concluded. During the government of Sobeslav (1125–1140) the country was in a continual state of internal ferment. However, the duke vigorously suppressed one conspiracy after another, and thus secured time to carry on his numerous foreign wars, whether against Poland, which he repeatedly devastated between 1132 and 1135, or in Germany, Italy, and Hungary, in the service of King Lothar, with whom he had made peace immediately after the battle of Kulm.

Under the successor of Sobeslav, his nephew Vladislav II., the smouldering fire blazed up. The youthful Bohemian duke was opposed simultaneously by a number of Bohemian Premyslid princes, by the Moravian princes of Brünn, Olmütz, and Znaim, and by a portion of the Bohemian nobility. Thanks, however, to his own determination, to the fidelity of his followers, including his brother Thebald and the Bishop of Olmütz, and to the vigorous support afforded by the Emperor Conrad II., a half-brother of his wife Gertrude, he succeeded in forcing the allies to retreat. The struggles of the Duke of Bohemia

with the Moravian Premyslids, especially with Conrad of Znaim, endured for years. Eventually the forces of the latter were exhausted, and the world-inspiring idea of a Second Crusade diverted men's minds from the monotony of domestic strife. The close relations of Bohemia to the German Empire at that time, and also the energy of Bishop Henry of Olmütz, made the political movements felt in this country in full force. The summons for a crusade to Palestine in 1147, and for a simultaneous enterprise against the heathen Wends on the lower Elbe and Vistula, was enthusiastically received by Bohemia and Moravia. Under the leadership of Bishop Henry and some of the Premyslid princes, one party started off with the northern crusading army, while Duke Vladislav with a no less splendid force joined Conrad III. and the eastern host, though the duke was forced to return from Constantinople or Nicaea by reason of the great hardships of the campaign.

A few years later, on June 25th, 1150, death deprived the duke of his faithful counsellor, Bishop Henry. The bishop

**The Pope's
Eulogy of
Bishop Henry**

was a personality of very high importance both in the ecclesiastical and political world. Fully penetrated by German ideas and German culture, he was respected both by the Emperor Conrad and by Pope Eugenius III., who selected him for important diplomatic missions, such, for instance, as the attempted union between the Greek and Roman Churches proposed by the Pope. The Pope's words to the emperor respecting this bishop are more than a mere compliment: "Though we should have been very glad to keep with us for some time in high honour and affection this good and pious man, yet we send him back to your Highness, knowing as we do how great is your need of him." Between the years 1142 and 1147 we see Henry at least once every year at the German court, and in personal attendance upon the Emperor Conrad.

Henry's position in the empire can be well inferred from the words of the emperor in an official document, to the effect that he had chosen the Bishop of Olmütz in preference to all the bishops in the empire, on account of his stainless faith as a teacher and mediator in all things pertaining to the service of God. His energy as regards Bohemia and Moravia was very considerably paralysed by the endless

quarrels of the Premyslids among themselves. The fact is, however, of importance that he was, by reason of his connection with Germany, the first means of bringing the ideas of German civilisation into Moravia and the Premyslid countries; for the church of Olmütz, for instance, he secured, in full accordance with German

**King Vladislav
Enjoys Fame
and Prosperity**

custom, a grant of jurisdictional immunity — a privilege which had hitherto been unknown in this district, and was soon to become of great importance to legal developments in Bohemia and Moravia. The reign of Vladislav continued long after the death of the bishop; the king lived in prosperity and fame to his latest years. The dangers threatened by Moravia had been obviated for the moment by establishing Bohemian Premyslids in the divided principalities. It is true that many a banished Premyslid prince was living abroad, only waiting for the moment when the throne of Vladislav should begin to totter; yet he was successful in preserving his rule for a long time from any shattering blow.

An important means to this end was the fact that upon the accession of Frederic I. (Barbarossa) to the German throne in 1152, Vladislav continued in the traditional path of fidelity to the emperor and empire. At the right moment, and by means of the dexterous mediation of Bishop Daniel of Prague, the tie between the two princes was drawn even closer in June, 1156. The Duke of Bohemia undertook to place his subjects at the emperor's disposal for military expeditions, and in return for this he received certain small concessions of territory, and also the honour of kingship, which, exactly seventy years before, had been conferred by the Emperor Henry IV. upon his grandfather, Wratislav II.

Bohemia now entered upon a military period. First of all the country shared in Barbarossa's Polish campaign of 1157,

**Bohemia
as a Military
Power**

crossed the Oder, and cleared the path far into a foreign country for the imperial army.

Though the enterprise had no importance for Bohemia itself, it was of great import to the independent principality of Silesia. This campaign, which was repeated in 1163, resulted in the recall of the sons of Vladislav II. of Poland by the Polish duke Boleslav IV. Kendzierzawy. In 1146 he had driven his brother Vladislav II. of Poland from the throne, and

forced him to flee to his brother-in-law, the Emperor Conrad III. of Germany. His children were now reinstated in their father's inheritance, Breslau, Glogau, and Oppeln. The Polish supremacy over these districts was, indeed, maintained for a considerable period. But the three princes, Boleslav, Mesko, and Conrad, who had spent the whole of their youth in Germany, were the first who brought Silesia within the area of Western civilisation. It is of great historical importance that the Bohemian king co-operated in the first attempt to sunder Silesia from Poland, and connect it with the German Empire.

In the year following the Polish war the Bohemians received a summons to a campaign against Milan. The youthful Bohemian knights enthusiastically supported the summons, though the older nobility regarded the new policy with suspicion and distrust. Vladislav, without consulting his nobles, had been crowned by the emperor on January 11th, 1158, at an imperial diet in Regensburg, and, without their consent, had agreed to Frederic's conditions. Their opposition, however, went for nothing. The spirit and bravery of the Bohemian warriors contributed largely to secure victories for the emperor, both in this year, and in his later campaigns and conflicts in Italy in 1161, 1162, and 1167. It must be said that their plundering habits procured them an evil reputation both abroad and in the emperor's countries. Successful, too, was an expedition which King Vladislav led to Hungary in 1164, in order to support his protégé Stefan III. in the struggle for the succession against Stefan IV., who was supported by the Byzantine emperor. The treasures of the Greek campaign provided a rich booty.

Towards the end of Vladislav's reign his relations with Frederic Barbarossa were clouded for many reasons. Upon his resolve to transfer the government of Bohemia to his son Frederic without the consent of Barbarossa, the German emperor opposed this arbitrary action on the part of the Bohemian king, and, instead of Frederic, made his cousin Sobeslav II. Duke of Bohemia. The immediate consequence was a protracted struggle for the throne. Frederic was obliged to give way at first, but at a later period he

recovered the emperor's favour and reconquered the supremacy from Sobeslav in 1179.

In this struggle he was supported by Germany, and also, in particular, by the Moravian prince Conrad Otto, who, in all probability, was sprung from a collateral branch of the Bohemian Premyslids, and had succeeded under King Vladislav II. to the principality of Znaim upon the extinction of a native line of rulers.

From the beginning of Sobeslav's reign, Brünn and Olmütz were governed by his younger brothers, Udalrich and Wenzel, so that the Moravian branch of the Premyslids became entirely extinct about the year 1174. However, the struggle between Bohemia and Moravia broke out once again. The second reign of Frederic, the "inexperienced helmsman," as a contemporary chronicler names him, was as short as the first; a popular rising forced him to flight, and he applied for help to the emperor. The ducal throne of Bohemia seemed destined to fall to the Moravian prince Conrad Otto, who already united under his rule the three component kingdoms of Moravia. However, Frederic Barbarossa summoned the two Premyslids to appear before his court at Ratisbon, and delivered his decision on September 29th, 1182: Frederic was to reign in Bohemia, as before, while Conrad Otto was henceforward to govern Moravia as a margravate, immediately depending on the emperor and in complete independence of Bohemia.

After the death of Conrad Otto, in 1191, the struggle for the supremacy in Bohemia and Moravia broke out again between the two lines of the Sobeslavs and Vladislavs, and the emperor eventually decided in the favour of the latter, conferring Bohemia, in 1192, upon Premysl Ottokar and Moravia upon Vladislav Henry, the two younger brothers of the Duke Frederic, who died in 1189. Peace, however, was not even then secured. In the following year the brothers were driven out by their cousin Henry Bretislav, who was also Bishop of Prague, and ruled over both countries until 1197.

His death seemed likely to become the occasion of a further struggle for the succession between the two brothers, Premysl Ottokar and Vladislav Henry. The latter, however, was a peaceable character, and found a solution of the

**Emperor
of Germany
Interferes**

**Bohemia and
Moravia
Again in Arms**

difficulty by offering his brother an arrangement for the partition of the empire, which occurred to his mind when the armies were drawn up for battle on December 6th, 1197. The proposition was that Premysl Ottokar should rule in Bohemia and Vladislav Henry in Moravia, while both "were to have one mind as they had one rule." Though this arrangement does not in the least represent the nature of their subsequent relations, it none the less remains certain that with it a new age begins in the history of the Premyslid kingdom.

This fraternal compact of 1197 brought to a somewhat unexpected conclusion the unfruitful period of Bohemian history, during which the domestic policy of the country was dominated by continual quarrels concerning the succession, while economic development and the progress of culture were checked, and only the unbridled warlike temperament of the people was stimulated. However, towards the close of the twelfth century the military element falls into the background of the history of the Bohemian territories,

while civilisation and progress gain the upper hand. Feud and quarrel in the royal family disappear, and brotherly love and unity promote the bold plans conceived by the head of the family, the Duke of Bohemia, for the aggrandisement of his empire and his royal house. The German emperor no longer settles Bohemian affairs at his own will and pleasure; on the contrary, the Bohemian princes derive considerable advantage from the struggles and confusion prevailing in the German Empire. Supported with unselfish devotion by his Moravian brother, the Margrave Vladislav Henry, who died in 1222, both in his diplomatic and military enterprise, the new Duke of Bohemia cleverly utilised the quarrel of the rival German kings, Philip of Swabia and Otto of Brunswick, to secure the recognition of Bohemia as a kingdom for himself and his successors, first from Philip, then from Otto after Philip's secession to the other side, finally from Pope Innocent III., in 1204. Hardly had the youthful Hohenstauffen Frederic II. appeared upon the political scene, when the duke induced him also to confirm the existence of the kingdom, first in the year 1212 and afterwards in 1216, to recognise his first-born son as a successor

to Bohemia, and to grant other privileges in addition. This event marks the advancement of the right of primogeniture as the principle of succession against the right of seniority which had previously been accepted.

German colonisation gave the Slav territories, from a political standpoint, a new constitution for town and village, and from a social standpoint a class of free peasants and citizens hitherto unknown. The prosperous beginning of German colonisation received a further impulse under King Wenzel I. (1230-1253), notwithstanding the numerous military entanglements into which Bohemia was then drawn, chiefly with Austria, and in spite of the appalling danger threatened by the Mongol invasion of the year 1241. For the moment, however, Bohemia was spared.

It was Moravia, and especially Silesia, that suffered most heavily from the barbarians. The years 1157 and 1163 were, as regards the progress of political development and civilisation, an important turning point in the history of Silesia, as the government of the three Silesian princes betokens an entry of Germanising influences upon a large scale. The figures most distinguished from this point of view are Duke Boleslav I., the Long (1157-1202), his son Henry the Bearded (1203-1238), who is known for his participation in the founding of the German orders in Prussia, and his descendant Henry II. (1238-1241). The dominions of the latter extended far beyond the three original Silesian principalities. He ruled Cracow and part of Great Poland, which his father had already conquered in the course of wars against his Polish cousins.

However, this brilliant development of the Silesian principality was shaken to its depths in March, 1241, by the invasion of the Mongols, who reduced Poland to a desert as they advanced, and forced the Duke of Silesia to oppose them, if he did not wish to see the destruction of the civilisation laboriously acquired in the course of the last hundred years. The bloody battle on the Wahlstatt at Liegnitz, on April 9th, 1241, cost the lives of Henry and of numerous knights in his following. The further history of the Mongol invasion, which continued until the spring of 1242, and kept

**King Wenzel
Encourages
Colonisation**

**Peace and
Progress
in Bohemia**

**Poland
Devastated
by Mongols**

the neighbouring territories of Austria and Moravia in suspense, ran its course upon Hungarian soil.

The next important event in the history of Bohemia was the death of Frederic II., Duke of Austria, and the last male descendant of the house of Babenberg, who was killed on June 15, 1246, in the battle on the Leitha against the Hungarians. The marriage between his niece Gertrude and the Bohemian prince Vladislav, who was now also margrave of Moravia, was not celebrated until this time, although it had been arranged years before; it seemed destined to bring the heritage of the house of Babenberg into the hands of the Premyslids. The most dangerous opponent of the Bohemian claims was the Emperor Frederic II., who desired to secure the Austrian territories, as being an imperial fief in abeyance. However, the struggle for the inheritance of Duke Frederic soon came to a rapid end, owing to the death of the Margrave Vladislav in 1247, and of the emperor in 1250. The claims of inheritance and of constitutional right were now thrown into the background; the disputed possessions passed to the greater power and the greater diplomatic capacity of the neighbouring princes of Bohemia-Moravia and of Hungary, with whom Bavaria was struggling for the prey. The new margrave of Moravia, Premysl Ottokar, the grandson of King Wenzel I., soon defeated Otto, the duke of Bavaria, after a short struggle in Upper and Lower Austria. In the year 1251 he was recognised as duke by the nobility and the towns of that district, and further secured his conquests by his connection with Margareta, the sister of the last Babenberg and the widow of King Henry VII.; in February, 1252, he married her, although she was considerably older than himself.

For the possession of Styria a lengthy struggle began between King Bela IV. of Hungary and Premysl Ottokar II., who also inherited the crown of Bohemia on the death of his father in 1253. At the outset, success inclined to the side of the Magyar, chiefly owing to the support of the Pope, in 1254; eventually, however, the Bohemian king proved victorious in this quarter after his success at the battle of Kroissenbrunn. In July, 1260, the dissolution of his marriage with

The Prosperous Reign of King Ottokar II.

the aged Margareta, his marriage with Cunigunde, the young granddaughter of the Hungarian king, in 1261, and his investiture with the two duchies of Austria and Styria by the German king Richard, in 1262, crowned the remarkable prosperity which had marked the first period of the reign of King Premysl Ottokar II.

The following decade (1273) also brought to the Bohemian king fame and victory in many of his military enterprises, and an increase of territory through his acquisition of Carinthia and Carniola, and of a certain power of protectorate over Eger and the surrounding district. Premysl Ottokar II. had then reached the zenith of his power. The domestic policy of his reign was marked by the continuation and the increase of the work of German colonisation, which his father and grandfather had introduced into the Premyslid kingdom. In this task he found a zealous helper in Bishop Bruno of Olmütz, who was descended from the family of the Holstein counts of Schaumberg, and administered the bishopric of Moravia from 1245 to 1281; he proved the king's best counsellor in all diplomatic and political undertakings. Bishop Bruno, together with Bishop Henry of Olmütz and Bishop Adalbert of Prague, formed a spiritual constellation in the history of the Premyslids. They set in motion a religious, civilising, and political influence which were felt far beyond the boundaries of their respective dioceses.

The privileges of the German towns increased from that period in Bohemia and Moravia. This advance in civilisation is the permanent result of the wide activities of Premysl Ottokar II.; for that vast political construction, the Bohemian-Austrian monarchy, which he seemed to have erected with so much cleverness, proved to be unstable; it was too largely founded upon the weakness of the German Empire and upon the vacillation and helplessness of the nominal kings of Germany. Hence for Premysl Ottokar the choice of Rudolf of Hapsburg as emperor on October 1st, 1273, marks the beginning of the decline of the Bohemian power.

This declension was rapidly completed. Premysl Ottokar refused to acknowledge his feudal dependency upon the new German king, thus challenging the emperor and the empire to war. For almost two years the Bohemian king succeeded

Three Bishops Who Made History

in staving off the threatening secession of Styria and Austria, for the reason that Rudolf's attention was fully occupied elsewhere, while his means were insufficient to provide any vigorous support for his open and secret adherents in these territories. However, in the autumn of 1276 the Hapsburg led the imperial army through Austria to the walls of Vienna. Ottokar was abandoned, both by the Austrian nobles and by some of his most powerful Bohemian nobility, with the result that the two opponents never met in conflict; the Bohemian king preferred submission to the hazardous alternative of giving battle. The peace of Vienna on November 21st, 1276, deprived Premysl Ottokar II. of his position as a great power; he was obliged to surrender Austria, Styria, Carinthia, and other districts which he had conquered and not inherited, and to receive Bohemia and Moravia as the vassal of the German emperor.

This humiliating settlement, however, could not possibly be regarded by the proud prince as a permanent embargo on his schemes. Concerning the future

**Bohemian
King Falls
in Battle**

relations of Bohemia with the empire, and regarding certain important points in the peace of Vienna, more particularly the amnesty to the Bohemian lords who had deserted Premysl Ottokar, and the proposed marriage of a son and daughter of the two princes, misunderstandings broke out, which soon ended in that fresh struggle with Rudolf which the Bohemian king was anxious to provoke. In the battle of Dürnkrut, on the Marchfeld, on August 26th, 1278, Premysl Ottokar was captured, in a condition of exhaustion, after a heroic struggle, and murdered by certain knights who had a private grudge against him. The Premyslid territories now surrendered, almost without resistance, to the German king, who was regarded with considerable favour by the German population of the towns, by a portion of the nobility, and not least by Bishop Bruno. The first years after the death of their great king were a time of misery for Bohemia. When, however, Wenzel II., who became the son-in-law and received the support of the German king, ascended the throne in 1283, a renewed period of prosperity seemed to have begun for the house of Premysl, facilitated both by a peaceable and

serious government and by the riches of the country, especially the income from the silver-mines. The young king, with his vivid interest in art and science, gained a great reputation for the Bohemian court, and made it a favourite resort of artists and scholars. This internal development was accompanied by

**Silesia's
Greatness
at an End**

a successful foreign policy. After the struggle with the Mongols, Silesia ceases to rank among the countries of importance in the history of the world, and from 1241 its history is purely local. Once again the country was broken into petty principalities, some of which were in continual hostility with Poland, and were thus driven into connection with the Premyslid kingdom through affinities of civilisation and race. In the decisive battle on the Marchfeld the Dukes of Breslau, Glogau and Oppeln acted as the independent allies of the Bohemian king. King Wenzel of Bohemia, in later troubles, was supported by several Silesian dukes, who recognised him as their feudal overlord; he succeeded in conquering Cracow in 1291, and assumed the crown of Poland in Gnesen in 1300, uniting the heritage of the Piasts with that of the Premyslids.

Nor was this the end. In the following year—1301—the male line of the Hungarian royal house of Arpad became extinct, and one party in the country offered this crown to the Bohemian king; he did not accept it himself, but transferred it to his young son, Wenzel III., who was crowned king of Hungary at Stuhlweissenburg. However, this period of brilliant prosperity lasted but a short time for the Premyslids. The Hungarian crown could not be retained in face of the Angevin claims, and in the year 1304 Wenzel III. abandoned it. At the same time Wenzel II. became involved in war with the German king Albert. In the

**The Passing
of the
Premyslids**

course of this struggle he died, in 1305, at the age of thirty-four. When his heir was meditating an advance upon Poland in the following year—1306—to crush the rising of Vladislav Lokietek, the Polish claimant to the throne, he was murdered by an assassin in the castle of Olmütz; he died at the age of seventeen, the last male descendant of the distinguished house of the Premyslids, leaving no issue, although married.



THE OLD TOWN BRIDGE TOWER AND THE TEYN CHURCH



THE ANCIENT BRIDGE AND THE CASTLE OF HRADS



PRAGUE, THE BEAUTIFUL CAPITAL OF BOHEMIA

This famous city owes much of its beauty to Charles IV., who from 1347 to 1378 greatly extended his capital and erected such buildings as the Cathedral of St. Veit, the Teyn Church, the Bridge Tower, the bridge across the Moldau and the Castle of Hradcany.



BOHEMIA AND THE REFORMATION THE LUXEMBURG KINGS & THE HUSSITE WARS

CLAIMS to the Bohemian inheritance were now raised from two quarters: Duke Henry of Carinthia relied upon the claim of his wife Anna, the eldest sister of King Wenzel III.; on the other hand the German king Albert regarded Bohemia and Moravia as escheated fiefs of the empire, and conferred them upon his eldest son, Duke Rudolf of Austria.

After the premature death of Rudolf in 1307, Henry of Carinthia succeeded in securing a majority of the votes of the Bohemian nobility, and it was only in Moravia that King Albert could secure recognition for his second son Frederic. However, when Albert fell in the following year, 1308, under the murderous attack of his nephew John ("Parricida"), Duke Frederic was obliged to refrain from all attempts to continue the war against Henry in Bohemia and also to surrender Moravia, with the exception of certain towns which remained in his possession as a pledge for the repayment of the expenses of the war.

King Henry's Vanished Prestige Henry of Carinthia was, however, unable to cope with the difficult party questions which troubled Bohemia. King and nobles, nobles and towns, were in a state of perpetual hostility. The result was seen in disturbances and acts of aggression which lost Henry his prestige in the country. A new party arose, led by the Abbot Conrad of Königssaal, which attempted to secure a new ruler by the marriage of Elizabeth, the youngest daughter of King Wenzel II.

Their choice fell upon John, the young son of the new German emperor Henry VII. of Luxemburg. On September 1st, 1310, the marriage of the German prince, who was fourteen years of age, with the Bohemian princess, who was eighteen, was celebrated in Speyer. The German emperor had released the Bohemians from their oath to the Duke of Carinthia in the previous July at Frankfort, and had invested his son with Bohemia and Moravia, as escheated fiefs of the empire. The conquest of the country was not a

lengthy task, as King Henry, recognising speedily the hopelessness of resistance, entered upon negotiations and voluntarily left the country. The occupation of Moravia was accomplished with equal facility. John even assumed the title of King of Poland, as a sign that he proposed to maintain the claims of his Premyslid predecessors to this crown. The course of his government was soon, however, considerably disturbed, chiefly in consequence of the hostile feeling entertained by the high Bohemian nobility for Archbishop Peter of Mainz and other German counsellors, whom King Henry had sent to direct his inexperienced son. John found his difficulties increased in 1313 by the death of his imperial father, which deprived him of the support of the German Empire. He was obliged to consent to the expulsion of the Germans from Bohemia, and to resign the government of the country to Henry of Lipa, the most powerful of the Bohemian barons.

Peace, however, was not even then secured. Financial disputes between the king and his chief adviser, the extraordinary connection between Lipa and the Dowager Queen Elizabeth, the former consort both of Wenzel II. and Duke Rudolf, who resided in Königingrätz, and overshadowed the court of the queen proper, together with other causes, led to the forcible removal of Lipa in 1315, whereupon Archbishop Peter again received the position of chief minister. After a rule of two years he was again forced to yield to the powerful nobles in 1317.

Revolt Against King John King John was weary of these domestic troubles, and turned his attention to foreign affairs, especially to the rivalry between Lewis of Bavaria and Frederic the Fair of Austria for the German crown; consequently the government of Bohemia and the work of resistance to the nobles devolved upon his wife Queen Elizabeth, who received very little support from her husband. The result was a general revolt

against the king in 1318, which he was powerless to suppress. Finally, by the intervention of Lewis of Bavaria, a somewhat degrading compromise with the revolted barons was effected at Taus, and the king was forced to content himself with his title, his position, and the rich income of his territory. King John, a rest-

Moravia Freed from the Hapsburgs

less, cheerful, somewhat extravagant, but highly gifted and chivalrous character, secured a great extension of territory for Bohemia in the course of the numerous enterprises and intrigues in which he was continually involved. After the death of the Margrave Waldemar of Brandenburg, the Oberlausitz fell into his hands in 1319. In 1322 he received in pawn from Lewis of Bavaria the town of Eger, with its territory, which has ever since remained in the possession of Bohemia. He was able definitely to liberate Moravia from all the claims and demands which the Hapsburgs could make upon that province. For a few years (1331-1333) he even secured possession of part of Lombardy, the government of which he entrusted to his eldest son Charles, while his youngest son, John Henry, received the province of Tyrol, with the hand of Margareta Maultasch, in 1330; but John Henry was unable to maintain his hold of this possession.

The most important acquisition made by King John was that of Silesia, which gave to Bohemia an enormous increase of extent and power. The connection of the Silesian princes with Bohemia had begun under the last of the Premyslids, and had been dissolved upon the extinction of the race; it was made permanent under the rule of King John. As early as the year 1327, upon the occasion of an expedition against Poland, John received the homage of the dukes of Upper Silesia. In the same year Breslau recognised the Bohemian

Fall of "the Crown of Knighthood"

king as its feudal overlord; this example was followed in 1328 by most of the duchies of Lower Silesia. In 1331 John, by a threat of invasion, forced Glogau to do homage. These acquisition were further secured by a treaty between King John and the Polish king Casimir, son of Vladislav Lokietek, in 1335, whereby John renounced the claims to the Polish crown, which he had hitherto maintained as heir of the Premyslids,

receiving in return the cession of the Silesian districts under Polish government.

When John fell, "the crown of knighthood," in the battle of Crecy-en-Ponthieu on August 26th, 1346, the anniversary of the death of Premysl Ottokar II., the domestic resources of Bohemia had been greatly shaken by his extravagant and unsystematic government. However, his successful foreign and military policy, which secured a position for his son and heir, Charles, had largely counterbalanced these disadvantages; for a time the Bohemian king ruled over a more extensive territory than any of his predecessors, with the exception of Premysl Ottokar II., had ever acquired. To this power was now added the dignity of the imperial crown. Thanks to the diplomacy of his father, Charles was elected as Charles IV. on July 11th, 1346, after the deposition of the Emperor Lewis of Bavaria.

On the death of his father, Charles was more than thirty years of age, and had enjoyed a wide experience in his youth. His father had sent him at an early age to complete his education at the court in

The Youthful Charles and his Great Victory

Paris, and his intellectual powers soon made it possible for him to take part in the business of government. At the age of fifteen he was sent to Parma to administer, to guide, and to defend his father's Italian acquisitions. In the year 1332, at the age of sixteen, he won a brilliant victory over his powerful adversaries at San Felice. However, the Italian lands eventually proved untenable, and were sold by King John in the following year.

In 1333 Charles received the title of Margrave of Moravia, and took over the government of the hereditary dominions. He at once reduced the shattered resources of the kingdom to order. Intrigues among the nobles caused at times serious dissension between father and son. These quarrels reached their highest point in the years 1336-1337 when Charles was forced to resign the administration of Bohemia. But in 1338 a complete reconciliation was effected, and in 1341 King John, of his own initiative, secured the recognition of Charles as his successor in the Bohemian kingdom, during his own lifetime. Of special importance to Charles was the year 1342, when his former tutor and his father's friend at the French Court, the Archbishop Pierre Roger of Rouen, ascended the papal chair

as Clement VI. These two highly gifted men are said to have predicted their careers to one another during their intercourse in Paris.

The support of the Pope enabled Charles in 1344 to raise the bishopric of Prague, which had hitherto been subject to the metropolitan see of Mainz, to the rank of an independent archbishopric with jurisdiction over the bishopric of Olmütz in Moravia and the newly founded bishopric of Leitomischl in Bohemia. Clement VI. also took an honourable share in the promotion of the future king of Bohemia to the throne of Germany. Charles was spared the trouble of a struggle with the Emperor Lewis of Bavaria, who had been deposed on July 11th, 1346, for as he was on the point of marching against Lewis in 1347 he received the news of his rival's death.

Charles was therefore able to devote himself with greater vigour to the difficult task of conducting the business of the empire. As regarded the administration of his hereditary territories, he found a welcome supporter in his brother John Henry, upon whom he conferred the margraviate of Moravia as an hereditary fief on December 26th, 1349. So long as he lived, this brother was bound to Charles by ties of affection and friendship, and supported him zealously and unselfishly in his military and diplomatic enterprises. Their mutual relation is comparable to that which existed between King Premysl Ottokar I. and Vladislav Henry. Moravia being thus secured by inheritance to the second line of the Luxemburg house, the diocese of Olmütz and the province of Troppau were declared fiefs of the crown of Bohemia and made independent of the margraviate of Moravia. The

Silesia Under the Crown of Bohemia

duchy of Troppau had been already founded by King Premysl Ottokar II., who had reserved it for the support of his illegitimate son Nicholas I.; it had also been conferred as a fief by King John in 1318 upon the son and namesake of Nicholas, so that the arrangement of Charles only confirmed his father's dispositions. The rest of Silesia Charles had

already, in 1348, incorporated with the Bohemian crown as Emperor of Germany.

The assertion of the Emperor Maximilian that Charles IV. was the stepfather of the empire and the father of Bohemia is justified as regards the latter part of the remark. The whole of Charles's political activity was inspired by the idea of making his family and his country a great power. From the beginning of his independent reign to his death he exerted every effort to raise Bohemia to the level of civilisation and intellectual development already attained by more advanced countries. He extended his capital of Prague and laid the foundation of its great development, increasing its beauty by such constructions as the Cathedral of St. Veit, the Castle of Hrad, the Teyn Church,

and the bridge over the Moldau. He summoned artists of famous capacity, both German and Italian, architects and painters, brass-founders and sculptors, goldsmiths, and other miniature art workers. To his lively interest in science—he was himself an historical and theological author—the University of Prague owes its origin, at a time when such educational institutions were rare on the north of the Alps, except in France. Bologna and Paris served as patterns for the organisation of the



THE FATHER OF BOHEMIA

Charles IV. was so called by the Emperor Maximilian for his immense services to his country, which advanced greatly in power and prosperity during his long reign.

university. Charles showed an extreme interest in jurisprudence. He was able to regulate imperial affairs by ordinances establishing a land peace, by the "Golden Bull" of 1356, and other edicts; he conceived the idea of providing a uniform legal code for Bohemia and Moravia in the "Majestas Carolina."

However, his intentions were frustrated by the resistance of the native nobility. Further important legal work was achieved in Silesia during his reign, such as the land register for the Duchy of Breslau, "a magnificent work, which has been a model for all later surveys;" the Silesian common law code, a redaction of the "Sachsen-spiegel," with special modifications; and, finally, a special municipal code for Breslau. And Charles worked no less vigorously to secure material prosperity in his own dominions. Mining, forestry,

agriculture, and cattle farming then became extremely productive. Prague, next to Breslau, which he regarded with no less care, became one of the most important commercial centres in Central Europe, and a meeting-place of traffic from the south to the north, and from the west to the east. The energy manifested by Charles IV.

Bohemia's Succession of Plagues in promoting the advance of intellectual and material prosperity deserves the more recognition for the reason that severe plagues ravaged the country during the first years of his rule; such were the black death, the Jewish plague, and the "flagellant" outburst. Though these plagues did not prove so destructive in the hereditary lands of Charles as elsewhere, they were none the less a powerful obstacle to the development of trade and intercourse, of education and art.

It must also not be forgotten that the emperor's time was largely occupied by political business, military campaigns, and journeys to different parts of the empire, so that he was often absent from his hereditary territories for months at a time. The results of the energy which Charles IV. displayed through the thirty years of his reign, seem, in brief, to have been the securing of a prosperous future to the house of Luxemburg, which then counted numerous male descendants. Partly by bold opposition, partly by clever diplomacy, he gradually overcame the influence of the Wittelsbach family, which had hitherto been powerful, and finally secured from them the important Mark of Brandenburg for his own house in 1373.

At the beginning of his reign he was opposed by the King of Poland, whose hostility was supported by Duke Bolko of Schweidnitz-Jauer, the last of the Silesian princes who remained independent of Bohemia. In the year 1348, however, Charles concluded an offensive and de-

Poland and Bohemia in Agreement fensive alliance with the King of Poland, while he so far secured the good favour of Bolko as to induce him to conclude a pact of inheritance with Bohemia in 1364; by this agreement Charles, who entered upon a third marriage, in 1353, with Anna, daughter of the Duke of Schweidnitz, secured a reasonable prospect of acquiring the latter's principality. These hopes were realised in a few years by the death of Bolko in 1368.

Charles had also a difficult problem to deal with in his relations with his stepson, Rudolf IV. of Austria. This prince was inspired by an invincible ambition for supremacy and power. He was anxious to secure an exceptional position for his kingdom among the German principalities, and when Charles opposed these ambitious designs, Rudolf was ready to adopt any and every means for their execution. He produced forged documents, and, what was more dangerous, made alliances with foreign princes against the emperor, supporting especially King Lewis of Hungary, who caused Charles IV. serious anxiety on more than one occasion. However, the diplomatic skill of the Luxemburg monarch was able gradually to overcome these dangers, and eventually to turn them to his own account. After 1363 the attention of Duke Rudolf was occupied by the acquisition of the Tyrol, and he began to feel the need of the emperor's support. In February, 1364, in the course of a meeting of nobles at Brünn, he concluded with Charles an important succession treaty, whereby the Luxemburg

The Death of Charles IV. and Hapsburg families were respectively to inherit one another's lands in case either house should become extinct in the male and female line. Charles considerably increased his dominions by purchase and by acquisition in other ways, especially in the Upper Palatinate and in Lausitz; also he attempted to secure for his family the prospect of succession to neighbouring thrones, particularly by well-considered family alliances. Both Rudolf IV., and his brother, Duke Albert III., who succeeded him as Duke of Austria in 1365, were married to daughters of Charles IV. His son Wenzel, born in 1361, by Anna, was originally betrothed to the niece, at that time the heiress of King Lewis of Hungary. When, however, in after years, this monarch had daughters of his own, the betrothal was dissolved, and in 1371 Wenzel married Johanna, the daughter of Albert, Duke of Bavaria. Charles IV. attempted to marry his second son, Sigismund, to Maria, the elder daughter and heiress apparent of Lewis of Hungary.

Charles IV. left his family in a strong position when he died, at the age of sixty-three, on November 29th, 1378. Wenzel had already, in 1376, been

appointed German Emperor by the Electors, and was also in possession of Bohemia and Silesia. The second son, Sigismund, received the Mark of Brandenburg, and the youngest, John, part of the Lausitz. The margraviate of Moravia had been governed until 1383 by Wenzel, the brother of Charles IV., who also ruled the duchy of Luxemburg. The Bohemian king held the feudal rights over this province, and after the death of the margrave John in 1375 the country was divided among his three sons, Jost, Prokop, and John Sobeslav.

Rarely do grandfather, father, and grandson display differences of life and

character so profound as may be noted in the case of John, Charles, and Wenzel. The diplomatic powers of King John reappear as practical statesmanship of a high order in Charles; in Wenzel, however, scarce the humblest remnant of political capacity is discernible; again, the extravagance of the grandfather becomes remarkably economy in the son and avarice in the grandson. John is a fiery, impetuous, chivalric figure, seeking and finding death in the press of battle; Charles is a more patriarchal character, with no preference for war, though far from cowardly; Wenzel, as years pass by, exhibits a voluptuousness immoderate and even brutal, cowardice conjoined with cruelty, a blend of indolence and vacillation.

Two Popes Dispute the Tiara

Feeble as was his capacity for empire this prince was now confronted not only with the task of governing the realm of a great dynasty, but also with the administration of the vast German Empire, with its various and divergent interests; this, too, at a period when all the material for political and social conflagration had been collected. Shortly before the death of Charles IV. an event had occurred which threw the critical nature of the

general situation into strong relief. Two Popes were disputing the tiara, each with his own following among the princes and the clergy—Urban VI. at Rome and Clement VII. at Avignon. Wenzel, whose special business it should have been, as

Wenzel's Wall of Difficulties

German emperor, to allay the schism in the Church, calmly contemplated the spread of this disorder in every direction.

Another difficult problem for his consideration was the position of his brother Sigismund in Hungary. The Luxemburg prince had married Maria, the elder daughter of King Lewis I., who had no male issue, and occupied the throne

of Hungary and also, after 1370, that of Poland; on Lewis's death in 1382 his son-in-law claimed the Polish and Hungarian kingdoms in right of his wife. The attempt to secure Poland resulted in total failure, while Hungary was secured only after a severe struggle, which absorbed more of Wenzel's resources than he could well spare. Within the empire, again, the king was hard pressed by the struggle between the princes and the towns. The partiality which he at first displayed for



WENZEL IV., KING OF BOHEMIA

The eldest son of Charles IV., Wenzel, or Wenceslaus, succeeded his father on the throne of Bohemia in 1378, in which year he was also elected Emperor of Germany. His reign was one long succession of trouble and he died in 1419.

the latter was succeeded by indecision when his support proved inadequate to secure victory for the towns, and his diminishing interest in German affairs eventually lost him the sympathies of all parties alike.

These various foreign complications, for the successful solution of which Wenzel did not possess the judgment, the force of will, or the tenacity necessary, became far more dangerous on account of the rise of political, social, and religious difficulties, with which he was too weak to cope, within his own hereditary territories.

However, these menacing dangers were not apparent at the outset of his government in Bohemia. The organisation which Charles IV. had set on foot continued to

work excellently for a time, and Wenzel was not the man to strike out a line of his own. He continued the great architectural works which his father had begun; he extended the university; literary work, especially in the Czech language, met with his zealous support. It was at this period that Huss altered and

**Crusade
Against the
Clergy**

simplified the Bohemian orthography. But the signs of dissension in the public life of Bohemia grew more and more distinct. The University of Prague in particular was the starting point of the first line of cleavage. The Bohemian element in the population had grown until it outnumbered the other nationalities—the Bavarians, Saxons, and Poles—and the result was a demand for a corresponding redistribution of votes in municipal and other corporations. Soon, again, the Bohemian nationality diverged from the other three nations upon religious questions, which had entirely occupied the attention of the clergy since the days of Charles IV. The German preacher Conrad Waldhauser, whom Charles had summoned from Austria to Prague, then supported the Czech Milicz of Kremsier in his crusade against the immorality of laity and clergy. They both died during Charles's reign, and the activity of their successors became rather nationalist than religious, and was directed on the one hand against the German mendicant Orders, —the Dominicans and Augustinians—and on the other against the upper clergy, the Archbishop of Prague and the chapter.

Wenzel became involved in the quarrel, and treated the Archbishop of Prague, Johann von Jenstein, and his officials with undue severity. In the course of the conflict they were taken prisoners, examined under torture, and severely punished; one of them, Doctor Johann von Pomuk, otherwise Nepomuk, who had been so brutally mishandled as to be past all hope

**The King's
Punishment
of Officials**

of recovery, was drowned in the Moldau at the king's orders. This happened in the year 1393. In the very next year the king was to discover the weakness of the foundations supporting the power which he exercised with such despotism in Bohemia. The most distinguished noble families formed a confederacy with the object of overthrowing the king's advisers and of recovering their former rights to a share in the administration.

Their enterprise was especially dangerous to Wenzel, for the reason that they had secured the support of the king's cousin Jost, the margrave of Moravia. Jost, whose personality is henceforward of considerable importance in the history of Wenzel's reign, had been margrave and overlord of Moravia since the death of his father John in 1375. Important estates had been bequeathed to his two brothers, who were independent of Jost. But no love was lost between them from the outset, and the enmity between Jost and Procop resulted in a furious struggle between the brothers in Moravia, which caused great suffering for a long period to the whole margraviate, and especially to the bishopric of Olmütz. Jost, an ambitious and capable character, succeeded in securing the confidence of the self-mistrustful King of Bohemia, and was allowed to assume part of his imperial duties in return for an adequate consideration.

To begin with, he was appointed in 1383 vicar of the empire for Italy, as Wenzel hoped that his cousin would clear

**Aristocrats
Oppose
Wenzel**

his way for a progress to Rome. In return for the military and pecuniary help which he gave to Wenzel and Sigismund in the Hungarian War, Jost obtained the Mark of Brandenburg on mortgage in 1388; to this were soon added Luxemburg and the governorship of Alsace. When Wenzel first—about 1387—entertained the idea of abdicating the German crown, he had thoughts of transferring it to his Moravian cousin. Jost had serious hopes of securing that dignity, as is proved by the fact that in 1389 he concluded compacts with Duke Albert III., "in the event of his becoming king of Germany." The plan, however, came to nothing. In the year 1390 Jost was again appointed imperial vicar for Italy, with a view to the more serious consideration of the papal question and the crowning of Wenzel as emperor.

The margrave, however, was induced to decline the honour by reason of the outbreak of disturbances in Bohemia, and personally took the lead of the aristocratic league against the king, and secured for this movement the support of King Sigismund of Hungary, Duke Albert of Austria, and the Margrave William of Meissen. Wenzel was able to rely only upon the humble resources of his cousin Procop

of Moravia and of his youngest brother, John of Görlitz. But before hostilities were actually begun the confederates succeeded in capturing the king's person on May 8th, 1394. His two allies attempted to rescue him, the sole result being that Wenzel was confined first in a Bohemian and afterwards in an Austrian castle. Meanwhile Jost administered the government of Bohemia. Germany then began to menace the conspirators, who liberated the king. A war broke out in Bohemia and Moravia which seemed likely to be prolonged by the weakness of Wenzel and the mutual animosity of the several members of the royal family.

At the outset Sigismund, king of Hungary, drove his cousin Jost out of he field by the conclusion of a secret reconciliation with his brother Wenzel, whereby he secured the office of Vicar General in Germany in March, 1396, with the reversion of the German crown. About a year later—in February, 1397—Wenzel in turn made peace with Jost and allowed him to establish a kind of co-regency in Prague.

Suddenly, however, he renounced his compact with Jost and summoned Procop to be his permanent adviser in 1398; this, too, at a time when the temper of the German electors had grown threatening owing to the weakness of Wenzel's government. Wenzel then betook himself to Germany, held a diet in Frankfort in 1398, and travelled thence to Charles VI. of France to discuss the difficult problem of allaying the papal schism. Meanwhile, the federated nobles, supported by Jost and Sigismund, began war in Bohemia against Wenzel and Procop. The struggle continued until the end of August, 1400, when

**The Nobles
Depose
King Wenzel**

Wenzel received the news of his own deposition and of the election of Rupert of the Palatinate as king of the Romans. Wenzel was naturally furious at the insult. He could not, however, summon up resolution to strike an immediate blow for the recovery of his position. He made a second attempt at reconciliation with Sigismund; but the brothers again quarrelled concerning the conditions under which the King of Hungary should take up

arms against the empire on behalf of Wenzel, and Sigismund reluctantly retired to Bohemia. Jost seized the opportunity for a decisive stroke. In alliance with the Bohemian barons, the Archbishop of Prague, and the Margrave of Meissen he forced Wenzel to accept a regency for Bohemia, and again secured his possession

**Restless
Times in
Hungary**

of Lausitz and of the Brandenburg Mark in August, 1401. Wenzel was anxious to put an end to this tutelage; for this purpose he again concluded a compact with Sigismund at the beginning of 1402, appointing him vice-regent or co-regent in Bohemia, and conferring on him the imperial vicariate for Germany. The King of Hungary repaid this mark of confidence by making Wenzel a prisoner in March, 1402, and by capturing shortly afterwards his most faithful supporter, the margrave Procop. Sigismund entered upon relations of extreme intimacy with the Austrian dukes, entrusted them with the care of the person of the Bohemian king in August, 1402, and concluded with them important pacts of inheritance, considerably to the disadvantage of Jost of Moravia, whose Mark of Brandenburg he treated as his own.



JOHN HUSS, REFORMER
The leading representative of the Reformation among the Bohemian clergy died a martyr in 1415.

The position was at length entirely changed by a rising in Hungary which obliged Sigismund to abandon Bohemia, and by the flight of Wenzel from Austria to his own country in November, 1403, where he was received with much jubilation, owing to the general hatred of the Austrian rule. Jost was reconciled to Wenzel, chiefly for the reason that his brother Procop, with whom he had been in continual hostility, had died in the year 1405, and the attacks of Sigismund and the Hapsburgs upon the Bohemian king were successfully repulsed. Southern Bohemia, Moravia, and Austria suffered terrible devastation between 1404 and 1406 from the wars between the princes and also from the ravages of the dangerous robber bands which then became the curse of the country.

Silesia suffered no less than Bohemia and Moravia under the unhappy government of King Wenzel. At the outset of his reign he interfered in a violent quarrel

from Breslau and the local chapter, and espoused the cause of the town against the despotic aggression of its opponents in 1381. Shortly afterwards he involved this important commercial centre in a long feud with the dukes of Oppeln upon the question of a heavy guarantee for the king's financial necessities. In the course

**Silesian Princes
at the
Bohemian Court**

of this struggle the travelling merchants of Breslau suffered heavy losses in property and purse. Some of the Silesian princes, in particular those of Teschen, remained faithful to Wenzel and secured high offices at the Bohemian court; others, however, broke their feudal ties with Bohemia and formed connections with Vladislav Jagellon, the reigning king of Poland.

These numerous indications of retrogression and decay in the hereditary Luxemburg territories would perhaps have been less ominous had not the religious and nationalist movement among the Bohemian nation then attained its highest point, declaring war with terrible determination both against the Catholic Church and against German influence in general. The best-known representative of the reform movement among the Bohemian clergy is John Huss; he had been a leading figure among the lecturers at the university since 1396, and as preacher in the Bethlehem chapel at Prague he enjoyed an unexampled popularity among all classes of the population. He and his followers fulminated in the Bohemian language against the immorality of clergy and laity, especially against the sale of ecclesiastical offices (simony), whereby the ranks of the clergy were filled with unworthy members. Livings and benefices had been multiplied to such an extent in Bohemia and Moravia that even small churches supported numerous priests in idleness. These and other evils formed a widespread social malady of the period,

**Bohemia
During the
Reformation**

and as early as the middle of the fourteenth century had been combated by Waldhauser and Milicz in Bohemia, and by John Wycliffe in England. Nowhere, however, did these ecclesiastical quarrels fall upon a soil so rich in national animosities as in Bohemia. The war broke out upon the question of the condemnation of Wycliffe's writings, which had made their way into Bohemia and were enthusiastically received by the reform

party among the clergy. The cathedral chapter requested the university to oppose the dissemination of Wycliffe's works and opinions; they met with a refusal from the Bohemian "nation" in the university which was practically led by Huss. The breach existing in the university and within the nation was widened.

The same opposition reappeared a few years later upon the question of concluding the papal schism. The Council of Pisa in 1409 proposed to settle the question definitely by observing an ecclesiastical neutrality and refusing obedience to either Pope. In the University of Prague the idea commended itself only to the Bohemian "nation;" the three remaining nationalities in conjunction with the upper clergy adhered firmly to the Roman Pope Gregory XII. King Wenzel, in contrast to Rupert, declared for ecclesiastical neutrality, and the Czech party induced him to issue that fatal decree whereby the Bohemian "nation," though in the minority, was henceforward to have three votes in all university discussions and resolutions, while the three non-Bohemian

**Huss
Defies the
Pope**

nations were to have but one vote between them. This measure implied the despotic repression of Germans and foreigners. Their sole remedy was migration to other German universities.

Huss, who must be regarded as the prime mover in this momentous transaction, had shaken off his opponents with unusual success. He was the more emboldened for the struggle with the higher clergy, in particular with Archbishop Zbynek of Prague. This ecclesiastic had forcibly deprived the clergy of their Wycliffite books, which he condemned to be burnt, and had also taken measures against the licence of the preachers in every direction, and was anxious to confine their activity to the parish churches. When Huss declined to obey these regulations and continued to preach reform from the pulpit of the Bethlehem chapel, he was excommunicated. However, the bulk of the population, the university, the court, the Queen Sophie—Wenzel's second wife from 1389—and the king himself, were on the side of Huss, while the archbishop was supported only by his clergy and by the new Pope, John XXIII.

The further development of these divisions was largely influenced by general political events. King Rupert had died



JOHN HUSS. THE GREAT BOHEMIAN REFORMER BEFORE THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE, WHICH CONDEMNED HIM TO DEATH IN 1415

in the year 1410. The simultaneous choice of the two Luxemburg princes, Jost of Moravia and Sigismund of Hungary, was but a temporary danger, as the former died in January, 1411. Of the many descendants of the house of Luxemburg there remained only King Wenzel of Bohemia and King Sigismund of Hungary, neither having male issue. They agreed without difficulty to share the inheritance of their Moravian cousin, and laid aside all previous grounds of dispute. Sigismund took the Mark of Brandenburg, which he forthwith mortgaged to the Burgrave Frederic of Nuremberg; Wenzel added Moravia and Lausitz to Bohemia. Sigismund was then unanimously chosen king of Germany. Wenzel reserved to himself the right of acquiring the dignity of emperor at the hands of the Pope. They attempted by similar means to conclude the schism in the Church, recognising John XXIII., then resident in Rome, as against the other two candidates who laid claim to the papal tiara. Hopes of a general recognition induced the Pope to modify his attitude to Huss and to refrain from summoning him to Rome; this policy was the more feasible because the chief opponent of Huss, the Archbishop Zbynek, died in the year 1411, and his aged successor was a mere tool in the hands of King Wenzel. Huss, however, was stimulated to further invective in his preaching against ecclesiastical abuses by John XXIII.'s issue of indulgences to secure money for the struggle against his opponents, a proceeding which gave further ground for serious complaints. Once again the nation supported Huss, with his pupils and friends. On this occasion, however, Wenzel resolved to give vigorous support, for political reasons, to the minority who opposed reform. The result was the imprisonment and execution of certain persons who publicly opposed the proceedings of the papal commissioners, while further complaints were made in Rome against Huss, who consequently incurred a papal sentence of excommunication in 1412. Huss retired from Prague, but continued his work

Sigismund on the Throne of Germany

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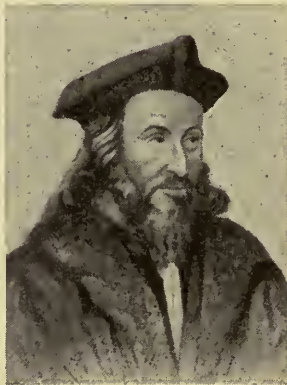
throughout the country with increased zeal, while in the capital itself the tension between the two parties was in no degree diminished.

Sigismund then considered that it might be possible to make an end of the religious disputes which shook the Bohemian hereditary lands, Bohemia itself, and also Moravia, to their centre, by bringing Huss before the Council of Constance, where the most influential representatives of political and ecclesiastical Europe had gathered to conclude the schism and to introduce general measures of church reform. Huss arrived a fortnight before the first sitting of the council, on November 3rd, 1414, accompanied by several Bohemian nobles, under a safe-conduct from Sigismund. This fact, however, did not prevent the council from

Huss is Executed

imprisoning Huss on November 28th. Sigismund and Wenzel made no attempt to interfere, in spite of their express promise guaranteeing a safe passage and return for Huss. The nobility of Bohemia and Moravia pressed his case with increasing firmness, and sent letters of warning to the king and the council; but after more than six months' imprisonment in misery, Huss was deprived of his spiritual office as an arch-heretic by the council on July 6th, 1415, and the secular power then executed the sentence of death by burning.

Huss died as the result of his religious zeal. The firmness, the love of truth, and the contempt of death which he displayed before his judges at Constance, were a powerful incitement to his strong body of adherents in Bohemia and Moravia to cling the more tenaciously to his doctrines. Shortly before his death, his pupil, Jacobel-



A HUSSITE REFORMER
Jerome, or Hieronymus, of Prague was one of the Hussite reformers who suffered death in the year 1416.

lus of Mies, came forward with a claim, based upon the commands of Holy Scripture, for communion in both kinds. Huss offered no objection, and his followers thus gained, to their great advantage, a tangible symbol of their divergence from the Catholic Church.

No priest was tolerated who would not dispense the sacrament in both kinds; and since the Council of Constance



LUTHER AND HUSS ADMINISTERING THE COMMUNION TO JOHN FREDERIC I. OF SAXONY
 Reproduced from an old print illustrating allegorically the triumph of the lay communion, in support of which, and for other heresies, Huss had been executed seventy years before the time of Luther.

rejected this innovation as being opposed to the existing custom of the Church, occasion was given for the expulsion of the Catholic clergy in every direction. Nobles and knights, in accordance with the custom of the age, soon formed a league for the purpose of protecting communion in both kinds and freedom of preaching in the country. They were unanimously resolved to regard the University of Prague and not the Council of Constance as their supreme ecclesiastical authority until the choice of a new Pope.

Strong measures were taken against the apostates; the fathers of the council issued excommunications and an interdict without delay. Hussite disciples were burned in Olmütz when they attempted to preach the new doctrine in that city. A second magister of Prague, Hieronymus, was burned in Constance on May 30th, 1416. Bishop John of Leitomischl, who was regarded as chiefly responsible next to Sigismund for the condemnation of Huss, was made Bishop of Olmütz, and showed great zeal for the extirpation of the heresy.

But these measures served only to intensify the spirit of opposition, after the death of Huss, from year to year, and soon made the breach irremediable. The only measures which commended themselves to the new Pope, Martin V., were excommunication and anathema, which produced the smaller effect, as the

Hussites themselves now began to break up into sects and parties, which went far beyond the doctrine of the magister of Prague. The most numerous, and afterwards the most important, of these sects was that of the Taborites, who took their name from Mount Tabor, where they originally held their meetings. As regarded religion, they professed a return to the conditions of primitive Christianity, and adherence only to the actual letter of the Bible. At the same time their political and social views and objects were marked by extreme radicalism. The more moderate opposition among the Hussites were known from their symbol as Calixtins (chalicemen) or as Pragers, as the Prague school was their spiritual centre.

King Wenzel, who had favoured the Hussites since the condemnation of their founder, was impelled by his brother Sigismund and the Pope to entertain seriously the idea of interference, in view of the dangerous and revolutionary spirit which animated an ever increasing circle of adherents. At the outset of the year 1419 he remodelled the Hussite council of the Neustadt in Prague by introducing Catholics, and recalled the priests who had been expelled. However, mutual animosities had risen to such a pitch that on July 30th, 1419, when the Catholics disturbed or insulted a procession, the Hussites, under their leader Ziska, stormed the parliament house in the Neustadt and threw some of the Catholic councillors out of the windows. The councillors were then beaten and stabbed to death by the infuriated populace. The excitement in the city and the country was increased a few weeks afterwards by the sudden death of King Wenzel on August 19th, 1419, the consequence of a fearful access of fury at the outbreak of the revolution.

Wenzel Dies in an Access of Fury

Sigismund, the last descendant of the house of Luxemburg, was now confronted with the difficult task of securing his accession to the heritage of his brother—Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia. In each of these

three countries the political situation and the prospects of his recognition were different. In Bohemia he might expect a bitter opposition, as long as he maintained his hostility to the Hussite movement. In Moravia this movement had indeed obtained a firm footing among the nobility and the population. Here, however, there was a counteracting force in the bishopric of Olmütz and its numerous feudatories, led by Bishop John, "the man of iron," who strove vigorously for the suppression of the heresy. Further, the most important towns, such as Brünn, Olmütz, Znaim, Iglau, and others were populated by a majority of Catholic and German inhabitants, and neither they nor the nobility had any intention of opposing the rights of the Luxemburg claimant.

Finally, Sigismund could be certain of meeting with ready submission in Silesia, which was entirely Germanised, and regarded the struggle in Bohemia primarily from a nationalist point of view, condemning it for its anti-German tendency. Hence Sigismund did not enter Bohemia, but entrusted the govern-

Sigismund and the Hussites

ment to the Dowager-queen Sophie, and to some councillors from the moderates among the nobility; he appeared in Brünn in December, 1419, where he summoned the provincial assembly. An embassy also appeared from Bohemia to ask for the king's recognition of the four articles of belief, which had been drawn up by the Hussite sects a short time previously in a general assembly at Prague. These were, firstly, freedom of preaching; secondly, communion in both kinds; thirdly, the observance of apostolic poverty by the clergy; and, fourthly, the suppression and punishment of deadly sins. Sigismund, however, declined to declare his position, and put off the deputies until he should arrive in Bohemia itself.

He did not, however, proceed to Bohemia, but hurried immediately from Brünn to Breslau, into which town he made a formal entry on January 5th, 1420. Here he declared his real attitude towards the Hussites as his religious and political opponents. Towards the close of Wenzel's reign the artisans of Breslau had raised a revolt against the aristocratic council and the whole system of royal administration, following the example of the Hussites at Prague, who had killed councillors and

usurped the power and authority. Sigismund did not hesitate to bring the revolutionaries to justice; he executed twenty-three of them in the public square on March 4th, 1420, condemned the numerous fugitives to death, declared their rights and property forfeit, and most strictly limited the freedom and the privileges of the guilds as a whole.

This action was intended as a menace to the Bohemians, and its meaning became plainer on March 15th, 1420, when a citizen of Prague, who had ventured to express publicly in Breslau his opinion upon the condemnation of Huss, and to declare himself a Hussite, was burned as a heretic at Sigismund's orders. Two days afterwards he ordered the crusade bull against the Hussites which Pope Martin V. had issued, to be read from the pulpits of the Breslau churches. The embassy from Prague, which had also come to Breslau to negotiate with the king, naturally left the city entirely undeceived, and upon its return to Prague wisely advised a union of the moderate Calixtins and radical Taborites, and issued an appeal for war upon their common enemy, the Luxemburg ruler.

A few weeks later Sigismund entered Bohemia with a strong army, composed chiefly of Germans and Silesians. He could calculate upon the support of many towns which had remained German and Catholic—for example, Kuttenberg—and on the advantage derived from the possession of the two fortresses which dominated Prague—the Hradshin and the Wysherad. However, the siege of Prague from May to June, 1420, was a failure. An attempt to relieve the defenders of the Wysherad was defeated, and in the murderous battle of November 1st, 1420, the king's army was shattered, and many of the Catholic nobility of Moravia who had followed him were included in the overthrow. In February, 1421, Sigismund again made trial of his fortune in war against Bohemia, and was forced to retreat, or rather to flee,

through Moravia to Hungary. On all three occasions the undaunted Taborite army had held the field under its general, Ziska. Conscious of their power, the Taborites now took the offensive, and conquered during the following months a number of towns and fiefs which had remained Catholic. The process of transforming the German towns of Bohemia into Czech settlements went on simultaneously with these conquests, so far as it had not been already completed by earlier events. A few towns only were able to resist the change. In June, 1421, the assembly of Caslau had already declared the crown to be forfeit, the king being "the deadly enemy of the Bohemian nation." The provisional government offered the Bohemian throne to the King of Poland.

Sigismund was a restless and undaunted character; in this and in many other good and bad qualities he reminds us of his grandfather, King John. Once again he resumed the struggle, although the dangers which threatened him in Hungary made it impossible for him to think of continuing the war in Bohemia without foreign help. Germany equipped a crusading army at his appeal, increased, it is said, to 200,000 men by contingents from Meissen and Silesia. Bohemia was invaded in September, 1421, but the furious attacks of the Hussite bands inflicted heavy loss, and forced the

army to withdraw almost as soon as it had crossed the frontier. It was not for several years that the empire undertook any fresh military enterprise against Bohemia.

Most important to Sigismund were the support and co-operation of Duke Albert V. of Austria, which were continued from the beginning to the end of the war. The price paid for this help was, indeed, considerable. Sigismund gave Elizabeth, his only child and heiress, to the duke, in marriage, ceded certain towns and castles, and afterwards gave him the governorship, and finally complete possession, of the margraviate of Moravia under



A BOHEMIAN WARRIOR
In fifteenth-century chain armour.

the convention of October 1st to 4th, 1423. Albert was gradually able, with the help of the Bishop of Olmütz, to withdraw this province from Hussite influence, to crush the Hussite barons, and to make the province a base of operations against Moravia. These facts induced Ziska to turn his attention to the neighbouring

Quarrels Among the Hussites

province in the year 1424; but at the outset of the campaign this great general succumbed to an attack of some kind of plague at Pribislau, a little town on the frontier of Bohemia and Moravia, on October 11th, 1424. Before his death bitter quarrels had broken out between the several Hussite sects, though these had hitherto been allayed by Ziska. However, after his death an irremediable disruption took place. His special adherents, who were known as the "Orphans," separated from the Taborites. The leadership of the latter was undertaken by Prokop Holy (Rasa, the shorn one), who took a leading position in the general Hussite army during the warfare of the following years. He was the chief stimulus to the enterprises which the Bohemians undertook after 1424 against all the neighbouring provinces, and he spread the Hussite wars to Austria and Hungary, to Silesia and the Lausitz, to Saxony and Brandenburg, to the Palatinate and Franconia.

The Hussite expeditions were repeated annually, now in one direction, now in another, spreading terrible misery throughout the whole of Central Europe. In many countries, especially in Silesia, the Hussites were not content with mere raids, but left permanent garrisons in the conquered towns and castles, which incessantly harassed and devastated the surrounding districts. To such a height did the danger rise that the princes of the empire were induced to undertake a second crusade against Bohemia in the

Hussites Put German Army to Flight

summer of 1427, while King Sigismund was occupied with the war against the Turks. Once again the enterprise ended with the panic and flight of the German army when confronted at Tachau by the Hussites, whom a long series of victories had filled with hope and confidence. It seemed absolutely impossible to subdue this enemy in the field, and the opinion was further strengthened by the Hussite exploits in the following years.

The last act of this tragic period of Bohemian history began at the outset of the year 1431. Sigismund attempted to reach a solution of the problem at any cost on wholly new principles; a council had begun the war, a council should end it. He succeeded in winning over to his view Pope Martin V., who summoned a general council of the Church at Basle, and entrusted the conduct of it to the cardinal Giuliano Cesarini, with instructions to make the suppression of the Hussite movement a chief topic of debate.

This expedition to Bohemia ended, like its predecessors, with a terrible defeat of the Germans at Taus on August 14th, 1431; and negotiations were then attempted, to which, indeed, more moderate parties in Bohemia had long since manifested their inclination. While the Hussite armies in 1432 and 1433 marched plundering and massacring through Austria, North Hungary, Silesia, Saxony, and Brandenburg

Death of Sigismund

to the Baltic, an embassy from Prague appeared in Basle during the first months of 1433. When no conclusion could be reached there, the ambassadors of the council betook themselves to Prague, and concluded, on November 30th, 1433, the Compactata of Prague. The material point was the recognition—though under conditions and incompletely—of the four articles of Prague of 1419; concerning the acceptance or refusal of these King Sigismund, then in Brünn, had declined to commit himself.

Of decisive importance for further developments was the split between the moderate Calixtins, who included the majority of the Bohemian nobility, and the Taborites and Orphans. The dissension ended in a conflict at Lipan in Bohemia on May 30th, 1434, when the radicals suffered a severe defeat. The path was now cleared for peace, which was concluded on July 5th, 1436, by the publication of the Compactata at the assembly of Iglau. The reconciliation of the Bohemians with the Church was followed by a further reconciliation with King Sigismund, who was then recognised as king of Bohemia. Only for a year and a half did he enjoy the peaceful possession of this throne. On December 9th, 1437, he died, after numerous misunderstandings and breaches of the terms of peace had begun to rouse strong feeling against him among the Hussites.



BOHEMIA'S ELECTIVE MONARCHY AND ITS UNION WITH HUNGARY AND AUSTRIA

ON his death-bed Sigismund recommended his son-in-law, Duke Albert of Austria, as his successor to the choice of the Bohemian nobles who stood round him. Albert II. inherited both the German and the Hungarian crown from Sigismund; his claim to Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia was based upon the principles formulated under the Emperor Charles IV. to regulate the succession in the house of Luxemburg, and also upon the various succession treaties and marriage connections between the Luxemburg and Hapsburg families. However, the prince, whom the Hussite wars had made conspicuous in Bohemia, could secure recognition from only two of the parties then dominant in the country, the Catholics, led by Baron Ulrich of Rosenberg, and the Calixtins, whose spokesman was Meinhard of Neuhaus. The Taborites, who were then guided by Henry Ptacek

Civil War in Bohemia

of Pirkstein, offered the crown of Bohemia to a Slavonic prince, Casimir, the brother of Vladislav, king of Poland; their action brought about a civil war in Bohemia itself, as well as a Polish invasion both of this country and of Silesia, which had already done homage to Albert.

While this struggle was in progress, Albert suddenly died on October 27th, 1439, leaving no male issue. Not until February, 1440, did his widow Elizabeth bear a son, who was named Ladislaus (Vladislav IV.) Posthumus. Though this prince enjoyed, beyond the shadow of a doubt, his father's justifiable claims to the inheritance, yet the party of Ptacek of Pirkstein passed over the Hapsburg claim and secured, by an almost unanimous vote in the assembly of Prague, the choice of Albert, Duke of Bavaria, as king of Bohemia; he, however, declined the honour under the influence of a secret warning from Ulrich von Rosenberg, the leader of the Catholics. The Taborites then attempted to induce the Emperor

Frederick, the uncle and guardian of Ladislaus, to accept the crown of Bohemia. When this plan failed, they professed their readiness to recognise Ladislaus himself, provided that he were brought up in Bohemia. During these endless party struggles Ulrich of Rosenberg kept the upper hand. He was the most powerful

Hussites derived the greatest advantages
Capture from the confusion which pre-
Prague vailed during his interregnum.

The greater part of the country and the capital, Prague, were in his power and in that of his allies, the Calixtins; the Taborites were restricted to four only of the thirteen circles of Bohemia.

The position was changed after the death of Ptacek of Pirkstein in 1444, when the youthful George Podiebrad and Kunstadt undertook the leadership of the advanced Hussite party. In the year 1448 he seized Prague by a bold and sudden attack, and there assisted his party to gain a complete victory. For two years civil war again raged in Bohemia, until the close of the year 1450, when it was agreed at the general assembly at Prague to approach the emperor again upon the question of the surrender of the young king. On this occasion Frederick III. came to an understanding by direct negotiation with George Podiebrad, without consulting the other party leaders. In 1451 he entrusted Podiebrad with the regency in Bohemia during the minority of Ladislaus. The Bohemian

The Youthful Ladislaus on the Throne

estates confirmed this decision at the assembly of April 24th, 1452. Podiebrad, moreover, adhered to these conditions. When a revolution of the Austrian nobility against the emperor broke out in the following year, Ladislaus was released from his position as a minor and, in name at least, became king of Austria, Hungary and Bohemia. In October, 1453, the memorable year of the Turkish conquest

of Constantinople, he came to Prague and was crowned king of Bohemia, after a progress through Moravia, where he previously received the homage of the Moravian nobility, to the very considerable vexation of the Bohemians. In Bohemia

**King Dies
on the Eve
of Marriage**

the young prince was entirely dependent upon George Podiebrad, who was not only the prince's minister and political adviser, but also his "major-domo," as he called himself, and he never allowed the youth to be out of his sight. He kept the prince in Bohemia for more than a year, and then accompanied him to Breslau and Vienna.

Then at length the Bohemian governor left Ladislaus to return home and continue the government of the country in the name of the king. George Podiebrad was well able to turn the king's favour to his own advantage, and was richly rewarded with fiefs from the royal domains; none the less the period of his governorship in Bohemia (1451-1457) was a period of prosperity. He succeeded in preserving domestic peace, securing general safety and order, and advancing the progress of trade and manufacture. Then, at the age of barely eighteen, the king suddenly died in Prague on November 23rd, 1457, from an illness akin to the plague, at the moment when preparations were being made for the celebration of his marriage with the daughter of Charles VII. of France.

So admirable had been the preparations of George Podiebrad, that on March 2nd, 1458, a few months after the death of Ladislaus, he was able to secure his elevation to the crown of Bohemia. The neighbouring provinces of Moravia, Silesia, and in particular the powerful Breslau and Lausitz, at first refused obedience or recognition. Eventually, however, submission to the Hussite king was refused in Moravia only by the Catholic towns—Brünn, Olmütz, Žnaim, Iglau and others. When George invaded the country with an army, Iglau alone

proved obstinate, trusting to the support of the Archduke Albert VI. of Austria, a brother of the Emperor Frederick III., until its resistance met with a bloody punishment. In Silesia and Lausitz a revulsion in favour of George took place, when he succeeded, as a result of many tortuous intrigues, in ousting the local claimant to the throne, Duke Albert the Courageous of Saxony.

The firmness of George's position was largely due to the fact that, strangely enough, before his coronation in Bohemia he had promised obedience to the Catholic Church, and had thereby secured the powerful support of the Pope, who expected that Podiebrad would bring the whole of Bohemia into submission to Rome,

and had therefore ordered the Catholics of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia to do homage to the new king. Breslau was isolated and unable to persist in its attitude of hostility to George, when Pope Pius II. (Æneas Sylvius) sent his legates to the city in 1459 to arrange a reconciliation with the King of Bohemia. On January 13th, 1460, the intervention of the Breslau city chronicler and historian Peter Eschenloer secured the acceptance of an important agreement, whereby the citizens of Breslau promised obedience to King George, though the actual



ALBERT II. OF GERMANY

He inherited the German and Hungarian crowns from Sigismund, but died in October, 1439, before he had secured general recognition as ruler of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia.

performance of homage was postponed for three years.

Secure of his power in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, on the best of terms with all the neighbouring states and with the German Emperor, designated "most beloved son" by the papal chair, George was able to turn his attention to higher objects.

**Podiebrad
Refuses the Crown
of Hungary**

The prospect of establishing himself upon the throne of Hungary in opposition to Matthias Corvinus, had been offered to him or to his son Henry in the year 1459. In view, however, of the equivocal nature of the situation in Hungary, he had hesitated, and had finally declined the crown, which then fell to Frederick III. Podiebrad found some

compensation in the fact that the two princes who were struggling for the throne respectively sought alliance with him from this time onwards. In August, 1459, the emperor invested him with the Bohemian lands, and also made him other important promises; at the same time Matthias made a successful effort to secure the favour of the Bohemian king. Not only did George succeed in turning the hostility of the two princes to his own advantage, but he also conceived the plan of entering into relations with the enemies of the emperor within the empire, and thus advancing towards the imperial crown without the help of foreign intervention. This project of the King of Bohemia was rendered abortive chiefly by the opposition of Albert Achilles, the Margrave of Brandenburg.

A short time afterwards occurred that breach with the papacy which had such momentous consequences for George, and a short period of triumphant progress was followed by almost a decade of fruitless and exhausting struggle. Pius II. insisted upon the performance of the undertaking which George had given in his coronation oath, to adopt strong measures against the Hussites. When negotiation produced no result, the Pope sent his legates to Prague in the summer of 1462. There, on August 14th, a violent scene took place, when King George publicly replied to the Pope's demands by asserting his refusal to recede from the Compactata, which Pius II. had already declared invalid. The legates accused the king of faithlessness before the public assembly, threatened him with spiritual and temporal punishment, and were forthwith imprisoned. By this act every tie between the Pope and the king was broken. For the moment, however, the struggle was confined to attempts to induce the Catholics in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia to abandon the king's cause; only in Breslau did these exhortations produce any appreciable effect. The princes to whom the Pope

appealed against George Podiebrad declined to take any share in a crusade, partly for reasons of family relationship—for example, his son-in-law, Matthias Corvinus of Hungary), partly for political reasons (for example, the King of Poland, and especially the Emperor Frederic III., who was very hard pressed in the years 1462 and 1463).

The New Pope Excommunicates King George

The emperor even attempted to intervene with the Pope on behalf of George Podiebrad.

In 1464 the situation changed. Paul II., a far more vigorous character than Pius II., occupied the papal chair, while the death of Katherina, the daughter of George Podiebrad, left her husband Matthias

Corvinus free to act against his former father-in-law. In 1466 Paul excommunicated George as a heretic, and stirred up war against him in Breslau and Moravia. The Catholic federation of nobles soon made their hostility felt in Bohemia also. However, the king maintained the upper hand against his adversaries in his own country, as long as the rulers of the neighbouring territories held aloof. Only when Matthias of Hungary resolved in 1468 to obey the papal command for a crusade against the Bohemian king, did George lose almost the whole of



PODIEBRAD, THE HUSSITE KING
George Podiebrad, who was one of the leaders of the Hussite party, was a statesman of great ability, whose plans were so well laid that on the death of Ladislaus he was able to secure the throne of Bohemia. He died in the year 1471.

Moravia and part of Silesia. However, he soon succeeded in surrounding at Wilmow the Hungarian king, who had advanced too rashly in February, 1469, and Matthias was forced to agree to an armistice with a view to arranging terms of peace. Peace, however, proved impossible in view of the terms demanded by the papal legate and the Bohemian barons, which George could not possibly accept. They even induced Matthias Corvinus to proclaim himself king of Bohemia on May 3rd, 1469, and to receive the homage of Moravia, Silesia and Lausitz.

The natural result was the continuation of the war. George had secured the support of Poland—in return for an

King and Pope at Enmity

acknowledgment of the Polish prince Vladislav as his successor—and fought with some success; he did not live to see the conclusion of the struggle, in the midst of which he died of an illness on March 22nd, 1471. He had been one of the most extraordinary figures on the throne of Bohemia; neither before nor afterwards did the country see

Death of the Hussite King

a prince of such humble origin, who rose from the position of a simple party leader to that of viceroy with full powers, and thence to the throne. He had remarkable capacity for government, and found enthusiastic admirers and true friends among his contemporaries. During his reign his territory was in a continual state of war, but the administration was in strong hands. But the religious problem, a bequest from the Hussite period, thwarted his success and undermined the whole of his efforts.

A wholly different character from George was his successor on the Bohemian throne, the Pole Vladislav, who was known as "King Allright," from a favourite and very characteristic expression of his. The war against King Matthias continued for eight years longer, partly on the soil of Bohemia and Moravia, partly in Silesia (Breslau) and partly in Hungary. Fortune favoured now one side and now the other, until financial embarrassments affecting both princes and parties, and the steady approach of the Turkish danger, paved the way for a temporary armistice and eventually for a peace, which was concluded after lengthy negotiations at Olmütz on July 21st, 1479. It was agreed that Vladislav should remain in possession of the title and the kingdom of Bohemia, and that Matthias Corvinus should bear the title of King of Bohemia during his life, and should also remain in possession of Moravia, Silesia, and Lausitz; after his death his provinces might be bought

Catholics and Hussites Come to Terms

back by Vladislav for 400,000 ducats, an exorbitant price for that period. No reference was made to the question of religious unity, or to the bringing back of the Hussites to the Catholic Church, though it was with this object that Rome had stirred up the struggle. Even before his accession King Vladislav had pledged himself to maintain the Compactata. Thus it was inevitable that upon the conclusion of the foreign war the party

struggle between the Catholics and the Hussites should break out again in Bohemia. The movement degenerated into fearful confusion after the autumn of 1483. Councillors were murdered and flung through windows; churches and monasteries were plundered; Germans and Jews were persecuted and robbed as a matter of course. Strangely enough, however, this violent outburst of passion resulted in less than two years in a reconciliation of the two parties (1485); and an agreement was arranged upon the basis of the recognition of the Compactata and of the full equality of the Hussites with the Catholics.

From that moment the influence of the Hussite sect in Bohemia began to diminish. It lost importance the more rapidly as the "Bohemian Brotherhood," which was originally in some connection with it, began a vigorous period of development. The fact that the descendants of the original Hussites were able at this late period to develop a branch of a new doctrine with such vigour, is evidence of the hold which the Hussite theories had

Rise and Fall of Religious Sects

gained upon the nation; hence the futility of the many attempts, initiated by Rome, at union between the Hussites and the Catholics of Bohemia, notwithstanding the fact that men of such power as Nicholas of Cusa, John of Capistrano, and Æneas Sylvius applied their energy to the task. An extraordinarily large number of sects rose and disappeared in the course of the fifteenth century, side by side with the main groups in Bohemia and Moravia. Only the Brotherhood became of permanent importance; this sect began with a society of certain members who were dissatisfied with the Hussite doctrine, and its first settlement was made in 1457 at Rumwald, a Bohemian village belonging to King George Podiebrad. The society incurred its share of persecution and martyrdom; its most vigorous opponents were a relation of its founder, Gregor, John of Rokitzan, and the king himself. Nevertheless, they possessed and acquired, even during this period, a wide body of adherents both in Bohemia and Moravia, and the death of these two powerful oppressors, in the year 1471, relieved the brethren of a severe hindrance, especially in Bohemia. The expansion of the sect was never seriously checked, either by its internal quarrels and dissen-

sions, or by the general decree of banishment from Moravia which its members incurred in 1480.

The difference in the treatment of the Brotherhood in Bohemia and in Moravia was due to the separation of this latter country and also of Silesia from the Bohemian crown, and to the wholly different policy followed by Vladislav in Bohemia and by Matthias in Moravia and Silesia. The weakness and good nature of the former allowed the supremacy to fall into the hands of the nobles. Matthias, on the other hand, emphasised from the very outset his royal power as opposed to the claims of the privileged orders. The iron hand of Corvinus was even more strongly felt in Silesia than in Moravia, where Matthias left the government in the hands of the highly capable viceroy Ctibor of Cimburg, who had been occupant of this high position from 1469, retaining it until 1494, long after the death of Matthias.

It is due chiefly to Ctibor that the attempts which had been made during the past century to unite the divided principalities were now consummated by means of a definitely organised administration. The institution of the princely diets and the creation of the central bureaucracy belong to the age of Matthias, and are his work. His government did not enjoy the best of reputations with posterity, owing to the enormous increase in the taxes and imposts, which his continual financial necessities laid upon his subjects; in this matter he was supported, especially in Silesia, by his local governor, George von Stein, and by other faithful servants, in the most irresponsible manner, at the expense of the people.

On April 6th, 1490, Matthias died without legitimate issue, and the Bohemian king, Vladislav, was raised to the throne

of Hungary. In accordance with the previous arrangement, Moravia and Silesia fell into his power, although he never fulfilled the condition by which these lands were to be repurchased at the price of 400,000 ducats, so that the title of the Bohemian crown to these districts was disputed with some show of reason.

The reign of King Vladislav is one of the most unsatisfactory periods in the history of the Bohemian countries. The great economic and religious changes which, at the end of the fifteenth century, denoted the outset of a new era for Europe, found Bohemia and Moravia divided by class dissensions. The hereditary monarchy had been greatly

weakened as a result of events since the Hussite war, and the loss of the great crown demesnes of former times had deprived it of its power and influence. Economically as well as politically, the nobility were supreme in the country; they were, however, filled with a boundless ambition for power, and were ready to pass all limits in their efforts to weaken the monarchy, to oppose the privileges

and freedom of the towns, or to keep down the peasant class in a state of slavery and serfdom.

The highest positions in the country were exclusively in the hands of the nobles and knights; they enjoyed unlimited power in the provincial assemblies, and in 1500 compiled a legal code, the "Ordinances of Vladislav," which was to secure their predominance for ever. The king agreed to the limitations, great and small, which the nobility placed upon his power. The citizen class, however, was determined to oppose these encroachments upon the principles of justice with the more vigour as they found their material welfare greatly injured by the arbitrary rule of the nobles.



DRESS OF A LADY OF PRAGUE AND A MERCHANT'S WIFE IN THE MIDDLE OF SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The nobles infringed the town monopoly of brewing, forbade the towns to acquire landed property, limited the freedom of the fairs, and so forth. Consequently the towns continually complained to the king.

These complaints produced little effect, for the reason that, after his elevation to the throne of Hungary, Vladislav had

Nobles and People in Opposition

removed his capital from Prague to Ofen, and remained absent from Bohemia for years at a time. There were, more-

over, uninterrupted hostilities between the citizens and nobles, who respectively formed federations for continuing their mutual strife. These conditions were in no way altered by the short stay which Vladislav made at Prague in 1502, as the king at once took the side of the nobles and decided the quarrel against the towns, while at a later period he withdrew his decision, though he could not induce the nobility to feel satisfied with his change of attitude. The outrages and aggressions committed by each side increased the bitterness of the struggle, and from year to year the tension grew more severe; but from 1502 to 1509 the king remained in Hungary, and left affairs to take their course in Bohemia and Moravia.

For the history of Silesia the reign of Vladislav was of importance, inasmuch as this prince, who was ever ready to bestow his favours, issued an important constitutional law to the Silesian orders on November 28th, 1498. This was substantially a confirmation of all previous concessions, with certain further additions. The president of the province, that is to say, the governor and highest official in Silesia, was always to be a Silesian prince; the estates also obtained a right of voting taxes, some relief from military service, and a high court of justice, known as the "Court of the Princes," which was composed of the territorial lords, and formed a final court of appeal for every class.

The King's Feeble Government

This arrangement might have served as a starting point for the further development of the administration in Silesia. How-

ever, in this country also the king's feeble government, which was directed from Ofen, gave rise to disputes of every kind. The bishopric of Breslau had for several years been carrying on a quarrel, which lasted till 1504, with the town of Breslau and some Silesian princes, owing to the election of an unpopular coadjutor. Some

years previously—in 1497—the Duke Nicholas of Oppeln had ended his life on the scaffold in consequence of an act of aggression against the governor, Duke Casimir of Teschen. The town of Breslau was at feud, now with one and now with another of these princes, and marauding raids were of daily occurrence. The king's decree to secure peace and his threats of punishment proved as futile here as they did in the other provinces.

Vladislav enjoyed little personal influence unless when he came forward in person and secured services in return for new privileges. In 1509 he was anxious that his son Lewis, born in 1506, who was already king of Hungary, should be crowned king of Bohemia during his life; he was therefore obliged, after an absence of seven years, to decide upon a journey throughout his remaining territories in order to secure the completion of his project by his personal influence. He soon attained his main object. On February 17th, 1509, he made a state entry into Prague with his children and court; on March 11th, some delay having

Moravians Do Homage to King Lewis

been caused by the illness of the young prince, the coronation of Lewis took place. Other difficulties, especially

the struggle between the nobles and the towns, were discussed in the course of a series of diets, but no result was secured.

In February, 1510, Vladislav left Bohemia and betook himself to Olmütz, where the Moravian orders did homage to Lewis, upon receipt of the customary privileges; thence the king went to Hungary, and in the winter of 1510 and 1511 again returned with the youthful monarch and the rest of his family to Silesia, where he also secured from the princes and estates the recognition of his son as his successor. The confusion of legal relations which prevailed under King Vladislav is shown by the fact that he received the homage of the Silesians, not as King of Bohemia, but as King of Hungary, though at the same time he had expressly emphasised the fact that Silesia and Moravia belonged to the Bohemian crown, in an imperial letter to the Bohemians during his stay at Prague on January 11th, 1510.

Hardly, however, had the king returned to Hungary when his attention was again occupied by the quarrel between the Orders of Bohemia and Moravia, which was all the more dangerous, as the towns appeared

to be obstinately resolute. They formed a federation, and on June 20th, 1513, concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with Duke Bartholomæus of Münsterberg, the grandson of King George Podiebrad, who was to represent their party at the court of King Vladislav. He proved successful in convincing the king and his advisers of the destructive influence upon Bohemia of the dominant party of nobles. Towards the end of the year 1513 Vladislav was persuaded to receive the demands of the towns with more favour than he had previously shown them.

However, his want of determination and his vacillation delayed a definite decision, although after the death of Bartholomæus the office of mediator between the nobles and towns was undertaken with considerable cleverness and success by his cousin Charles of Munsterberg. The struggle was raging with undiminished heat when Vladislav II. died on March 13th, 1516, only a few months after he had concluded the important marriage contract of July, 1515, with the Emperor Maximilian I., between his own children Lewis and Anna, and the grandchildren of the emperor, Ferdinand and Maria; this contract also included a federation in which room was found for King Sigismund of Poland.

King Lewis II. was no more than a child, though already crowned. Hence it was necessary to agree upon some form of regency for the moment. After long negotiation between the orders in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, and also in Hungary, the task was entrusted to the German emperor and to the king of Poland. However, these guardians could exercise no immediate influence of any kind upon the provinces inherited by Lewis, and the power of the nobles continued to increase. In Bohemia and Moravia the quarrels between the estates continued as before. The nobles oppressed the towns, travelling merchants and citizens were attacked by

robber knights, and the towns made reprisals upon the nobles and their associates, often executing them without ceremony. Isolated peasant revolts in Bohemia are also reported by the chroniclers. The "Compact of St. Wenzel" of September

The Great Plague of 1520-1

28th, 1517, in which a partial agreement between the estates was secured by the Moravian baron, William of Pernstein, proves the pressing need of some compromise, however partial. An important point was the definition of the competency of the common law and of the town courts respectively. Disputes of an economic nature and the like were deferred for after consideration. Peace, indeed, was not finally secured. The weakness of the royal power made a recurrence of the struggle inevitable after a few years. However, the public attention was occupied with other events, such as the plague, which began in Prague in 1520, and ravaged the whole country in 1521, the Lutheran movement, and the Turkish danger.



THE LAST INDEPENDENT KING
Lewis II., who was a mere child when he came to the throne, was the last independent king of Bohemia and Hungary, reigning from 1516 till 1526, when he met his death at the battle of Mohacs against the Turks.

In the year 1522 King Lewis entered his Bohemian kingdom for the first time as an independent ruler, with the object of putting an end to the arbitrary government of the nobles, as continued to their own advantage for years by the chief burgrave of Prague, Zdenek Lev of Rozmítal. The real motive for this journey was the unavoidable necessity for seeking help against the Turks outside of Hungary itself. His route first led him to Brünn, where he received the homage of the Moravian orders, and confirmed their rights; he attempted to settle a number of class disputes, and then made his way to the Bohemian frontier, where he was met by the Bohemian ambassadors. After a short stay in some of the more important towns of Bohemia, he reached Prague on March 28th, 1522, and made a solemn entry with his young wife and his friend and tutor the Margrave George of Brandenburg. Difficulties at once arose. A series of troublesome negotiations

began forthwith with the estates of the kingdom in reference to the appointment of a new chancellor of Bohemia, and the form of oath to observe the constitution which the king was to take. When the wording of this oath had been once passed, it was to remain in force in Bohemia for centuries. Slow progress also

King Lewis Dismisses His Officials

was made with other matters of business—the queen's coronation, the payment of the heavy debts incurred in

King Vladislav's time, and the equipment of an auxiliary army against the Turks. In the summer of 1522 violent disorder broke out in Silesia, especially in the town of Schweidnitz. Finally, at the end of the year, relations between King Lewis and the ruling nobles became so strained that, at the diet of February 5th, 1523, the king secured the dismissal of all the existing officials of the country, in particular of Lev of Rozmital, and introduced a constitutional change, chiefly intended to restore the royal power to its rightful position.

Notwithstanding numerous embassies and appeals, no help was to be gained from Hungary or from the king; to the internal troubles of that country the Turkish danger was now added. When the Sultan Suleiman I. started from Constantinople for Hungary with a vast army in April, 1526, the youthful monarch resolved to oppose him. His army, which included Bohemian, Moravian, and Silesian mercenaries, was overwhelmed by the superior numbers of the Turks; in the Battle of Mohacs, on August 29th, 1526, it was annihilated, and the king was unfortunately drowned in a swamp of the Danube while in flight. The death of the last of the Jagellons on the throne of Bohemia and Hungary, at the age of twenty and childless, forms an event of importance in the world's history, in so far as it occasioned the foundation of the

The Last of the Jagellons

Austrian monarchy under the sceptre of the Hapsburgs. Bohemia, the centre of that

group of countries the historical development of which has been briefly detailed, may be regarded in 1526 as a kingdom a thousand years old, if we assume its history to begin with the establishment of the Slavs in the province after the Germanic emigration. It is an era rich in examples of national rise and progress. From its own

resources, and building upon foundations hidden in the prehistoric period, Bohemia evolved a constitution which enabled the country to secure and to maintain a definite position among the bodies politic of Central Europe. It produced a royal house of indigenous growth, the Premyslids, whose pride and power raised their prestige to a level with that of any ruling dynasty in Central Europe. Its territorial power increased. It is true that the national dynasty was restricted within definite limits; calamitous failure was the result of the attempt of Ottokar II. to bring German provinces under his power.

The extinction of the native dynasty at the outset of the fourteenth century and the accession of foreigners to the Bohemian throne produced a complete change in the situation. No obstacle prevented a Bohemian king of German nationality from rising to the height of supremacy within the extensive German empire; but the people opposed the transformation of Bohemia into the most important of the German principalities at the expense of the Slav nationality. The national feeling

Foreigners on the Throne of Bohemia

of the Slavs rose in behalf of a reaction and speedily triumphed. But the attempt to construct a national prin-

cipality upon the basis of home material was also a failure. As under the German kings, so also under the Polish kings, Bohemia found her destiny committed to the care of rulers who pushed her into the background when the possibility of acquiring the crown of Hungary became manifest.

Under such circumstances, and in view of the fact that the constitutional independence of the country and the maintenance of its throne were repeatedly endangered by the secession of the subject provinces, especially of Moravia, it was fortunate for the country that after Lewis's death the crown fell to the powerful Hapsburg dynasty. The result at which the Premyslid Ottokar II. had aimed upon occasion and with incomplete understanding, the result that the far-sighted diplomacy of Charles IV. had marked as the final object of Bohemian policy, the result that had been nominally, at least, attained under Ladislaus Posthumus—became an accomplished fact in the year 1526; the three states of Bohemia, Hungary and Austria were united as one powerful monarchy in South-east Europe. BERTHOLD BRETHOLZ



THE ORIGIN OF THE EASTERN SLAVS

A PRELIMINARY CHAPTER TO THE HISTORY OF POLAND AND RUSSIA

IF what may be called the Slavonic line serves to mark a genuine division between Western and Eastern Europe, there is another division hardly less definite in Eastern Europe itself. Geographically, this is marked by an irregular line drawn from the Baltic to the western end of the Carpathian mountains, which themselves form the barrier till the Danube district is reached. In other words, the territories now called Poland and Russia are in some sense a region apart. Their peoples do not come into touch with the Teutonic west until the tenth century, though Eastern Byzantium becomes aware of them some hundred years earlier. Even at the outset these peoples emerge in definitely distinguished nationalities, Polish and Russian, though neither of them has at this stage absorbed the non-Slavonic population of the Baltic provinces.

Difference of the Eastern and Western Slavs

Kin as they are to the southern and western Slavs, of whom we have already treated, they nevertheless appear on the scene of history so far separated from these and so far associated with each other, that their origins require a single chapter to themselves, before we embark upon the separate histories of Poland and Russia.

Slavonic legends tell of three brothers, Lech, Rus, and Cech, said to have been the founders of three great nations, the Russians, Lechs (Laches, Lechites = Poles), and Czechs (the Bohemian stock). In reality, however, the matter stood otherwise. The Slavonic tribes lived independently of each other. In the course of time one tribe, as happened in the case of the Romans, succeeded in extending its dominion over others, which then adopted its name. The tribe which gave its name to the others need not have been entirely Slavonic; thus the Bulgarians, although of Turkish stock, have become Slavoni-

cised, and have now given their name to the subjugated Slavs. The same thing may in the end have been the case with Rus, Lech, and Cech.

What, then, is the origin of the names? The point has been much discussed among Slavonic and German scholars. The

Descendants of the Great Rurik

"Russian Chronicle" relates that about the year 859 Varangians (Scandinavians) ruled the north Russian Slavs, but had been subsequently driven out. When quarrels broke out between the Russians, they sent an embassy over the sea to the Varangians, and asked them to rule over them once more. Three brothers, Rurik, Sineus and Truvor, of the Varagian tribe of the Ruotsi—that is, Swedes—came to the Slavs, and took up their abode in Old Ladoga, Isborsk, and Bjelosersk. From Rurik, the eldest, was descended the Russian princely house of the Rurikovich, which is said to have ruled Russia until the end of the sixteenth century.

The same Chronicle also asserts that the whole of Novgorod was called Rosland, or Russia, from this family. This "Northman," or "Varagian," view has found ardent champions among modern writers. Considerably more than a hundred Scandinavian names are found in very early records; even the names of the rapids in the Dnieper, the old Varagian way to Byzantium, have been declared to be Scandinavian. The opinion is, however, hardly tenable in all its points.

The Germ of the Russian State

Some intimate relations between the Novgorodians, who formed the germ of the Russian state, and the Scandinavians cannot be denied; but it is questionable whether also the name "Rus" is derived from them. The Slavonic tribes round Kiev and the south of Russia, where later the real centre of Russia lay, bore from time immemorial the name of "Russians."

Finally, and this would be the best argument against the theory, the kingdom, which admittedly must have existed there before the Northmen were summoned, must have also borne a name, and a kingdom, except through conquest, seldom changes its name. The south was known to the Arabs as "Russia," and the Black

Origin of the Name "Russia" Sea was simply termed the Russian Sea—as, for instance, in Nestor and Masudi—at a time when the Varagian princes were hardly yet familiar with the people of Kiev. We ought at all events not to forget that "Ros" may have been known in Byzantium as merchants even before 840, as is clear from a report of Bishop Prudentius of Troyes and from contemporary Arab accounts. The name probably had been transferred to the whole of Russia by Byzantines, who called the tribes in the south of Russia "Ros." Again, it is suggested that Hros is one of the names of the Herulians, who were once settled on the northern coast of the Black Sea; some of whom, after the defeat of 512 inflicted by the Lombards, went back to Sweden. Thus the otherwise astonishing familiarity of the northern Vikings with South Russia and the waterway of the Volga would be no longer surprising.

The meaning of the names "Pole" and "Lech" is equally obscure. While the name "Polani" may be Slavonic, the name "Lach," or "Lech," seems to be of foreign origin. Some persons have, as in the case of the name "Rus," looked for a Scandinavian etymology and understood northern conquerors by the Lechs. But in this connection they have overlooked the fact that Great Poland, the real mother country, has never been called "Lachia," or "Lechia," but only the Cracow district, and from it North Poland. The name "Lach," "Lech," "Lechi" seems to mean simply "foreigner," and is connected with the names "Walch," "Wlach," "Walach," "Wälsch," applied

Poland and the Poles by Slavs not only to Italians and Roumanians, but to the semi-Slavonic Bulgarians and the Croatians, as well as to the "Little" Poles. On the other hand, Posen and Gnesen, the Polish mother-country, was always called Polonia, which title was then extended to South Poland—that is to say, the subsequently conquered Cracow. Since this name was used officially, it superseded all others, and throughout Europe

the kingdom was finally called Poland. Other peoples—Lithuanians, Finns, Bulgarians, Khayars—to be presently described, have exercised temporary supremacy within what we now call Russian territory. But the Slavonic tribes, who occupied chiefly the centre of the East European plain, found themselves in the majority and unceasingly drove before them the heterogeneous nations, first by peaceful colonisation, and then by the sword. We may assume that all Slavs as a whole had the same customs, the same religion, the same tribal and national institutions. Differences will be apparent only where Nature prescribed other conditions of life or where foreign influence made itself felt.

Thus, the Slavs on the sea-coast lived in one way, those on the steppes or in the forests in another. Although they originally appeared in Europe as a united nation with similar customs, ideas, language, traditions, and government, yet the different natural surroundings soon impressed a distinctive stamp on the principal tribes and guided social, religious,

Life in the Plains and Forests and legal life into different paths. The nomads of the steppes can hardly have held the same faith as the dwellers on the sea-coast. Again, while the forest-dwellers paid their tribute in furs and honey, the tribes of the lowlands discharged it in horses or cattle. If the large clan community was the natural form of life among the dwellers on the fertile plains with their agriculture, in the forests the families were forced to separate one from another.

Further differences were produced by the influence of neighbours; thus the northern Slavs, who lived near the Teutons, had a kindred religion and mythology. The change of language was closely connected with this, since to express new ideas, new words had to be invented or borrowed from other tribes.

An attempt has been made to draw a general picture of the life of all the Slavonic tribes, but in doing so the fact has been overlooked that such a picture can be true only of a time when the Slavs still formed a single united people—the time, that is, before the Christian era. Our authorities, however, dating from an era five hundred, or possibly a thousand years later, are extremely defective, and it is not surprising that the results of such



THE SCANDINAVIAN HERO, RURIK, THE FIRST OF THE RUSSIANS

A daring sea-rover, Rurik the Rodsen or Oarsman, landed, in 862, on the Russian shore of the Baltic, and, with his brothers, Sineus and Truvor, subjugated the country from Novgorod to the Volga. From Rurik, who died in 879, came the princely house of the Rurikovitch, which is said to have ruled Russia until the end of the sixteenth century.

imperfect investigations are conflicting. It is asserted that all Slavs were agriculturists at the period when they came into the light of history. Can that assertion hold good of the forest-dwellers or the inhabitants of the lakes and swamps? Our authorities do not in any way corroborate it. A writer of the twelfth century relates in astonishment that he heard of a man in the Arctic regions who had lived all his life on fish. That would hardly be an isolated case. Forests, rivers, and swamps then covered at least a tenth of the surface. If the Slavs during their migrations kept to the river valleys we can hardly call this a peculiar characteristic of the race.

The Slavonic pagan religion, about which we know very little, resembles in its main ideas that of India and of other Aryans. The Slavs had the dualism between good and evil deities; they had also their family gods, like the Greeks and Romans. They, too, regarded Nature as animated by various beings, and animals were held sacred by them, as in Greece and other places. It was merely their natural environment which taught men in the northern forests to revere the owl, the wolf (as were-wolf), and, on the plains, the horse. The Slavs, too, honoured the sun, moon, and stars, thunder and lightning; they were also fire-worshippers. But inquiry has not told us in what the true Slavonic element—that is, the innovation—really consists.

The same holds good of the legal and social conditions of the Slavs. The family was the foundation of their national and religious life. The eldest of the family was the supreme lawgiver, judge, and priest. Since the knowledge of the laws, customs, and ritual could be transmitted only orally, this naturally fluctuating tradition was all important. The Slavs, divided into separate independent tribes, could not but diverge more widely from each other in their methods of life. The separate districts were called Zupas, Opole, or Wolost.

We cannot decide whether the Zupa is genuinely Slavonic or is to be compared with, for example, the old Germanic Goba. The centre of a district was the Grad (*gorod* = borough), where the tribal sanctuary stood. The ancient places, where once a gorod stood, were called *gorodysce*. But it cannot be settled whether gorod

is peculiar to the Slavs only, or whether it is identical with the old Gothic words *garde* (watch) and *garder* (to watch). Everywhere in Slavonic countries a definite district was surrounded with a boundary fence, while the roads were watched and defended with palisades, which were called *preseka*; at suitable points guards were

The Traders of the Plains and Rivers posted on watch-towers, called *straza*. Before the ninth century, a brisk trade passed through Russia from the Gulf of Finland past the Lake of Ilmen to the Dwina, and then down the Dnieper over the Black Sea into Greece. The oldest wooden towns, originally trading stations, lay on this celebrated route from the Varagian country to Byzantium. A frequented trade route from the Black Sea to the Baltic led up the Dniester to the river San, then down that river and the Vistula. While the first became the main trade route of Russia, the other became the chief highroad to Poland; both, perhaps, date from Phœnician times. The vessels and their cargoes were hauled up from one river system to the other; for example, from the Dniester to the San; hence the name *wolok*, *wolocyska* (haul-ages). The trading stations grew into towns, since the country people flocked into them for greater security. The public affairs of the town and the surrounding district were organised in these markets at assemblies which were called *wece*. The meeting was summoned by the circulation of a token, or, as later, by the tolling of a bell.

Differences in the administration of law and justice must have been noticeable in the various districts, while the conditions in the same tribe would naturally alter during the course of centuries. Persons who speak in general terms about the Slavonic laws and customs of that age are only deluding themselves, as much as if they spoke of contemporary universal Germanic customs. Distinctions must inevitably have prevailed. The truth is that hitherto it has been impossible to pronounce any deliberate opinion about the religion, mythology, laws, family life, or civilisation of the ancient pagan Slavs. It is on this most slippery soil of national peculiarities, where the inquirer oscillates between self-glorification and unwarranted depreciation of his neighbour, that a fabric has been built

Slavonic Customs Not Universal

up out of most untenable assertions. The occasional accounts given by old writers are noteworthy, especially since Slavonic paganism lingered on for centuries after the Christian era. Jordanes, in 550 A.D., says of the Slavs "morasses and forests are their towns"; Procopius tells us that they lived in dirty, scattered

The Defensive Devices of the Slavs

huts, and easily shifted their abode. The Emperor Maurice relates, in the year 600, that they lived in forests, near rivers, marshes, and lakes, which were difficult to approach. They made many exits from their houses, in order to escape any possible dangers. They buried all their property in the ground, and in order to frustrate any hostile attacks nothing but bare necessities were left visible. Helmold of Bosau, in 1170, gives a similar account at the end of his Chronicle of the Slavs: "They take little trouble about building their houses; they quickly plait twigs together into huts which supply a bare shelter against storm and rain. So soon as the call to arms is heard, they collect their stores of corn, bury them together with their gold, silver, and other valuables, and conduct their wives and children into the fortresses or the forests. Nothing is left for the enemy but the hut, whose loss is easily repaired."

"When they go into battle," says Procopius, "they attack the enemy on foot, holding shield and spear in their hands. They do not wear armour; they have neither cloaks nor shirts, but advance to the fight clad only in trousers." The wives, as among the Teutons, occupied an honourable position; they held property of their own, although, as in other countries, polygamy prevailed and wives were carried off by force. The Russian Chronicle relates of the Drewljans that they lived like cattle, knew nothing of marriage, but carried off the maidens on the rivers. It is recorded of certain tribes that no

Primitive Marriage Customs

marriages took place but games in the middle of the village. The people assembled for the games, danced, and indulged in every sort of debauchery, and each man carried off the woman to whom he was betrothed. This was the case among other peoples also. Bretislav I. Achilles, so Cosmas of Prague records, in 1125, carried off his bride Judith from Schweinfurt. Until quite recently the *otmiza*, or capture of wives, was customary among

the Serbs. Many instances of the gentle disposition of the Slavs are mentioned by the old chroniclers. Procopius says: "covetousness and deceit are unknown among them." Maurice extols their hospitality. Helmold records of the Ranes (Ruanians, or Rügen): "Although they are more hostile to Christians and also more superstitious than the other Slavs, they possess many good qualities. They are extremely hospitable and show great respect to their parents. Neither beggars nor paupers are found among them. A man who is feeble through sickness or advanced age is entrusted to the care of his heir. The virtues most highly esteemed among the Slavs are hospitality and filial regard." The man who refused hospitality had his house burned down. It was permissible to steal in order to provide food for a traveller.

Theophylactus Simocattes, in the first half of the seventh century, relates the following anecdote: As the emperor Maurice was on his way to Thrace to prepare for war against the Avars, the escort of the emperor seized three men who

Music Among the Slavs

carried zithers. When asked to what race they belonged, they replied that they were Slavs and lived on the western ocean; the Khagan had sent envoys to the princes of their country, with many presents, to solicit help. When they heard that the Romans had reached the highest stage of power and culture, they escaped and reached Thrace. They carried zithers because they were unfamiliar with arms, since no iron was found in their country. The Arabs also testify that music was practised by the Slavs.

A noteworthy account of the funeral customs of a Slavonic tribe is furnished by the ambassador of the Caliph al-Muqtadir, Ahman ibn Fadlan. When a poor man died, they built a small boat for him, placed him in it, and burnt it. This was customary among the North Germanic tribes. On the death of a rich man they collected his possessions and divided them into three parts. The one part was reserved for his family; with the second they prepared an outfit for him, and with the remaining part they bought intoxicating drinks to be drunk on the day when the slave-girl consents to be a victim and is burnt with her master. "When, indeed, a chief dies, the family ask his bondmen and bondwomen: 'Which of you is willing

to die with him?' Then one of them answers: 'I will.' Whoever has uttered this word is bound. But mostly it is a slave-girl. . . . Boat, wood, and girl together with the dead man were soon reduced to ashes. They then raised above the place where the boat, which had been dragged up out of the river, had stood,

**The Strange
Ritual of a
Slav Funeral**

a sort of round hillock, erected in the middle of it a large beech-trunk, and wrote on it the name of the dead man with the name of the king of the Ros." If we compare this with the account given by Herodotus of the burial of a Scythian king we shall find, in spite of many differences in detail, the same fundamental idea.

These are our materials for estimating the degree of culture which the Slavs of that age had attained. There was not wanting among them a belief in the life after death. They are said to have been acquainted with writing; and in connection with this statement the so-called Runic characters must be taken into account. Traces of music and architecture can be found among them, though in a crude form, and they were lovers of poetry and song. It can hardly be supposed that, as many Slavonic scholars assert, they possessed some astronomical knowledge, and had a civil year with twelve months. The names of the months which are found later among various Slavonic tribes were indubitably first formed by learned priests, on the model of the Greek and Roman names, at that point in the Christian era when the Julian calendar with twelve instead of ten months was coming into general use in Europe. Charles the Great first proposed among the Franks the substituting of German names for the Latin names of the months.

The independent spirit of the Slavs is specially mentioned by German as well as Byzantine writers. Widukind, the

**The Slavs'
Love of
Freedom**

historian of the first two Saxon emperors, says of them: "The Slavs are a dogged, laborious race, inured to the scantiest food, and they regard as a pleasure what is often a heavy burden to men of our time. They face any privations for their beloved liberty, and in spite of many reverses they are always ready to fight again. The Saxons fight for glory and the expansion of their frontiers, the Slavs for their freedom." Adam of Bremen records a

century later: "I have heard the most truth-loving King Sven of Denmark say repeatedly that the Slavonic peoples could long ago have been converted to Christianity if the greed of the Saxons had not interposed obstacles. These think more of exacting tribute than of converting pagans."

There is a particular appropriateness in the words which the Polish historian, John Dlugosz, wrote about the Poles about 1480, although he is describing his contemporaries: "The Polish nobles thirst for glory and are bent on booty; they despise dangers and death . . . they are devoted to agriculture and cattle-breeding; they are courteous and kind towards strangers and guests, and more hospitable than any other people. The peasants shrink from no work or trouble, endure cold and hunger, and are superstitious . . . they care little about the maintenance of their houses, being content with few ornaments; they are spirited and brave to rashness, . . . of high stature, of strong and well proportioned build, with a sometimes fair, sometimes dark complexion." The well-known

**Physique
of
the Poles**

peaceful disposition of many Slavonic tribes, and, above all, the circumstance that they adhered to the old tribal constitution, which prevented any creation of a state on a large scale, were the causes why the Slavs in their pagan period played no important part, but were first aroused to a new life by their contact with the civilised nations. Christian Rome and Byzantium saw the development of Slavonic kingdoms in the north, after they had to some degree furnished the political germs for that growth.

We may now turn to those non-Slavonic peoples already referred to: in the north, close to the Baltic Sea, the Lithuanians, and further to the north-east, the Finns; on the Volga the Bulgarians; and in the south the Khazars. Of the above mentioned the Lithuanians and the Finns alone have in some degree preserved their individuality.

History finds the Lithuanian tribes settled on the shore of the Baltic between the Vistula and Dwina, and southwards as far as the middle stream of the Bug. In one place only their frontier touches the Finnish Livonians, otherwise they are wedged between Slavonic peoples. They divided into the following tribes in the



A CHARACTERISTIC GROUP OF LITHUANIAN PEASANTS



TYPICAL WOODLAND SCENE. WITH GIRLS IN ORDINARY AND GALA DRESS

LITHUANIANS: A SURVIVING RACE OF THE BALTIC REGION

tenth century. The Wends were settled at the mouth of the Dwina, the Letts on the right bank of the Dwina, bordering on the Livonians; on the left bank of the Dwina were the tribes of the Semgala and the Zelones; the Kurland peninsula was occupied by the Korses or Kurones. The Smudinians and the Lithuanians dwelt

The Whole Named After the Part

on the Niemen; west of these were settled the eleven Prussian tribes; in the south-west the Yatvings. Since the duty of the Smudinians and Lithuanians who dwelt in the centre of the whole system was to fight for the national freedom, and first of all to found a larger kingdom, Lithuania; all these tribes were finally called Lithuanians. Here, again, was an instance of the name of a part being transferred to the whole.

These tribes, however, formed one nation only in the ethnographical sense; in other respects they lived as separate clans. As early as the thirteenth century Lithuanian leaders, or tribal elders, are mentioned; they exercised authority only over small districts, and were styled "Rikys" by the Prussians, and "Kunigas" by the Lithuanians. It was not until the danger of foreign subjugation threatened them all that they united more or less voluntarily into one state.

The Lithuanians were the last of all the Europeans to adopt Christianity; temporarily converted in 1387, they relapsed, and were again converted in the fifteenth century. Owing to this we have full accounts of their pagan customs. We find among them three chief deities, similar to the Indian Trimurti and the later Greek Tritheism. The place of Zeus was taken in their creed by Perkunas (thunder), represented as a strong man holding a stone hammer or arrow in his hand; Atrimpos, who was conceived in the shape of a sea-serpent twined into a circle, corresponded to Poseidon, while

Pagan Beliefs of Lithuanians

Poklav, a grey-bearded, pale-faced old man, with his head swathed in linen, was regarded as the god of the Lower World. Besides these, the sun, moon, stars, animals, birds, snakes, and even frogs were worshipped. The sun-god had various names, for example, Sotwaros; the moon goddess was called Lajama; the rain-deity, Letuwanis. The whole realm of Nature was animated by good and evil divine beings, on which the life of man was

dependent at every turn and step. Among such we find the deities Lel and Lado, who were also known to the Slavs; Ragutis, the deity of joy and marriage; Letuwa, the deity of happiness; also Andaj, Diweriks, Mjedjej, Nadjej, and Telawelda. Besides the sun, fire was held in great veneration. The eternal fire of znicz, which was under the protection of the goddess Praurima, burnt in the temple of Perkunas in front of his image. There were sacred lakes and groves, as among the Greeks and the Romans.

The affinity of the Lithuanian with the Slavonic and Germanic religion proves that these nations formerly lived together. But when we discover that the Lithuanians, like the Teutons, worshipped the god of thunder, whose sacred tree was the oak, and whose temples stood in oak groves, we realise how hard it is to single out the genuinely Lithuanian element. The chief shrine of Perkunas was situated somewhere near Romowo, in Prussia; but when Prussia was conquered by the Poles it was removed into the interior, to the confluence of the Dubissa and Niemen, and further east to the Wilija, in the direction of Kernowo, and lastly to Wilna. The sacerdotal system was highly developed. The high priest, who had his seat at the chief sanctuary, was called Krywe-Krywejtto. Subordinate to him were all the priests, male and female (Wajdelotes), whose principal occupation was to offer sacrifices. A higher grade among them was formed by the Krewy, to whom were entrusted the superintendence and care of the temple; their badge was a stick of peculiar shape. A life of chastity was obligatory to them. The power of the head priest, Krywe-Krywejtto extended over every tribe. High and low bowed before his sign, which he sent by his Wajdelotes. One-third part of the booty taken in war belonged to him.

Ample sacrifices were made to the Lithuanian gods, mostly animals, occasionally prisoners of war. They were always burnt-offerings. The old Krywe-Krywejtto himself, like other old men also, is said not infrequently to have mounted the pyre—so strong was the prevailing belief in the purifying power of fire. The priests also, in default of every sort of political government, disseminated public order and civilisation, the Krywe-Krywejtto being as it were, the head chieftain of all the tribe.



FINNISH MILK-SELLERS IN A CHARACTERISTIC WINTER SCENE



TYPICAL FINNISH MAIDENS



CHILDREN'S FAVOURITE PASTIME

FAMILIAR SCENES AMONG THE FINNISH PEOPLE

A proof that the same system obtained among the Slavs and Teutons is afforded by the word *kunigas* (*kuning* = king), which among the Slavs denotes both prince and priest; *knjaz* (prince), *knez* (Czechish = priest), or in Polish *ksiadz* (priest), and *ksiaze* (prince). The priests were in possession of a method of writing. The chronicler

**Writing
of the Northern
Peoples**

of the Teutonic Order, Peter of Dusburg (c. 1326), asserts that writing was unknown to the Lithuanians; but this can be true only of the common people. Traces of a secret writing have been found. The Runic characters were probably familiar to all the northern peoples—Slavs, Teutons, Lithuanians, and Finns.

If Lithuania had not encountered any obstacles in its expansion, a theocratic monarchy would probably have been formed there. External dangers led to the severance of the spiritual from the military power, and thus to the development of a secular government. The legend was current among the people that Widemut—perhaps connected with the lawgiver Odin, common to all Germanic tribes—had laid the foundation of a social and political organisation. Family life was dependent on the priests, who administered justice according to ancient custom. Peter of Dusburg relates that the Lithuanians held meetings in sacred places. They occupied their time in agriculture and cattle breeding, drank mare's milk, and were skilled in brewing beer and mead. Rich men drank from horns, poor men from wooden cups. Autumn was a season of mirth in the villages. Guests were treated with especial attention, hospitably entertained, and not dismissed until they were drunk.

The Lithuanians learnt the art of war by necessity. They fought with bow and arrow, sword and lance, and also with battle-axe and sling. The oldest weapon was an oaken club. The gods

**The Art
of War in
Lithuania**

were consulted before every campaign. Clad in the skins of aurochs and bears, with caps on their heads, they marched to battle amid the flare of trumpets, sometimes on foot, sometimes mounted. On their military standards were depicted figures of deities, and men with bears' heads, or two wreaths, blue and yellow; the galloping horseman, who first appears in the coat of arms of Lithuania proper, was ultimately adopted by the whole race.

They contrived to cross the rivers in boats made of the hides of aurochs, or by holding on to the tails of their horses, as we are told the Hungarians and Tartars did. The home-coming warriors, if victors, were received by the women and girls with dance and song, but were treated with contempt after a defeat, while fugitives were punished by death. The Lithuanians also believed in a life after death. They equipped the dead man with all that he had required on earth—weapons, ornaments, and clothes, horses, hawks, slaves, and wives. They were then all burnt, and their ashes laid in the grave. A funeral feast was held in commemoration.

The Finns of the Ugrian-Mongol stock occupied originally the entire north of modern Russia. Their various tribes were settled as easterly neighbours of the Lithuanians between the White Sea, the Ural, and the Volga. The river Dwina can be roughly regarded as the boundary between Lithuanians and Finns, although some Lithuanians were to be found on the right bank of the Dwina. On the shores

**Livonians
and
Esthonians**

of the Baltic were settled the Livonians and the Esthonians, who still survive in Livonia and Esthonia. Besides these chief tribes, Wesses or Besses, Meren, Muro-mians, Tcheremisses, Jamen, Mordwinen, Tchuden, Permians, and others are mentioned in the Russian chronicles; they were settled more to the south, and were called Tchuden by the Slavs. Here once lay the Finnish kingdom of Biarmia, probably the modern Perm.

We possess very scanty information, derived from the Scandinavian Vikings who made their way there, about this kingdom so famous in northern legends. At the time of Alfred the Great, Otter was the first to come into these regions: then Wulstan. In the days of St. Olaf (1026) the Vikings Karli and Torer Hund followed. They professed to be merchants, brought furs, and then apparently withdrew, in order to lull the suspicions of the inhabitants. In reality, however, they were preparing for a raid, which Torer conducted, as an expert in Finnish magic. Their goal was the tombs of the Biarmians and the temple of their chief god Jumala. Marking their path by stripping the bark from the trees, they reached the meadow where the temple stood, surrounded by a high wooden



AN ESTHONIAN PEASANT GIRL IN HER NATIVE WOODLAND



PEASANT CHILDREN



WOMEN OF THE FARMING CLASS

ESTHONIANS: AN ANCIENT PEOPLE OF THE BALTIC SEA COAST

paling ; the guardians had gone away. The Vikings dug up the sepulchral mounds and found a quantity of gold. There stood in the temple an image of Jumala, on whose knees was placed a plate filled with gold ; this Torer carried off. Karli, however, struck off the head of the idol, in order to seize its golden necklace. The guards rushed

Finns Recede up at the noise, blew their
Before horns, and the Vikings escaped
the Slavs their pursuers with difficulty.

This is almost the only account we have of Finnish Biarmia. Its history is then merged in that of Novgorod.

The Finnish tribes could not resist the advance of the Slavs. The Esthonians alone were able to maintain their nationality. Mordvinnic princes are mentioned by the Russian chroniclers even in the fourteenth century. The Finns, especially the Permians, carried on a modest trade ; they were glad to take sabres from Mohammedan countries in exchange for furs. They also engaged in agriculture. Their religion resembled the Lithuanian. The Finns also were widely famed as soothsayers and magicians. This ice-bound country was otherwise little known or explored. Kaswini, who died in 1283, relates how the Bulgarians on the Kama and Volga traded with the Finns in dumb show. The Bulgarian brought his goods, pointed to them, and left them on the ground. He then came back, and found on the same spot such commodities as were used in the country. If he was satisfied with them he exchanged his goods for those deposited by the strangers ; if he was dissatisfied, he took his own wares away again.

We have almost as little information about the Bulgarians, that nation of horsemen on the Volga, and even that only after the tenth century, when their prince Almys went over to Islam shortly before 921. We are indebted to this circumstance for the before-mentioned report of Ahmad

How They ben Fadlan (ibn Fadhlān,
Dealt or Fozzlan), who entered
With "Witches" the capital, Bulgar, on May

11th, 922, as the envoy of the Caliph. The Spanish Abu Hamid, who visited Great Bulgaria in the twelfth century, reports : " Every twenty years the old women of this country are suspected of witchcraft, and great excitement prevails among the people. The old women are then collected, their feet and hands are bound, and they are thrown into a

great river that flows past. Those who swim are considered to be witches, and are burnt ; those who sink are regarded as innocent, and are rescued." Human sacrifices were not infrequent in those days. We come upon instances among the Herulians (Procopius and Ennodius) and the Ros (ibn Rusta), among the Wends or Sorbs (Bonifatius) and the pagan Poles (Thietmar), the Radimici, Wjatici, and Sewerane (Nestor), and even among the eastern Slavs. Most of the instances described were cases of the burning of widows. Some Slavonic tribes paid the Bulgarians a tribute in horses, furs, and other articles, such as an ox-hide, from every house.

At this same era the West Turkish nation of the Khazars, of whom we have evidence after the second century A.D., was settled in the south of Russia between the Caspian and Black Seas. The most flourishing period of the Khazar Empire seems to have been in the seventh century, after the fall of the Hun Empire. Their most important towns were : Saryg-sar, on the west bank of the Volga (yellow town ;

When the later Itil, now Astrachan), and
Khazars Khamlikh, or Khazaran, which
Flourished lay opposite ; also Samandar, or Smendr (now Tarchu, east of Temirchan-Schura, on the west shore of the Caspian Sea), and the fortress of Sarkel at the mouth of the Danube, built under the Emperor Theophilus in 833-835 by the Greek Petronas (in Nestor : Bela-weza ; destroyed by Sviatoslav) ; a second Khazar fortress of some temporary importance was Balangar, in the Caucasus.

The Khazars carried on an extensive trade with Bulgaria, Russia, Persia, and Byzantium. The half-nomadic population still lived partly in those Wojlok-Jurtes which we find at the present day among the Kirghiz. Only the richer men built themselves mud huts, and the Khagan alone had high tiled houses. The Khagan was the supreme head in religion, while a Veg stood at the head of military affairs. Under the Khagan Bulan—traditionally about 740 ; more correctly shortly after 860—the Khazars, after a temporary conversion to Christianity, partly adopted the Jewish faith. They were completely subjugated by Russia about 969. Remnants of the Khazars long remained in the Crimea and the Caucasus ; some memories of them still survive in the names of a few towns.

VLADIMIR MILKOWICZ



POLAND

BEFORE THE FRENCH REVOLUTION THE OLD POLISH EMPIRE AND THE MEN WHO SHAPED ITS DESTINIES

THE waves of Slavonic migration, which surged to and fro in the Far East of Europe, had from an early date come into contact with the peoples of Western Europe ; but there were as yet only tribes and no large empire. The tidings first came to Constantinople in the ninth century that a large Russian Empire existed in the north. A hundred years later a powerful Polish Empire was discovered in the north-west. The credit of this discovery belongs to Germany. War had been raging between the two races since the middle of the eighth century, on the line of the Elbe, at the point where the Slavonic and German tribes came into contact with each other. But while the Germans won political unity through Charles the Great, assimilated Roman culture and adopted Christianity, the Slavs were still disunited, and were inimical to Western views on politics, religion, and culture. A bitter contest was waged for these principles, and finally for freedom. In the course of a hundred years the Slavs between the Elbe and the Oder were subjugated ; the Slavs on the Oder also were now engaged

Poland in Contact with the West in a desperate struggle, more especially since they were torn by internal feuds. It then happened that the Wends chose the Saxon Count Wichmann, who died in 967, and who had quarrelled with the German Empire, as their leader against the neighbouring Lisikaviki. Wichmann inflicted, in 962, two defeats on Misako—Miseko, or Mesko, a diminutive of Mstislav—and killed his brother ; Mesko, in consequence, submitted to the Margrave Gero,

who was then stationed with an army on the Polish frontier, and agreed to pay a tribute for the country between the Oder and the Warthe. That was the first contact of Poland with the West.

In 965 the Spanish Jew Ibrahim ibn-Jacob travelled through Germany for trading purposes and made his way to

**An Observant
Trader
1,000 Years Ago**

Merseburg and Prague, where he became acquainted with the Slavs. "There are now," he wrote, "four princes among them," of whom he names "Mshka," *i.e.*, Mesko, as "Prince of the North." "As regards the country of Mshka, it is the largest of the Slavonic countries. It is rich in corn, flesh, honey, and pasturage. The taxes, which he levies, are paid in Byzantine *Mitkal* ; they serve to maintain his people. . . . He has 3,000 *Dsra* (*Duzina*, or bodyguard suite) . . . ; he gives them armour and horses, arms, and whatever they need. The Russians live to the East of Mshka and the Prussians in the north."

The above-named Misako, or Mesko, is, therefore, the first Polish prince who is authenticated by history. The later tradition relates that he was descended from the family of the Piast of Krushwitz ; it speaks of a dynasty of the Piasts, and can give some account of his ancestors. *Piast* in Polish means much the same as tutor or guardian. In connection with the legendary narrative it is conjectured that a court official of the royal family, who filled the post of teacher to the children, resembling, therefore, a Frankish majordomo, overthrew the old dynasty

and obtained the throne. The Piast family ruled in Poland until 1370.

Poland comes into history at the time when Germany revived the claim of the Roman Empire to rule over all lands and peoples, and showed the strength necessary to enforce the claim. The Slavonic tribes, which adjoined on the east, although

The Holy Roman Empire

they obstinately defended their liberty, must have heard of these alleged claims of sovereignty, since they soon reconciled themselves to the position of vassals of the Holy Roman Empire. This empire, like the whole West, was dominated then by the Christian idea. To disseminate it was the noblest task, and the Church, which put forward legal claims, supplied the power and authority for it. The heathen Slavs in the East thus offered a wide field to German missionary enterprise; and with this purpose an archbishopric was founded in Magdeburg. The conversion of Poland to Christianity was, under these conditions, only a question of time.

Some years after the first contact with Germany Mesko married the daughter of the Bohemian prince Boleslav I., by name Dubrava. At her persuasion he and all his nobles are said to have accepted Christianity in 966. The political consideration that this was the only way to assert, even partially, his independence, must have turned the scale. He must have seen that Rome was the powerful head of the Christian world, and that upon Rome even Germany was, in a sense, dependent. In 968 a bishopric for the Polish territory was founded in Posen, under the jurisdiction of the archbishopric of Magdeburg. Jordan was the first Bishop of Posen.

This was the turning-point in the history of the Polish tribes; they began a new chapter of life with their connection with the West. Poland first grew into a powerful empire under the guidance of the

The Real Founder of Poland

Christian Church. For this reason Mesko must be regarded as the real founder of Poland. He cemented more closely his amicable relations with the German Empire by wedding Oda, the daughter of the Margrave Thiedrich, after the death of his Bohemian consort in 977. He took part, however, in the conspiracy of Henry of Bavaria against the Emperor Otto II., in the year 976, and had to be reminded of his duties as a vassal in 979; nevertheless,

on the death of Otto II., in 983, the Poles once more sided with the rebellious Henry. It was only in 985 that Mesko loyally shared the campaigns of Germany against the Wends, and actually fought, in 990, against Boleslav of Bohemia, the brother of his deceased wife.

Mesko died in 992, and left several children by both wives, who, according to Slavonic law, were all entitled to inherit. Possibly he had contemplated some division of his inheritance. But the sovereignty over the whole empire was seized by Boleslav I., the son of the Bohemian mother; later called "Chabri" the Valiant. A man of unusual ability, he anticipated in some degree the results that coming centuries were destined to effect, and to some extent himself attained the objects for which the nation subsequently struggled. Cunning and brave, an admirable politician and administrator, possessed of indefatigable energy, he was superior to all who had dealings with him. A true appreciation of existing needs and the forces actually available prevented him from ever attempting the impossible. The

Martyrdom of Bishop Adalbert

nation did not prosper when it went outside the circle which he drew round it. At the very beginning of his reign he marched northwards and conquered Pomerania and the Prussian territory, and in the south Chrobatia with Cracow, and Moravia with Slovakia, as far as the Danube.

Just at this time Bishop Adalbert, who had been banished from Prague, went northwards to preach the Gospel to the pagan Prussians, and died a martyr's death there in 997. Boleslav ransomed his bones from the pagans and buried them in Gnesen. He knew that the bones of a saint were necessary for the founding of churches, and that high respect was then paid to relics. Adalbert thus became the patron of the Polish realm. Churches were built in his honour. The standard of the corps which the prince himself commanded bore as a badge the figure of Adalbert, and the military standard of the whole Polish army displayed his portrait. Boleslav must have already been negotiating with the emperor and the Pope on the subject of new bishoprics, for we find by the year 999 an organised body of clergy in Poland. Gaudentius, brother of Adalbert, was nominated to be Archbishop of Gnesen, distinct from

Madgeburg; he was given as suffragans the Bishop of Cracow for Chrobatia, the Bishop of Breslau for Silesia, and the Bishop of Kolberg for Pomerania. Posen still remained under Mainz.

Thus an independent church of Poland was established as a foundation for the later political independence. In the year 1000, when, according to the teaching of the Chiliasts the end of the world ought to have come, the fanatical Emperor Otto III. went to Gnesen, in order to pray at the tomb of the saint, to whom he was also related. He had a brilliant reception; but the political advantages which the Pole was able to obtain were not small. Otto approved of the ecclesiastical system of Poland, and promoted the prince, whom hitherto he had reckoned as the vassal of the German Empire, to be brother, friend, and ally under the title of Patricius. In his pursuit of the dream of a world-empire, Otto III. had lost his footing on the soil of fact. "May Heaven forgive the emperor," exclaimed Bishop Thietmar of Merseburg about 1018 discontentedly, "for

**Church Unity
Strengthens the
Polish Empire**

having made a sovereign out of the Duke of Poland, who hitherto was a tributary, and for having exalted him so high that he soon sought to bring beneath his rule and degrade to servitude those who were once his superiors." It was shown afterwards that, in the days of the civil wars and disintegration, the solidarity of the Polish Empire was safeguarded and strengthened only by the unity of the Church.

The growth of the power of Poland caused alarm in Germany. Matters culminated in a war under Otto's successor, the Emperor Henry II., since Boleslav at the beginning of 1003 had annexed Bohemia also. Henry II. for many years waged war with great energy against the Duke of Poland, supported by Bohemia, which had been evacuated by Boleslav in 1004, and by the heathen Liutizes—an alliance which horrified the pious German clergy—but could effect nothing. Boleslav had his supporters everywhere, and roused up enemies on all sides for the emperor, even in Germany. The political and military superiority of Boleslav now showed itself in the clearest colours.

In the year 1005, Henry was forced to conclude a disadvantageous peace at Bautzen, while the treaty of Madgeburg,

in 1013, ratified the Pole's claim to all the conquests made in the East at the cost of Germany. Boleslav, indeed, in return did homage to the emperor at Merseburg, because he wished at the same time to turn against Russia. Being now recognised as an ally, he was accompanied on his Russian campaign by 300 German warriors, but obtained little

**The Banner
of Polish
Patriotism**

success. In 1015 the war with Germany began afresh; it was not until 1018 that a second peace was concluded at Bautzen. The Elbe once more was the western frontier of Poland. Boleslav took Kiev on August 14th, 1018, and reinstated his exiled son-in-law Svja-topolk.

Although the union of Bohemia and Poland had not been successfully carried out, Boleslav had united most of the west Slavs, who were still independent of Germany, under his own sceptre, and had founded an empire which stretched from the Elster and the Elbe to the Dniester. He also emphasised the Slavonic as opposed to the Germanic features of national life. His name has thus become the banner of Polish patriotism. After so many successes the Polish duke solicited the title of king, and with this object sent an embassy to Rome. This was intercepted by the emperor, but after the death of Henry, in 1024, Boleslav placed the crown on his own head. He died in the year 1025 at the age of fifty-eight.

Under the first successors of the greatest Polish king the situation was at once changed; not one of the conquests of Boleslav could be retained. In the first place, the empire, according to custom, had to be divided between the heirs; but Boleslav I. had already decided that one of his sons should rule over the whole realm, and the other petty princes should be subordinate to him. Mesko II. did, in fact, assume the government with the crown, while we find his brothers and

**Quarrels that
Weakened
Polish Power**

kinsmen as petty princes. Quarrels naturally broke out, which weakened the power of Poland. The Bohemian prince Bretislav conquered Moravia in 1029; Stefan of Hungary, Slovakia; Canute the Dane, Pomerania; and Jaroslav of Russia, the eastern half of Galicia. It was a more momentous matter that relations with Germany grew worse. Emperor Conrad II., who had been closely bound by ties of friendship with the Danish king

since 1025, adopted Besprim, the exiled elder brother of Mesko. He must also have considered the coronation of Mesko an insult. Mesko, indeed, valiantly held his ground and ravaged Saxony and other districts with the utmost ferocity in 1028 and 1030. Finally he was forced to succumb, to resign Lusatia once more, and

**The Splendour
of Boleslav
Completely Gone**

in the Merseburg treaty of 1033 to recognise in explicit terms the German suzerainty; probably also to pay tribute. The splendour which Poland had reached under Boleslav I. was completely gone. The conditions of a vassal state existed for centuries, and were more or less burdensome. We are nowhere distinctly told what constituted the duties of vassals; we may, however, consider it as certain that the Polish princes were bound to attend certain court ceremonies, to provide tribute or presents, and on the occasion of coronation journeys to Rome to supply an escort of 500, or, later, 300 soldiers. So long as ambitious ideas of empire dominated the German kings, they actually claimed the feudal rights of suzerains over Poland. It was only about the end of the thirteenth century that Poland was once for all recognised and treated as an independent state.

The political efforts of the Polish princes were naturally directed to shake off that yoke. When a favourable opportunity offered, they revolted, refused military services and tribute, seldom appeared at the court ceremonials, and here and there assumed the royal title, although in the German Empire they were styled merely "duces," or dukes. The country reached the zenith of independence under Boleslav II. at the time of Henry IV., while it sank to the lowest depth during the rule of Frederic Barbarossa and Rudolf of Hapsburg.

When Mesko II. died, in 1034, complete confusion ensued. Slaves rose against free-
**Paganism
Revives With
Civil War** men, the semi-serfs against the nobles; churches and monasteries were plundered, and the bishops killed or banished.

Richenza, Mesko's widow, a daughter of Hermann II. of Suabia and sister of the Empress Gisela, was forced to leave Poland with her little son Casimir, and went to her home to implore help from her brother-in-law, the Emperor Conrad. The old pagan faith seems then to have once more proudly raised its head. To

fill up the cup of misery, the surrounding nations attacked and pillaged the country. Besides this Bretislav Achilles of Bohemia in 1039 carried off from Gnesen to Prague the bones of St. Adalbert, doubtless next to the booty the main object of his campaign. Boleslav I. had built up the Polish Church over the tomb of the Bohemian martyr and had deprived Bohemia of the glory of the martyrdom. How important the event was for both sides is proved by the lamentations of the Polish chroniclers, the joy with which the relics of the national saint were received at Prague, and the long trial which was held about them at Rome. Cosmas of Prague cannot find language enough to praise the prince. The holy Adalbert now became, equally with the holy Wenzel, the patron saint of Bohemia; the chief military standard of the country bore his image. Now that he possessed these relics, the Bohemian duke contemplated founding an archbishopric in Prague. It was only in the thirteenth century that Poland was able to acquire a new national saint—Stanislav.

Casimir, meanwhile, remained in Germany. In the reign of the Emperor Henry III., who gladly seized the opportunity of once again asserting imperial claims upon the East, he marched, in 1040, with 500 men to Poland in order to win back his inheritance. He found the country ruined. Wild animals had their lairs where once the cathedral of Gnesen stood. The nobles had established independent lordships in the provinces. Casimir, in order to be able to carry on war successfully, married a Russian wife and made an alliance with Hungary. The war against Bohemia was conducted with unusual energy on account of Moravia and Silesia, as well as of the plundering of the church of Gnesen.

When, by the help of Russia Casimir had won back Masovia and also Silesia, he proceeded to re-establish the decayed Polish Church. He renewed the bishoprics, and conferred the archbishopric upon his kinsman Aaron, who resided at Cracow so long as the road to Gnesen was blocked. Casimir successfully accomplished his plans by the help of Germany, whose suzerainty he acknowledged. He died in 1058. The distress and misery which Poland suffered in the first years after Mesko's death never occurred again down to the time of its overthrow. Casimir, therefore, for

his services in the restoration of the empire has been given the honourable title of "Restaurator."

The empire owes to him also a second change. Hitherto, the Polish duke had no permanent abode; he journeyed from country to country, in order to administer justice personally in every place. The duke had his throne in the town where he preferred to live. When Casimir came to Poland he took up his quarters in Cracow, since other provinces were still to be conquered. From that time Cracow remained the residence of the duke and was, down to the sixteenth century, the political centre. This was not any advantage for the development of the empire. Posen or Gnesen would indisputably have better answered the purpose, since both lay nearer to Pomerania and the sea,

In conformity with the order of succession, introduced probably by Boleslav as king, the eldest of four sons, Boleslav II., subsequently called by the Chroniclers "the Bold," assumed the reins of government on the death of Casimir. His courage and ambitious plans recalled the memory of Boleslav I. The political situation on his accession was peculiarly



AT THE PRESENT DAY

favourable; the dispute about the right of investiture between Henry IV. and the Pope left a free hand to the Polish duke. Boleslav actually took the side of Henry's enemies, and had himself crowned at Christmas, 1076. But the scene of the struggle of the Salian with the rival kingdom was mostly the valley of the Main.

Fraught with greater consequences was Boleslav's attitude towards Stanislaw, Bishop of Cracow, whom the king, for reasons unknown to us, murdered with his own hands before the altar. This tragedy was the theme of many writers. It is also said to have been the cause of Boleslav being forced to go into exile; but the story is improbable. He died in 1081, but the place of his death is unknown. Many churches were built in honour of the murdered bishop, who was promoted in the thirteenth century



CRACOW CASTLE IN MEDIÆVAL TIMES

From the time of Casimir, who restored the Polish power in the middle of the eleventh century, until the sixteenth century, Cracow was the political centre.

to which, indeed, the future of Poland pointed. With Cracow as capital, Poland came into the disturbing vicinity of Bohemia and Hungary, and was distracted from her true aims. Apart from this disadvantage, the West Slavs were in this way more easily Germanised. The remoteness from the sea was partially remedied by the removal of the court to Warsaw,

murdered with his own hands before the altar. This tragedy was the theme of many writers. It is also said to have been the cause of Boleslav being forced to go into exile; but the story is improbable. He died in 1081, but the place of his death is unknown. Many churches were built in honour of the murdered bishop, who was promoted in the thirteenth century

to be the first patron saint of Poland. Boleslav's successor, until 1103, at first only in Posen, while Cracow belonged to Bohemia, was his brother Vladislav Hermann, a weakling in brain and body. He was unable to take up any firm attitude either towards the nobles or his own sons, or even the Church, to which he is

A Feud Between Two Brothers said to have granted certain privileges. He divided the empire during his lifetime; while he himself retained the supreme authority, Boleslav received Masovia, Gnesen, and Posen, and his illegitimate son Sbignev Cracow and Silesia.

The smouldering feud between the two brothers burnt the more fiercely after Hermann's death, until Boleslav III. Krzywousty (Crooked Mouth) had conquered his brother's share. In spite of numerous frontier wars—for example, in 1109 the defence of Glogau against the Emperor Henry V. and Svatopluk of Olmütz—Boleslav did not secure any lasting advantage. Nor does his important place in the history of Poland depend upon the fact that he re-subjugated Pomerania and won it for Christianity by his missionaries, especially Bishop Otto of Bamberg, formerly chaplain of Vladislav Hermann; for by his very choice of a German bishop to evangelise Pomerania the Germanisation and hence the loss of Pomerania were hastened. But the Church paid him an appropriate tribute of thanks for what he had done. A priest, probably a Venetian, erroneously known by the name of Martinus Gallus, wrote in glorification of Boleslav III. the "Chronica Polonorum," reaching down to 1113—the oldest chronicle of Poland, and the earliest literary monument belonging to the country. The campaigns in Pomerania and the conversion of the land had the same value for Poland as the Crusades for the West. Bohemia and Poland in

Cracow Becomes the Official Centre return for their often rather forcible missionary work in pagan Pomerania and Prussia were released from the obligation of sharing in the expeditions to Palestine. The importance of Boleslav III. for Poland consists chiefly in his settlement of the order of succession to the throne. He divided his empire before his death in the following way: Vladislav, the eldest son, inherited Silesia with Glatz; Boleslav, Masovia and Kujavia with Dobrzyn;

Mesko, Gnesen and Posen with Pomerania; Henry, Sandomir; Casimir, a posthumous son, came off empty-handed. The eldest of the family was always to be Grand Duke, and reside in Cracow; to him were assigned the district of Cracow with Lenčzyca and Sieradz, besides the tribute from Pomerania and the region beyond the Oder, so that he might be superior in possessions to all other petty princes. Cracow thus became an official centre.

It is persistently asserted that Boleslav introduced with this measure the custom of seniority, according to which the eldest Piast for the time being should be the supreme head of the whole kingdom. But that is hardly correct. In the old days there was no distinction between public and private law. His scheme for the succession was not, therefore, new. Further, when, in 1054, the Bohemian duke Bretislav Achilles and Jaroslav of Kiev introduced the seniority, they only applied to the royal power the old Slavonic custom of family inheritance. The Polish duke, therefore, made use of the experience which had been gained in Bohemia and

The Wars of Boleslav's Descendants Russia. The conference of Russian princes at Lubetch. in 1097, had already declared that the petty principalities were hereditary. Boleslav now adopted this principle for his realm. The only new feature in Boleslav's scheme for the succession was that the district of Cracow remained as an appanage of the Grand Duke without any hereditary rights.

The consequences of Boleslav's settlement of the succession were the same in Poland as in Bohemia and Russia. The office of Grand Duke became, it is true, the badge and guarantee of national unity. But it also became an apple of discord among the Piasts. The sanguinary wars, which lasted among the descendants of Boleslav almost unceasingly down to the year 1333, are full of petty incidents which possess no significance in universal history; but nevertheless, like the similar wars in the families of the Premyslids, Rurikovitches, and Arpades, they supply a fresh proof that the rule of seniority was destructive to the state. When men notice that a law produces in different places the same disastrous effects, they must arrive at the consciousness that it is bad; but they have simultaneously taken a step forward. But from the circumstance that Bohemia was able to

abolish the rule of seniority in 1216, and Poland and Russia only in the fourteenth century, it may be gathered how tenaciously mankind clings to one idea, and how hard it is to strike out a new path. We also learn from it that Bohemia was more than a hundred years ahead of the above-named states in political development.

The oldest period of Polish history, when the young realm, guided mostly by strong hands and sound at the core, turned its strength toward the outside world, ends with Boleslav III., who had done homage again in 1135 to the Emperor Lothar, and died in 1138. The course of events after 1138 was exactly opposite. While the Piasts disputed among themselves for the seniority, they regarded only themselves, and lost sight of the common Polish interests in the outside world. The dispute among the sons broke out soon after the death of the father. The Grand Duke Vladislav II., of Cracow, wished once more to restore unity at the expense of his brothers.

But the threatened princes combined and asserted their claims; the law, indeed, spoke for them. Boleslav IV. (Curly-head), the eldest but one of the brothers, ascended the grand-ducal throne in the place of Vladislav, who was deprived of his share in the inheritance in 1146; and maintained his position until his death in 1173, notwithstanding that the exiled monarch sought to recover his sovereignty by the aid of Germany. After him, the third brother, Mesko III. (the Elder), became Grand Duke; and finally, after his banishment by the nobles, the originally excluded Casimir II. the Just (1179 to 1194), came to the throne, since Henry of Sandomir had already fallen. The Pope and the emperor had approved of this choice. Matters so far had gone smoothly with the succession to the throne. But the fruit

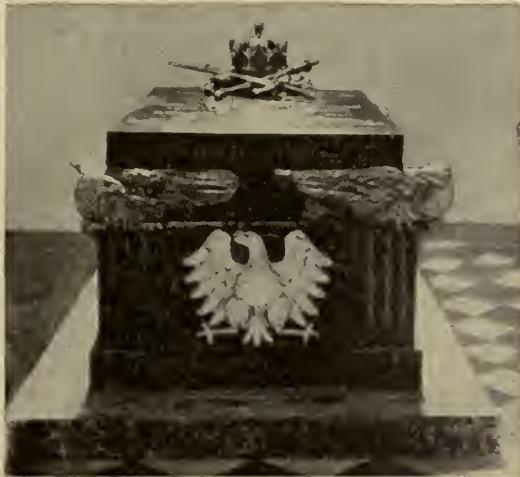
**Casimir the
Just Comes
to the Throne**

of the new order of things had already been tasted; thus Leszko I., the White, a son of Casimir, disputed the grand-ducal throne with his uncle Mesko III. Vladislav III., Longshanks, a son of Mesko III., who resided at Cracow, 1202-1206, must have equally recognised the evil latent in that law. Even the sons of the deposed Vladislav II.—Boleslav I. the Tall of Breslau, Mesko of Ratibor, and Conrad of Glogau—came forward with their claims, and not without success, after they had previously, with the help of Germany, taken possession of their inheritance.

The empire, owing to this, could not but lose all prestige with the outside world. The banished or defrauded Piasts sought help on every side, especially in Germany; each promised and performed all that was required of him in return. The dukes Vladislav II., Boleslav IV., and Mesko III., appeared in deepest submission before the German emperor; they paid tribute and fines, and furnished hostages. The Bohemian duke was, as it were, their mediator with the emperor, who

usually received him with great respect. The conquests in the north also were lost. The German princes Albert the Bear and Henry the Lion of Saxony had, in alliance with the Danish king Waldemar I., finally subjugated the north and west Slavs between the Elbe and the Oder, and had secured their territory, after 1150, by the new margraviate of Brandenburg. Not far from the place where the Slavonic Brennaburg stood, Berlin arose at the beginning of the thirteenth century.

The Pomeranian princes, who were once tributaries of Poland, were now forced to acknowledge the German sovereignty. Bogislav II. of Stettin was raised by Frederic Barbarossa, in the summer of 1181, to the dignity of a prince of the



A POLISH ROYAL TOMB IN PLOCK CATHEDRAL

empire. Only a part of Pomerania was still left for a time to Poland. For that reason also the empire would have required a free hand in order to be able to defend its interests against Russia, which was at a low ebb owing to civil wars. But thus it lost not merely the East Galician towns which Boleslav I.

The Great Power of the Nobility and Boleslav II. had once conquered, but allowed a strong Russian principality to be formed on the Dniester. The events of domestic history were far more momentous. First and foremost the power of the nobility, which composed the fighting strength, rose to an unforeseen height. The *Slachta*—the nobles—forced even the vigorous Boleslav II. to leave the country, as his father Casimir had been obliged to do. Under Boleslav III., who was an able soldier, his Palatine Skarbimir rebelled, and was blinded as a punishment in 1117. In 1171 the nobility, under the leadership of Jakva of Miechow, rose against Boleslav IV. in order to put his brother Casimir in his place; this was the first great rebellion of the *Slachta*. Mesko the Elder fought for the princely rights in Poland, just as the son and grandson of Vladimir Monomach did in Susdal; though repeatedly driven from the throne, he mounted it again.

Besides the nobility, a second power arose in the empire—the Church. The storm of the Investitures Controversy had passed over Poland in the eleventh century almost without leaving a trace, so little power had the hierarchy in those parts; Boleslav had entered the lists against Henry IV. merely on political grounds. If we assume, with the clerical chroniclers, that Boleslav was forced to go into exile for the murder of Bishop Stanislaw, we are regarding that event from the standpoint of the thirteenth century—in the eleventh century the Polish Church was still too young to be capable of such a vengeance.

Christianity Strikes Root in Poland The pious historian of the thirteenth century pictured to himself that the wanton crime must have been expiated in some way or other. The Christian religion only slowly struck root in Poland. The first prince who was obedient to the Church was Boleslav III.; he took interest in the missions, and himself made pilgrimages to France to the tomb of St. Ægidius. During his reign the first papal legate came

to Poland in 1123-1125—from which period dates the oldest Polish document—in order to settle the boundaries of the dioceses there, establish the cathedral chapters in the sees, etc. The Polish clergy still recognised no rule of celibacy, and the prince alone nominated the bishops and removed them at his own discretion; and this state of things continued for a long time. No bishop would then have been able to oppose the prince. It was only at the period of the civil wars that the Church acquired an increasing reputation. Vladislav III. Longshanks, son of Mesko the Elder, suspecting the latent danger, obstinately resisted the claims of the clergy.

The conviction was at last brought home to the Poles, as it had been to the Bohemians and the Russians, that the only salvation for the empire lay in a hereditary monarchy. Since each of the petty princes wished to become hereditary ruler, and no one of them would give way, for a time the evil grew only worse. The ablest statesman among the Piasts of the time was undoubtedly Casimir II.

Casimir's Ability as Statesman Brought up in the German school, he grasped the true state of affairs, and therefore allied himself with the newly arisen forces, the nobility and the clergy, in order to reach his goal. Immediately after his elevation to the Grand Dukedom, probably in 1179, he convened an imperial assembly at Lenczyca, at which the clergy appeared as well as the nobles.

This was the first imperial assembly of Poland, and at the same time its first synod. Here the Church obtained the important privilege of exemption from payment of imposts and taxes to the princes. The power of the princes was checked. By this policy Casimir placed himself in opposition to the conservative line of Great Poland, which would not hear of any concessions to the Church. Casimir acted here in the same way as the Ottos when they provided a counterpoise to the dukes by the creation of the imperial ecclesiastical offices; he must have fully understood that he was dependent on the nobility. But the result was that he was supported in his efforts by the grateful Church.

Casimir also took the precaution of having his title confirmed by the Pope and the emperor; in this policy he seems to have been the model for the Bohemian dukes.

He was now able to think how to make the grand-ducal power hereditary in his family, an arrangement which was also the ambition of the Premyslids. Thus he and Mesko III. represented two opposite political schools, and friction was inevitable. But when Casimir died in 1194, it was seen that matters were in a favourable position for his children.

Vincentius, Bishop of Cracow—later surnamed Kadlubek—who voluntarily became a monk at Jedrzejow in 1218, and died in 1223, records that the clergy and nobility met in 1195 at Cracow in order to settle the question of the throne. Who had summoned them? 'The Chronicle

does not tell us. We learn only that the Church sided there with the house of Casimir. At the instance of Bishop Fulko of Cracow, who adroitly adduced as an argument the preference given by Pope and emperor to Casimir over Mesko, Casimir's elder son, Leszko I. (the White) was summoned to Cracow.

It was the first election of a prince in Poland; though only, as in Bohemia, from among the members of the already ruling family, the Piasts. Henceforward, with little interruption, Cracow remained until 1370—when the family died out—in the hands of the descendants of Casimir, although the hereditary monarchy had not yet been formally legalised, and contests for the throne were frequent. But it was the will of the Church and of the nobility of Cracow. This struggle for a satisfactory constitution progressed slowly; Russia and Bohemia had not escaped it. It is an important feature in the present case that it was the Church which solved the problem; it must have been already very powerful in Poland in the first half of the thirteenth century.

The Power of the Church

Leszko, it is true, had not been able to gain any success against Mesko. But after the latter's death, in 1202, Leszko was summoned by the nobles of Cracow, and the only condition imposed upon him was

that he should remove the Palatine Govorko of Sandomir. That, instead of doing so, he preferred to abdicate the throne in favour of the son of Mesko, Vladislav Longshanks, proves how well

Conflict of Temporal and Spiritual Power

designed was the policy of the royal house. Vladislav, however, being an enemy of the Church, could not hold his own. Just at this time Henry Kietlicz, a Silesian by birth, was elected Archbishop of Poland. He had formerly studied theology at the Sorbonne in Paris with Count Lothar Conti, who mounted the papal throne on January 8th, 1198, as Innocent III.; and he had been

steeped in the plans of this mighty Pope. When placed on the archbishop's throne at Gnesen, he did not demand privileges but rights for the Polish Church. Then, for the first time there, a conflict between the temporal and spiritual powers broke out. Kietlicz was obdurate, and for the first time in Poland, apart from the dubious case of Boleslav II., launched the ban at the Grand Duke. He was forced, indeed, to flee the country, but the duke also had to leave Cracow, since the nobles of Cracow, incited by Bishop Fulko, left him in the lurch.

Leszko was then—in 1206—recalled. And he now took decisive measures for the succession. Since he first, following the example of many princes

of the time—for example, Premysl Ottokar I. of Bohemia, 1204—declared his country to be a papal fief, and then gave his brother, Conrad, Masovia and Kujavia, he contrived, with the assent of the clergy and the nobility, that Cracow and Sandomir should remain an inheritance of his family. This arrangement was confirmed by the Pope. And by it the law of seniority of Boleslav III. was formally repealed. But since this was not done with the approval of all the Piasts, the civil wars still continued. The result of the enactment, on the contrary, was that the provinces felt themselves independent of Cracow, and the unity of



POLISH WARRIOR OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

the empire seemed imperilled; but this danger was averted by the Church. Archbishop Kietlicz soon came back from Rome, and summoned a synod at Gnesen. The rule of celibacy was here introduced; and a special jurisdiction and other rights were conferred on the Church. Vladislav was therefore forced to give way. The remaining petty princes followed his example. But in all these events the Archbishop of Gnesen played an inferior part to the Bishop of Cracow, for Gnesen was in another country. The wish, however, of the bishops of Cracow that the archbishopric should be removed from Gnesen to their court was not gratified.

Poland in the thirteenth century stood already definitely under the banner of the Christian faith, and the princes acknowledged the power of the Church. Casimir had made an alliance with it in 1180, and solicited Pope Alexander III. to confirm him in his title. Now, also, the canonisation of Stanislaus, Bishop of Cracow, was completed, in order that the country might have its own patron saint; with this object the old Chronicles had to be purposely falsified. Churches and monasteries sprang up everywhere. The influence of the Church was felt in every domain of public life. Boleslav, Leszko's son, practised deeds of piety and acts of penance. The princesses took the veil and won for themselves the saintly nimbus. It was Leszko's brother Conrad who fought against the pagan Prussians and summoned the order of Teutonic knights, and by so doing later brought great danger upon Poland.

When Leszko died, in 1227, and Conrad of Masovia assumed the government in the name of his infant son Boleslav the Shamefaced, or Modest, the nobles conspired against him. They made use of the Silesian Piasts, whose head at that time was Henry I. the Bearded, grandson of that Vladislav who had been expelled in 1146 from Cracow. The nobility of Cracow supported Henry, who, in spite of his piety, was at variance with the clergy. The princes of Silesia, as well as of Great Poland, seem to have agreed together about him. Vladislav, in opposition to whom his own son Vladislav Odonicz came forward as a champion of the Church, actually designated the Silesian Henry as heir to Great Poland.

Under the banner of the Christian Faith

An Obstinate Struggle for Cracow

Cracow was still at war with his neighbour. After Vladislav Lokietek, who reigned only a short time, another Silesian prince, Henry IV. Probus of Breslau, took possession of Cracow (1289-1290). In the true spirit of patriotism he selected Przemyslav of Great Poland, a grandson of Odonicz, to inherit his dominions. But others came forward as rivals. The most dangerous was the Bohemian king Wenzel II. He married, in 1287, as his first wife, Jutta, a daughter of the German king Rudolf I. of Hapsburg; perhaps the object in view was a union of Poland with Bohemia under the overlordship of Germany. Cracow was taken by Bohemia in the year 1291. Przemyslav, it is true, in order to notify the independence of the crown of all the Polands, had himself crowned king of Poland at Gnesen in 1295; but he died the next year, 1296. Wenzel conquered Great Poland, and had himself crowned king of Poland in 1300. His death, in 1305, alone saved the independence of Poland; but the kings of Bohemia henceforward bore the title of "Rex Poloniae." The native candidates for the throne were finally beaten by Vladislav Lokietek, brother of Leszko the Black. When he was himself crowned at Gnesen, in January, 1320, with the consent

Under such circumstances Henry succeeded in uniting in his hands the greater part of the Polish dominions. It would have been a good thing for Poland if the Silesian Piasts had been able permanently to hold Cracow. But Henry I. died early in 1238; and his son Henry II., the Pious, fell gloriously on the battlefield at Liegnitz, on April 9th, 1241, in a campaign against the Mongols.

Thus once more an obstinate struggle for Cracow was kindled. Three lines of Piasts—the Silesian, the Great Polish, and the Casimirid—entered the lists. The weakest of all, Casimir's grandson, Boleslav Vstydliwy, substantiated his claim; the bishops, who were on his side, married him to a Hungarian princess, so that he was supported also by Hungary. On his death without issue the grandsons of Conrad of Masovia, Leszko the Black and Vladislav Lokietek, both of whom had estates only in Kujavia, came forward as claimants to the throne. Leszko maintained his position until 1288. The internal feuds were then at their height; each province had its own prince, who, though himself too weak,

Cracow Taken by Bohemia

of the Pope, the union of Poland was once more safeguarded, and with it the era of hereditary monarchy had dawned. More than two hundred years had elapsed before the Polish nation, by great sacrifices and hard struggles, had won the suitable form of government.

The Polish nation, which had bled to gratify the ambition of her princes, while defiant nobles claimed a share in the government, had seen her most prosperous days irrevocably ruined through civil wars. We can best estimate her loss by her relations to her neighbours.

The position of Poland towards Germany had become unfavourable. It was only when Germany, weakened by long wars, had, under Rudolf I. of Hapsburg, abandoned all notions of world empire, that a more prosperous era dawned for Poland. It was only to the turn of events in other countries, and to the battles which had been fought in the West between emperor and Pope, and not to their own efficiency, that the Piasts of Poland owed their independence from Germany. The Bohemian relations of Poland were important,

The Common Menace of Germany

and, in fact, decisive for her policy. We first find the two states in friendly relations one to the other; Mesko I. married a Bohemian princess. The common menace of Germany had probably brought them closer together. It then happened that the two princes quarrelled with each other because the Polish prince had robbed the Bohemian of a province (Moravia or Cracow). The emperor, it is true, decided in favour of Bohemia, but could not force Poland to accept his arbitration.

This mutual hostility forms a pivot of the future policy of Bohemia and Poland. Bohemia openly joined the German Empire, and, relying on this, wished to make conquests; the only place left for Poland was in the camp of its enemies. In the year 1003 Boleslav I. of Poland succeeded in making himself master of Bohemia. The union of these two kingdoms would have been of far-reaching importance for the whole Slavonic world, but Germany could not and would not tolerate the subjugation of her vassal. Poland was forced to liberate Bohemia.

The capture of Prague only increased the hatred of the two nations. Bretislav of Bohemia then conquered Moravia, and carried off to Prague the bones of

St. Adalbert. Silesia and Cracow fell for a time under Bohemian rule. Polish refugees were welcomed in Bohemia, and those of Bohemia in Poland. There was almost uninterrupted fighting in the forests on the Silesian frontier. The same jealousy was apparent in the ecclesiastical domain. Bohemia wished to have its archbishopric, like Poland. Bohemia took part in Prussian missionary work, but only in rivalry with Poland. The words, therefore, of the Polish Chronicle of the so-called Martinus Gallus, "the Bohemians are the worst enemies of Poland," have a deep significance.

It was only in the thirteenth century that this hostility decreased, principally through the efforts of Premysl Ottokar II. The hatred of Germany had now brought the two countries together. It was Ottokar who first appealed to the Slavonic fellow-sympathies of the Poles when he prepared for a decisive campaign against Germany. But Bohemia was too closely associated with the empire, and already too far removed from the Slavonic spirit, for this step to have any prospect of success. Poland was weaker, but since she was always opposed to Germany, the day of her independence would eventually dawn. While Bohemia, however, in connection with Germany, developed more peacefully and under able kings attained some importance, Poland sank deeper and deeper. Poland formerly had assumed the aggressive towards Bohemia, but now the two neighbours had exchanged their rôles. Bohemia obtained Moravia and extended her influence over Silesia. In fact, Bohemia, the direction of whose plans was defined by the northern course of the Elbe and Oder, had formed still wider plans. If the Bohemian princes repeatedly warred with Prussia, and if Wenzel II. conquered Cracow, the incentive to such action must have been the Baltic. Poland barred the way thither.

Relations of Poland and Hungary

The relations of Poland and Hungary were quite different. Once only had the sovereigns of the two kingdoms faced each other as foes—when Boleslav I. took Slovakia, and at the same time contested with Stefan in Rome for the royal crown. In later times the interests of the two countries seldom conflicted. Hungary went down the Danube south-eastwards; Poland struggled to reach the Baltic.

Owing to this divergence of their aims, quite friendly relations were often afterwards developed.

The state of things on the Baltic Sea became dangerous for Poland at the time of the civil wars. The Polish princes of Kujavia and Masovia were unable to defend themselves against the pagan

Power of the Pagan Prussians Prussians. The popes, indeed, were solicitous about their conversion; crusades were preached, and an order of knights was founded in Dobrzyn. But that was of little avail. Conrad of Masovia and Kujavia, therefore, summoned the Teutonic knights and assigned to them some districts in 1226. Hermann of Salza did not, however, content himself with the deed of gift of the Piast, but obtained that district as a fief from the Emperor Frederic II. and Pope Gregory IX.; the latter, in fact, freed the territory of the Order from all except papal overlordship.

Thus secured on all sides the Order began the war with the Prussians, supported by the knights of Western Europe, and especially those of Germany; the princes of Bohemia, Poland, and Pomerania also sent help. Success came rapidly; Prussia was soon conquered and secured by fortresses. But it was soon apparent that the Order had its own interests, not those of Poland, in view. Duke Svatopluk of Pomerania soon confronted the Order and protected Prussia. The Polish princes, however, had claimed the help of the knights against Brandenburg, which wished to have Pomerania. But the Order, when once brought into Pomerania, was unwilling to evacuate the country. In the same year, 1309, the Teutonic knights removed their chief centre from Venice to Marienburg. Thus there arose here a dangerous neighbour, supported by Germany and the Pope, which threatened to cut off Poland from the sea. The only hope left was, that now Lithuania was

Irresponsibility of the Polish Sovereign developing to the east of the Order, it certainly lay with Poland to make the best use of this turn of events.

Poland was equally unable to guard her interests in Russia. This position was now all the more dangerous, since after the subjugation of her eastern neighbour by the Tartars, the way to Poland lay open to the latter, and often enough have the Tartars ravaged Polish countries. Equally gloomy was the position at that

time of the internal state of Poland, both in respect of legal and economic developments and with regard to general culture. The person of the prince and his court constituted the centre of public life. The prince was the supreme administrator, judge, and general; he was formally absolute and irresponsible. He nominated the higher officials, who represented his rights; such were the court-judge and under-court-judge, the marshal and under-marshal, the chamberlain and under-chamberlain, seneschal and under-seneschal, carver, etc. At their head stood the palatine, or *wojewoda*. It cannot now be determined which offices dated from the pagan times and how far the court may have been altered later; the offices of chancellor and court secretary were certainly only creations of the Christian age.

The administration was simple. The country was divided into Castellannies; each Castellan exercised in his own division all the rights of the prince. The Castellannies were divided into smaller districts, or *opola*, which, probably dating

Grievous Pressure of Taxation from the oldest time, continued in existence until the thirteenth century. But more important for the people were the treasury and the law court. It is difficult to distinguish accurately between the fiscal dues which the freemen and serfs, who resided on the crown lands, were required to pay, and those which were payable to the royal coffers from other lands. The dues required consisted of payments in kind and in compulsory services, and there was a long list. A plough tax, a court tax, and a peace tax are first mentioned; we find also dues on honey, corn, cows, oxen, sheep, swine, etc. The subjects had to discharge public duties; they were, for instance, bound to build and restore the castles and bridges, and compelled to dig moats, mount watch in the castles and courts, furnish the prince and his officials with horses and carriages, guides and escorts, to hunt down criminals and clear the forests, and so forth.

Most burdensome was the obligation to receive and board messengers and officials, hunters, falconers, the keepers of the royal horses and hounds, their brewers, bakers, fishermen, etc., and supply food for the hounds and fodder for the horses. Even the butchers were bound

to hand over to the royal falconers the livers of the animals which they slaughtered. Besides this the prince claimed all unoccupied lands, all hunting-grounds and fisheries, all castles and towns, tolls and coinage rights, mills and the sale of salt, markets and court fees, etc. No considerable deviations from the oppressive burdens of the feudal system in Western Europe are observable. If we bear in mind also that abuses in the system occurred, that, for instance, when horses were required, they were taken from any place, but were often not restored, we shall understand that the people were completely at the mercy of the prince and his officials.

Equally unfavourable to the people was the judicial system. The inhabitants of each district, or *opole*, were collectively responsible for any crimes, and in the event of a murder which had been committed on its soil it paid the indemnity, and also was under the obligation of prosecuting the criminals. Since, with the exception of the death penalty or mutilation, there were only fines, that is to say, court dues, the courts themselves became

Oppression by Provincial Princes a sort of fiscal institution. As long as the kingdom was still undivided and large, all burdens were still more or less endurable. But the position became worse, and finally intolerable, when after the partition every prince kept up in his own province a court with a crowd of officials. To crown all, the nobles and clergy struggled more and more, as time went on, to free themselves from these obligations, while they obtained the corresponding privileges. They released themselves from the system of the *opole*, and, by so doing, from its collective responsibility, jurisdiction, and taxation. In this way private lordships, almost tax free as regards the treasury, with their own jurisdiction, and their own system of taxation, were formed by the side of the *opole*. The whole burden of the kingdom was shifted on to the peasants. The clergy and nobility became rich, while the people and the peasantry were impoverished.

The old Slavonic law and the earlier enactments were so riddled by these privileges that they became almost impracticable. The necessary change came in the shape of the German colonisation. The circumstance that the Piasts, especially in Silesia, married German

princesses, who came to Poland with a German suite, must have contributed to increase the German element in Poland, just as in the adjoining country of Hungary. The economic distress, however, was the decisive cause. In order to fill the treasury, princes, as well as monasteries and nobles, brought into the country

Success of German Settlers German settlers from the more densely inhabited West in order to gather the produce of the fields. The superiority and the lasting influence of the foreign colonists lay less in the fact that the Germans knew better how to cultivate the soil rather than in their more favourable legal position. The colonists, who were brought into the country by a contractor, received a plot of ground as an hereditary property, with certain minor rights and privileges, and had in return merely to pay a definite annual sum to the lord of the manor.

This privileged position was bound to promote their prosperity and to strengthen in them that feeling of self-reliance which they had brought with them as subjects of the German Empire, to which Poland was tributary. The relation of the immigrant to the native was the same in Bohemia and Russia. The strong political position of Germany benefited the settlers of that day as much as it benefits the German merchants and artisans of our times. Foreigners were promoted by the Slavonic princes to the detriment of their own people. The princes were too shortsighted to see that in this way they fostered in their own people that sense of humiliation which has been felt for centuries and has found its expression in legends, songs, and other forms of literature.

On the other hand, the Germans, who had the means at their disposal, were always in the position to pursue further developments of culture. The feelings of the Slavonic population, mortified and ignored by their own princes, either

The Slavs' Way to Prosperity unburdened themselves in hatred for the quite innocent German element and in rebellions against the authorities, or found a vent in emigration. On the other hand, the people took refuge in the protection of the German law; Polish villages and towns under the Slavonic law wished, in order to increase their prosperity, to be "promoted" to the German law. German customs, language, and culture would obviously spread rapidly under these

conditions. The devastations of the Tartars and the civil wars helped on the German colonisation. Silesia was soon completely Germanised, and in other provinces the German element at any rate grew steadily stronger. If the Silesian Piasts succeeded in temporarily driving the Casimirids from the throne of Cracow,

they owed that in no small degree to the support of their German subjects. A Germanisation of the entire Polish state lay already within the range of probability. A national crisis now took the place of the economic crisis which had been partially relieved by the German colonisation. This was the more dangerous since the Teutonic knights had now formed a third party in the country by the side of the Germans and the empire.

This situation was especially gloomy for Poland and all Slavs, since it was no longer the courts and castles of the ruling class, but rather the towns, that formed the centres of political, economic, and social life. The Slavs had, however, adopted their municipal organisation directly from the Germans, who were far ahead of them in this respect, and they usually found that their requirements in culture were satisfied to a far higher degree among the Teutons than among the Latins.

Such was the state of affairs in Poland when, in 1320, Vladislav Lokietek was crowned king in Cracow. The removal of all abuses in the interior of the realm, the improvement of the administration and judicature, the revision of the system of taxation, the establishment of equitable relations between the various sections of the people, the restraint of the Germanising movement, the encouragement of culture, and the protection of the realm against foreign attacks—such was the task of the restored monarchy. It was the more difficult since Poland had no

friend, or, at the most, some moderate support from the Roman Curia, which was again in conflict with the empire.

Lokietek saw clearly that the Teutonic Order was the most dangerous enemy of Poland. He therefore sued the knights in the Roman Curia respecting Pomerania. He formed an alliance with Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, and married his daughter Elizabeth to the Hungarian king, Charles Robert the Angevin. He also succeeded

in gaining the friendship of Lithuanian princes, who were already hostile to the Order. In 1325 he married his son Casimir to Aldona, daughter of the warlike Lithuanian Gedymin. Thus strengthened, he advanced himself against the Order. The first engagements proved favourable to him. But the results were temporarily unimportant; and the Roman suit brought him no advantage. This was due partly to the hostile attitude of King John of Bohemia, who could not disguise his impulse toward the North. John so far accomplished his purpose between the years 1327 and 1331, that most of the Silesian princes did homage to him; and he undertook a campaign against Lithuania, receiving on the way the homage of a Masovian prince. The Hungarian assistance, which Lokietek received, alone checked the Bohemian king from further steps. In spite of all this, the neighbouring states noticed that the position of Poland was strengthened when Lokietek died in 1333.

Work enough was left for his son Casimir. Lokietek had, it is true, already restored to a large extent the unity of the empire, and its independence was actually acknowledged by the Holy Roman Empire. But Poland, which had hardly been cemented together, was so exhausted that it could be permanently saved only by a strong hand. Casimir proved himself the wished-for strong king. The times had changed. The formerly despotic ruler had now to share his power with the priests and the nobles. By the side of these the towns rose continuously victorious. Chivalry soon lost its peculiar value; on the one hand, firearms had been invented; on the other, the ideas and objects of men changed with the growing prosperity of trades and industries. The laws, the military system, and the government required reform; they were to suit the conditions of a new era.

Casimir was competent for his task; with unerring eye he recognised that chivalry was nearing its end; and he did not fritter his time away in tournaments as King John did, but turned his attention with all the greater zeal to important economic, political, and social questions. Thus, in 1335, making full use of the favourable situation, he concluded with John of Bohemia the treaty of Visegrad. John abandoned his claims on Poland, in

return for which Casimir paid him 120,000 Bohemian groschen, and recognised the Bohemian suzerainty over Silesia and Plock.

Casimir's relations with the Teutonic Order did not turn out so favourably for Poland. The kings of Bohemia and Hungary decided in favour of the knights; the Roman Curia played a double game. Thus Pomerania, which was lost, could be won back only by the sword. Casimir must have been resolved on this, since he concluded a treaty with Charles Robert of Hungary, in 1339, at Visegrád. Having

no male issue, he promised the succession in Poland to Lewis, the son of the latter and his own nephew, on the understanding that Lewis would win back the lost provinces, especially Pomerania, would fill the offices and high posts only with Poles, would impose no new taxes, and would respect the ancient privileges. The purport of this hereditary alliance was certainly hostile to the Order. But Casimir's attention was turned in another direction.

When the childless Prince Boleslav Troidenovicz was poisoned in Halicz by the Boyars, Casimir was bound to interfere if he did not wish that the Lithuanians or the Tartars should seize the country and thus become his immediate neighbours. When Casimir took Halicz and Lemberg, in 1340, the Lithuanians occupied Volhynia; an event of the greatest importance for all Eastern Europe. Even the question of the Teutonic Order at once became less weighty and urgent for Poland. In 1343 Casimir concluded a treaty with the knights at Kalisch, by which he ceded to them Pomerania and the region of Michelau and Chelm, while

Teutonic Order and the King

he recovered only Kujavia and Dobrzyn. Half voluntarily Poland thus barred her own access to the Baltic Sea. But in return there was the glimpse of hope in the future of pressing onwards to the East,

The King's Wise Guidance of reaching perhaps the Black Sea, and, finally, through the increase of power there acquired, of wreaking vengeance on her old foes, and winning back the provinces lost to Bohemia and the Teutonic Order.

Perhaps this goal hovered before Casimir's eyes when he concluded, in 1339,



CASIMIR THE GREAT OF POLAND

Casimir III. came to the Polish throne at a time when nothing but the iron hand of a strong ruler could have saved the country from disintegration, and proved himself the wished-for man of power. He carried forward many reforms, and greatly advanced his country's prosperity.

the settlement of the succession with Hungary; there were then clear signs of ferment in the region of Halicz. At first, however, Casimir was unfortunate; the war with Lithuania and the Tartars was by no means easy. It was only towards 1366 that he permanently secured Lemberg, Halicz, and a part of Volhynia for Poland. Meanwhile he had also reconquered a part of Silesia; the Prince of Masovia also took the oath of fealty to him. He still, however, bore the title "Heir to Pomerania"; a proof that he continued to think about that country.

But it was not in his conquests and his advancement of his realm that the true greatness of Casimir lay, but in his administration and organisation. He would not have been able to achieve any political successes had he not been intent on internal reform. In the first place, he gave Poland, which had hitherto been only a personal union of distinct countries, a centralised organisation. He unified the administration by creating new imperial offices in addition to the local offices which had existed since the times of the petty principalities. He then proceeded to improve the judicial system. He first of all

ordered the customary law, which was preserved only in oral tradition and naturally was different in the different districts, to be written down, and then had a universal code prepared for all Polish countries. He allowed the flourishing towns which lived according to the code of Kulm or Magdeburg to retain their laws,

Casimir

**Fosters National
Feeling**

but forbade any appeal to the mother towns outside the kingdom. He substituted a superior court of German law in every district, which decided cases according to the principles of the Magdeburg Code and the *Sachsenspiegel*; the magistrates of all the German villages were subordinated to this court. As the tribunal of highest instance for all local courts he established the Supreme Court of Justice at Cracow in 1356, at the head of which stood the governor of Cracow and a royal procurator-general, with seven qualified lawyers as assessors. The towns were in this way severed from Germany, and since they gradually lost any tendency to become Germanised, the national feelings of Poland were cautiously fostered and developed.

It seemed as if Casimir from the same motives had specially favoured the nobility, in order to prevent the German town element from acquiring political importance. The arrogance of the *slachta* certainly increased from the fact of his taking the advice of assemblies of nobles; indeed, there was actually formed among the nobility a league whose head suffered the death penalty by order of the king on account of outrages which had been committed. The king, however, continued to regard the nobles as the advisers of the crown. This tendency was visible in the actions of his successors; the national opposition between Poles and Germans was then very strong.

The reorganisation of the military system was not less important. Hitherto only the wealthy nobles had furnished troops, since the cost of equipment was heavy and the landowning clergy were exempt from the duty. Casimir now decided that for the future, in order to raise the sunken state of the army, the duty of service should be imposed upon all possessors of land. Thus the citizen became equally available for the army; the clergy had to send substitutes. Regulations as to levying troops were also drawn

Poland's

**New Military
System**

up. In addition to this he ordered that stone fortresses should be constructed everywhere in place of wooden; he transformed churches into castles—hence the Polish *kosciol*, Bohemian *kostel*, in the sense of church—and built good roads. The later successes of Poland were considerably influenced by these military reforms.

He took steps no less effective to advance the trade of the country, since he conferred special privileges on the towns, guaranteed security of person and property to foreign merchants, and gave them rights, built roads and bridges, founded markets, multiplied the number of fairs, opened up trade-routes into the interior, extirpated brigandage, and, what was the most important point, introduced a uniform coinage. The prosperity of the kingdom suddenly revived, and the reputation of the king grew so greatly that he was chosen to arbitrate between the Emperor Charles IV. and King Lewis of Hungary. The former of these sovereigns married at Cracow, as his fourth wife, Casimir's grand-daughter Elizabeth, and a daughter of Boguslav V.

**Poland
Rich and
Civilised**

of Pomerania. On this occasion Casimir gave his guests, the kings of Hungary, Bohemia, Cyprus, and Denmark, a brilliant reception. The event is described in the "*Chronica Cracoviæ*" of John of Czarnkov, Archdeacon of Gnesen.

Casimir put the coping-stone on his labours when he founded, in 1364, a university at Cracow. Now, for the first time, Poland entered the ranks of civilised states, and could now perform her duty in the east of Europe. He considered in this scheme the interests of all classes, nations, and creeds. He protected the peasants from the nobles, and was therefore called the Peasants' King. He granted rights to Armenians, Jews, and others. Himself a Roman Catholic, he nevertheless instructed the Byzantine patriarch to found bishoprics in his Russian dominions.

When Casimir died in 1370 the formerly exhausted and despised Poland was a rich and respected civilised state. The old dynasty of the Piasts became extinct with him. And with him also closes the first great era of Polish history. In conformity with the arrangement which had been made respecting the succession, King Lewis of Hungary took over the government. Piasts still ruled, it is



POLAND UNDER HUNGARY; CORONATION AT CRACOW OF THE ANGEVIN KING LEWIS I. OF HUNGARY AS KING OF POLAND

true, in the petty principality of Masovia, but Casimir had been forced to exclude from the succession these ultra-conservative and insignificant relations, in the interests of the realm, which could attain greater importance only in alliance with a second power. The reign of the Angevin Lewis brought no prosperity to the country of Poland, which was regarded merely as an appanage of Hungary.

After his coronation in Cracow Lewis returned home with the Polish royal insignia, and sent his mother Elizabeth, the sister of Casimir, to Poland to act as his regent. He thought only of securing the crown of Poland for one of his daughters, since he had no male heirs, who alone were regarded in the succession treaty by Casimir. The agreement with the Polish nobles was signed at Kaschau in 1374. The king, in return, pledged himself to reconquer the lost Polish provinces, to remit the dues of the nobility except the sum of two groschen from each plough, to confer all offices only on Poles of the district concerned, and to give special pay to the military for service

rendered outside the borders of the country. He was not concerned by the thought that the military and fiscal strength of Poland was thus much reduced and that the nobility were expressly recognised as the dominant influence; indeed, he actually united Red Russia with the Hungarian throne, and sent his own governor thither. He it was, also, who largely promoted the Roman Catholic propaganda in the Russian territory, and thus generated a movement which not only cost Hungary Red Russia, but later proved most disastrous to Poland also.

The arrogance of the nobility increased during his reign, and with it disorders in the country, so much that there was no longer any justice. The property of the poor was continually plundered by the Captains and Burggraves. And when, after large payments to the Chancery, a petitioner came back from Hungary with a royal letter, the noble brigands took no notice of it at all. Merchants and travellers were continually robbed and plundered on the high-roads without the slightest interference on the part of the Captains.



GROUP OF POLISH PEASANTS AND OTHER NATIVES OF POLAND



WHEN KNIGHTHOOD WAS IN FLOWER LITHUANIA TO THE UNION WITH POLAND

ON the southern shores of the Baltic, where Nature has not marked any sharply defined limits landwards, the Slavs, Finns, and Lithuanians influenced each other reciprocally. In the first place, the Slavs, who were the earliest to found states in those parts, ruled the others. Thus, Poland, following the course of the Vistula, turned against the Prussian Lithuanians in order to set foot on the Baltic. We find the Finnish Livonians at an early period of history the vassals of the Russian princes of Polock, who ruled the whole course of the Dwina as far as the sea. The Esthonians finally became dependent on the Novgorodian Slavs on the Lake of Ilmen, who founded there Jurjev, or Dorpat, and other towns.

But when Russia became weakened by civil wars, and the princes of Polock could not, therefore, assert their authority over the tribes on the Dwina, other nations tried to gain a firm footing there.

**Danes and
Swedes
in Livonia**

The country was more accessible from the sea than from the interior of the continent of Eastern Europe, and could not escape the influence of those nations who navigated the Baltic Sea. The Danes were the first to try to settle in Livonia. The Swedes also, who navigated the whole Baltic coast and established a large emporium at Wisby on the island of Gotland, came into contact with the Finnish tribes in Livonia and Esthonia. But even they failed to achieve permanent successes.

The situation changed only when the German trading towns of the North came into prominence. Lübeck also possessed an emporium and trading factories at Wisby, but then tried to come into direct communication with the Finnish tribes without Swedish intervention. The German ship that had sailed to seek out these tribes was driven by a storm into the Gulf of Riga. The natives flocked together, as the older Livonian Rhymed Chronicle tells us, and attacked the

Germans. But when they were beaten off, they proffered peace and began to trade by barter. The founding of the castle Üxküll, usually assigned to the year 1143, really dates from four decades later. This first contact of Germans with

**The Grandeur
of the Great
Bishop Otto** Livonians, Lithuanians, and Slavs was due purely to a commercial policy. But it did not continue so. The races of

Western Europe were then permeated by a deep religious feeling. The paganism of the Finnish and Lithuanian tribes attracted attention. The awakening missionary zeal found supporters in Germany the more readily since it promised to be remunerative both in its political and economic aspects.

The first missionary of the Prussians was St. Adalbert, who enjoyed the protection of Poland. Twelve years after him, St. Bruno of Querfurt also found a martyr's death there. Boleslav III. Krzywousty carried on the work of conversion in Pomerania and Prussia on a larger scale. The man in whom he confided, Bishop Otto of Bamberg, in contrast to other missionaries who went barefooted and shabbily dressed, appeared among the Pomeranians as a mighty prince, with a brilliant suite, and supported by the Polish army. He gave beautiful clothes and other presents to the newly baptised, and met with great success.

Henry Zdik, Bishop of Olmütz, then resolved to preach the Gospel to the Prussians in the footsteps of St. Adalbert, and applied to the Curia in 1140. But it

**Converting
the
Prussians** was not until 1144, when preparations were being made for the Second Crusade, that Pope Lucius II. negotiated with

Henry about a Prussian mission. It was then determined that Bohemia, Poland, and other northern kingdoms should not be obliged to join expeditions to the Holy Land, but should undertake the conversion of the Prussians instead. The

Moravian princes, therefore, undertook, with Bishop Henry, a crusade against the Prussians in 1147. They were joined by German and Polish princes. This event may have ripened the plans at the Bohemian court for expanding in a northerly direction at the cost of Poland, and obtaining a footing on the Baltic by building castles, etc. The Prussians obstinately defended their old gods and their liberty. They improved their methods of warfare, and even ventured on invading Kujavia and Masovia.

Prussia's Preference for Its Old Gods

During the course of these events the Danes turned their attention to the Wends, and the Swedes to Finland, Livonia and Esthonia. Abbot Peter of Rheims marked out for the Finnish mission his pupil Fulko, who was consecrated bishop by the Archbishop of Lund. Pope Alexander III. gave his sanction to the plan in 1169, and conferred indulgences on all Scandinavians who would join the war against the Esthonians. Fulko was not, however, adequately supported by either side. The Christian propaganda of the Scandinavians generally met with no success.

Abbot Arnold of Lübeck, who is generally supposed to have continued the Slavonic Chronicle of Helmod, relates that Meinhard, a priest, came with the Germans to Livonia, and was the first to try to preach the Gospel to the Livonians. When he found that the harvest was good, he applied to the Archbishop of Bremen, in 1186, to inaugurate a mission on a grand scale; he also asked the Prince of Polock to allow the mission. As a reward for his successful energy in building a church and a castle at Uxküll, founding of convents, etc., the Archbishop of Bremen consecrated him Bishop of Uxküll. But when tithes were exacted from the Livonians, and they noticed their dependence on Bremen, they attacked Uxküll and dived into the Dwina to wash off their baptism. Meinhard, who could not leave the castle, sent his vicar, Dietrich, as an envoy to Rome, and died in 1196. His successor, Berthold, reached Livonia with an army of Crusaders, but was defeated by the Livonians in 1198.

Livonians Abandon Christianity

All the baptised Livonians abandoned Christianity; they threw into the sea a wooden image which they thought to be the German god of destruction.

The Archbishop of Bremen now sent Albert of Bukshövden, in 1198, as bishop to Uxküll. King Canute of Denmark, Pope Innocent III., and several princes supported him. A crusading force of twenty-three ships now came to Livonia. The Livonians assumed the defensive, but Albert had recourse to stratagem. After concluding an armistice, he invited the oldest Livonians to a banquet, and did not let them go free until they gave their children as hostages, and promised acceptance of Christianity. The opposition of the Livonians was broken down, the children were sent to Bremen to be educated, and the Gospel was preached everywhere. In 1201, for greater security, he removed the bishopric from Uxküll to the town of Riga, which had been newly fortified by him, and lay nearer to the sea.

He then, in order to create a fighting force for himself, divided the land as fiefs among such Crusaders as were willing to settle there. When the news of the founding of Riga was spread, Esthonians, Livonians, Courlanders, and Lithuanians came to conclude peace. In order to secure absolutely the work of conversion,

Albert founded, in 1202, a new knightly order for Livonia on the model of the Templars.

These *fratres militiae Christi* wore white cloaks with a red cross and sword on the left breast, and were therefore called *fratres ensiferi*, or *gladiferi*, sword-wielders, the order of the sword. They were subject to the temporal and spiritual jurisdiction of the bishops of Riga. The master had his seat in the newly built Wenden.

In the year 1207, Albert surrendered Livonia to the Emperor Philip of Suabia as a fief. The real conquest now began. The Livonians first, and then the Letts were subjugated. The Russian principality of Polock, to which the country on the Dwina paid tribute (the two principalities of Kukenojs and Gersike belonged to it), attempted, it is true, to enforce its rights by help of the Esthonians, but it was too weak. Even Kukenojs and Gersike were conquered by the Germans, and the name of the latter soon disappears from history, although Albert agreed to the payment of a tribute for Livonia to Polock.

It was now the turn of Esthonia. The district of Sakkala, with Fellin, was first conquered; then Ungaunia. Here,



THEATRE BOULEVARD, WITH POST OFFICE AND POLICE STATION



THE GREAT PONTOON BRIDGE ACROSS THE RIVER DWINA



THE ORTHODOX GREEK CATHEDRAL OF RIGA

Founded in 1210, Riga presents a mixture of ancient and modern features. The old town still preserves the aspects of a Mediæval city, and there are to be seen many magnificent buildings of an early date. In 1621, Riga was captured for Sweden by Gustavus Adolphus, and, in 1710, Peter the Great took it for Russia. The illustrations give a good impression of the city and its buildings.

VIEWS OF RIGA THE ANCIENT CAPITAL OF LIVONIA

however, Novgorod, to which the Esthonians paid tribute, and which had built Jurjev in those parts in 1030, came into the question. The princes also of Pskow, with the help of Novgorod, inflicted defeats on the Germans. Albert therefore turned, in 1218, to King Waldemar II. of Denmark. The Esthonians were

The Danes beaten in 1219. The Danes
Founded then the town and
of Reval castle of Reval, and placed a
bishop there, who was subordinate to the Archbishopric of Lund. The Danes and the Germans now vied with each other in the conversion of the country. The Livonian Order protested against the Danish conquest. Albert lodged charges against Waldemar in Rome and before the German Emperor, all in vain. Waldemar offered Esthonia as a fief to the Pope; the Emperor Frederic II. was involved in the preparations for a crusade. Albert was compelled, therefore, to recognise the supremacy of Denmark over Esthonia. But since Waldemar, his attention being engrossed elsewhere, abandoned the conquered countries to their fate, the Germans were able to recover their strength. In the year 1224 they took Jurjev, although it had been obstinately defended by the Prince Wjatko. Albert then conquered the islands of Mon and Oesel. The Order attacked Reval and other Danish possessions. Even the Courlanders and Semgallians on the left bank of the Dwina were subjugated in the lifetime of Albert. The Order received, after the year 1207, a third of the conquered countries for its maintenance. When Albert died, in 1229, the sovereignty of the bishopric and the Order extended over the whole of Courland, Livonia, and Esthonia.

The successes of the Livonian Order drew the attention of all the northern states to it. The Polish prince, Conrad of Masovia and Kujavia, whose dominions had been cruelly raided by the pagan
Preaching Prussians and were being
to the Pagan overrun by the Lithuanians,
Prussians formed a scheme of founding a similar knighthood. At that time Christian, a monk of the Cistercian monastery in Oliva, late Suffragan Bishop of Mainz, was preaching the Gospel to the Prussians. Pope Honorius III., to whom he appealed for assistance, raised him to the Bishopric of Lithuania and recommended him to the Archbishop of Gnesen. On his return to Prussia he could not, however,

maintain his position. Even Conrad was compelled to leave his principality. In his straits he founded an "Order of Christ," and assigned to it the territory of Dobrzyn; hence also the name "Dobrinian Order." But this Order also failed to hold its own.

Conrad now turned to the Teutonic Order, which just at this time, 1225, was expelled from Transylvania by King Andreas of Hungary. The Grand Master Hermann of Salza accepted his offer, and received as territory the district of Kulm and the regions still to be conquered. The Order took all this in 1226 as a fief from the Emperor Frederic, and thus continued to make itself independent of the Masovian prince.

In the year 1228 Hermann Balk, the first territorial master, appeared in Prussia with a strong force of knights under the banner of the Blessed Virgin. The heathen, who were still disunited and carried on the war in bands, were driven back step by step. Good roads were laid down everywhere, and castles built. Thus, first of all, Thorn arose, then Kulm, Marienwerder and Elbing. The Prussian children were taken away and sent to

The Teutonic Germany to be educated.
Order's The pagans offered, indeed,
Great Power an obstinate resistance. But the German knights were supported by the whole of Europe, while the Prussians found only here and there some slight help from their fellow tribesmen in Lithuania.

While the Teutonic Order thus grew stronger, the news suddenly came from Livonia that the Order in that country, being inadequately supported by the West and threatened by an overwhelming force of Livonians, Danes and Russians, was on the verge of being dissolved. In order to save the new offshoot, it was proposed to combine the two foundations. The Knights of the Sword were incorporated in the Teutonic Order in 1237, adopted its badges and dress, and henceforward formed a province of the Teutonic Order, without, however, disowning their duties toward the Bishop of Riga and the Prince of Polock. The amalgamation was advantageous for both parties. A powerful German state was now formed on the southern coast of the Baltic, to which the Lithuanians, Finns and Slavs were subordinated. Its superiority in culture, warfare, and government soon made the Order a menace to the Russians and the Poles.

Knights flocked to the territory of the Order from all parts of Europe. Luxury and magnificence, with a constant round of brilliant tournaments and banquets, were the order of the day at Marienburg, the seat of the Grand Master, and in the other castles. Possibly no royal court in Europe, not excepting that of the emperor himself, offered such pleasures and distractions to the knights as the court of Marienburg. This was the training college for the young knights, who naturally went there in preference to Palestine. Every year foreign knights assembled in the domains of the Order to take part in the campaigns. "Journeys" were made to Lithuania, when the lakes and morasses were frozen. The country was completely ravaged, the inhabitants were carried off, and the villages burnt. The Lithuanians then did the same, only in larger

up in consequence of the dissensions of the princely family and with the popular assemblies, the contending parties often called in the help of their neighbours, and in this way Lithuania was drawn into Russian affairs. By the first half of the thirteenth century Lithuanian principalities had arisen on Russian soil. Towards

"Black Russia" the middle of the thirteenth century Mendog, or Mindove, came into prominence as ruler of Lithuania.

He appears to have been the first who, as "Grand Duke" treated the other petty princes as vassals. But his position was difficult. Not only did the lords of Halicz and Vladimir fight against him for the possession of Black Russia, but his kinsmen pressed on him still more heavily. Even the people, dissatisfied with his imperious policy, turned against him; the



THE CASTLE OF REVAL, THE PRINCIPAL CITY OF ESTHONIA

The history of Reval dates back to the thirteenth century, when it was founded as a Danish town. It was sold, in 1346, to the Teutonic knights by Denmark; it became Swedish in 1561, and in 1710 it was captured by Peter the Great.

numbers, since the domains of the Order were thickly populated and studded with castles. The Teutonic knights succeeded after a time in winning a party for themselves among the Lithuanians; the wealthier and shrewder pagans were forced ultimately to acknowledge that Christianity was better, the culture of the Order higher, and their way of life more pleasant. At the moment when the danger from the Teutonic Order was the greatest, Lithuania unexpectedly found a new source of strength in the surrounding Russian territory. The adjoining district of Polock had severed itself earlier than the other Russian principalities from the control of Kiev. Since there also, as formerly in the Russia of the twelfth century, several petty principalities sprang

more so as the prince, although still a pagan, was not disinclined towards the Christian religion, which was introduced there from Russia.

The result was the formation of two parties in Lithuania. The one represented the national element, and defended the national language, customs, and religion; the Christian, which was already the stronger party, inclined toward Russia. At the head of the latter party stood Mendog's son Vojchelk, an enterprising character, who was devoted to the Greek Church with the full zeal of his fiery soul. He entered a convent, and his dearest wish was to end his days on Mount Athos, as many sovereigns of Oriental Christendom had done. But what Mendog wished was some relaxation in the struggle against the

The Pagans' Tribute to Christianity

Livonian and Teutonic Orders; instead of which both parties launched him into a still more obstinate war with the Orders, and, in addition, with Russia. Red Russia now entered on the scene against Lithuania with all its forces; a better understanding between it and the Teutonic knights had been effected. Both sides fought for the possession of Black Russia. If the princes of Halicz had succeeded in uniting Black Russia with their possessions,

a new power, with the Little Russians for its chief supporters, would have been formed, owing to the internal dissensions of Lithuania and the disintegration with which Russia was threatened from the south-east through the Tartar ascendancy.

But the wily Lithuanian understood how to cripple all his foes. He first professed his willingness to accept Christianity. Innocent IV. sent him the royal crown, and Mendog received it and the rite of baptism at Novgorod, in 1250. In this way a friendly understanding was promoted between him and the Livonian Order.

By ceding to the latter the whole region of Smud, he revenged himself also on that national party which refused to recognise his overlordship.

Mendog also concluded a treaty with the Prince of Red Russia in 1255, and ceded Black Russia to him as a fief. His son Vojschelk married a daughter of the prince of the former. The people soon rose in Smud against the Livonian Order, and were willing now to accept Mendog's rule. Mendog vigorously

supported this movement; the Order suffered a decisive defeat, and was compelled once more to cede all the Lithuanian provinces. In this way the power of the Grand Duke in Lithuania was strengthened. For although Mendog was murdered in 1263, others aimed at the position of Grand Duke. Lithuania had now, therefore, to face the same struggle for the constitution as Russia, Poland, and other Slavonic countries.



A PILGRIMAGE SCENE AT THE CHAPEL OF OSTRO BRAMA IN WILNA

The family of Mendog had made a power out of Lithuania; but it was the lot of another Lithuanian family to raise Lithuania into a great power—the family, that is, whose representative, Gedymis, was Grand Duke in 1316. The state of Lithuania had already acquired a quite different aspect. Its swamps and lakes were not its only fortifications, but the country was covered with castles and walled towns. An improved method of warfare had been learnt from the Germans. Russian culture permeated public and private life; the Russian language was the language of the

Church, the court, and the nobility; the princely chancery used no language except Russian; the Lithuanian army consisted to a large extent of Russian troops, and was often led by Russians.

As a sort of Russian state, Lithuania was able to expand more easily on Russian territory. Gedymis had several Russian principalities. His rule was actually greeted with joy in the regions occupied by the Tartars.



THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CATHEDRAL OF WILNA



GENERAL VIEW SHOWING THE BRIDGE OF ZARETCHIE



PALACE OF WERKI, THE SEAT OF THE RUSSIAN GOVERNOR
VIEWS IN WILNA, THE ANCIENT CAPITAL OF LITHUANIA

The Lithuanians defeated even the dreaded Mongols, who were reckoned invincible. Kiev itself oscillated now between the Lithuanian and the Tartar ruler. Russian districts composed with it the predominant part of the Lithuanian state, which, under Gedymin, was the first power of Eastern Europe. Although still

The Founding of Lithuania's Capital City a pagan, Gedymin married Russian princesses, and allowed them to live according to the Christian faith and educate their children in it. He married his son Olgerd to a princess of Witebsk, his second son to a princess of Volhynia; one daughter to Prince Symeon of Moscow, and another to the Prince of Tver. Aldona wedded Casimir of Poland; the fourth daughter, Boleslav Trojdenovicz of Masovia. He sent colonists into the wide deserts, and built towns and villages, to which he gave privileges of the German type.

He founded Wilna, the future capital of Lithuania, transferred the pagan sanctuary thither in 1322, and had the sacred fire kindled there before the altar of Perkunas. At the same time he entered into negotiations with the Pope, obviously only to hold the Teutonic Order in check. In 1336 the Grand Master Dietrich of Altenburg (1335-1341) once more organised a great "journey" to Lithuania. The knights marched on Smud; and Pillene, where some four thousand Lithuanians, with their wives and children, were shut in, was besieged. Fire decided the fate of the wooden fortress and its valiant defenders.

Gedymin met his death in 1340 or 1341, at the fortress of Welona when it was besieged by the Germans, having been struck by a cannon-ball; use was therefore made of the invention of gunpowder earlier than at Crecy in 1346. Following the precedent of Russia, Gedymin had legalised the dignity of Grand Duke, and attached it to the possession of Wilna.

Pagan Burial

for a
Christian Leader

Javnut was marked out to be Grand Duke. His other six sons—Monvid, Narymunt, Koriat, Olgerd, Kejstut and Lubart—divided the rest of the kingdom between them. Olgerd and Kejstut stood out conspicuously among them. The former obtained Lithuania proper, with Krevo and the territory of Witebsk; Kejstut, on the other hand, obtained Smud, with Troki as capital, Grodno, and Berestie in Black Russia.

Olgerd was a strong and handsome man, of fine intellect and political insight, and, what was rare in his days, sober and abstemious. He understood several languages, and was not addicted to play. A crafty leader, he did not even inform his troops on the march to what goal he was leading them. Olgerd was the representative of the Christian party among the Russians. His wives and children were Christians. According to Russian authorities he was a Christian himself, although the foreign chroniclers assert that his corpse was burnt on a funeral pyre; perhaps the pagan priests wished this to be so.

Kejstut, an honest nature, a typical knight in every sense, and an impetuous spirit, was deified by the people as the representative of the national paganism. He unselfishly helped his brother to obtain the grand-ducal power, and was his most loyal subject, friend and guardian. Himself a pagan by honest conviction, he was the last Lithuanian prince who was buried according to heathen customs. Both added to the greatness and fame of Lithuania. While Olgerd as Grand Duke united Russian principalities with Lithuania, conquered Kiev itself, and so advanced the frontiers as far south as the Tartar tribes of the Black Sea and eastward beyond the Dnieper, Kejstut took over the protection of the western frontier and the war with the combined knightly Orders.

The chroniclers record many noble features in the life of this great hero. Kejstut rescued by his intercession the commandant of a castle of the Order who was sentenced by the Lithuanians to be burnt; he also forcibly expressed his displeasure when corpses were wantonly mutilated on the battlefield. If he planned an attack into the knights' country he used to announce his intention to their commanders, and he naturally expected similar chivalrous treatment from the Order. When Covno was suddenly attacked by the knights in 1362, he lodged a protest against such conduct before the far-famed Grand Master Winrich von Kniprode (1351-1382). On one occasion, being made prisoner and brought to Marienburg, he was recognised and secretly liberated by Alf, the servant assigned to him, a Lithuanian by birth. Kejstut was almost beloved by the Order on account of his chivalrous spirit. Once,

when, after the unsuccessful siege of a castle, he was compelled to cross a river and was nearly drowned, the marshal Henning Schindekopf drew him out of the water and refused to make him prisoner.

For forty years Kejstut unweariedly defended Lithuania, by the people of which he was extolled as their first national hero. The Order was not able to make any conquests there in his time. In spite of his support of paganism, Christianity itself continued to make greater and greater progress in Kejstut's dominions, although there were naturally many martyrs. Roman Catholicism alone could strike no root there. Both the Dominican and Franciscan monasteries, which had existed in Wilna under Gedymin, were suspended under Olgerd. When, then, they were revived by the Boyar Gastold, who went over to Catholicism to please his wife, a band of pagans attacked Gastold's house and killed seven monks; the others were crucified and thrown into the river.

Lithuania in its victorious career was bound sooner or later to come into contact with Moscow and the Tartars; both, indeed, aimed at the same goal—the union of Russia in their hands. If Olgerd beat the Tartars, his success could find only a joyful response in the hearts of the Russians. It was therefore easy for him to subjugate one Russian district after another. There was no fundamental distinction between Russia and Lithuania under Olgerd's régime. Only in Moscow existed any dangerous rival to the Lithuanian princes. Olgerd was able to postpone the decisive blow. He died, however, in 1377.

After Olgerd, Kejstut, as the senior of the family, ought to have mounted the grand ducal throne; but in accordance with a wish of his brother, he renounced his claim in favour of his nephew Jagiello. The latter was of a different disposition from his father, Olgerd. He dragged on a dull existence without lofty aspirations. Contrary to precedent, Jagiello allied himself with the Tartars, nominally in order to confront Moscow with their help. He then, by an equally gross breach with the traditions of his house, made secret overtures to the Teutonic Order. He was assisted in this by one of his crown councillors named Vojdylo, whom Kejstut

had offended on some occasion. Jagiello did not concern himself about the repeated attacks of the knights; in fact, he concluded with the Order a secret treaty which was aimed at Kejstut.

Kejstut, greatly annoyed, surprised Wilna, took his nephew prisoner, and discovered the original text of the treaty with the Order. He then mounted the grand ducal throne himself, gave Witebsk and Krevo to Jagiello, and then set him completely at liberty, with no other condition than that he should hang the traitor Vojdylo. Then a second relation, Dmitri Korybut, rose against Kejstut. Jagiello brought up his forces, nominally to the aid of Kejstut, but led them against Wilna and took it. The knights of the Order, who were allied with Jagiello, soon advanced. Troki, Kejstut's residence, was taken and sacked. Kejstut quickly collected forces to save his castles. Jagiello then implored Kejstut's son Witold, a friend of his, to intervene, since he did not wish to shed blood. Kejstut and Witold went, on the guarantee of a third person, into the camp of Jagiello, and were then thrown into chains. Cast into a gloomy dungeon at Krevo, Kejstut was found strangled there on the fifth day, in 1382. His body was burnt according to pagan rites.

Witold, who had made good his escape, went to Masovia and thence to the territory of the Order. Baptised according to Catholic rites, he took the name of his sponsor, Wigand, commander of Ragnit, 1383. The Order, to which Witold-Wigand promised to cede Saimaiten, north of the river Memel, in the event of his having no issue, welcomed the new ally. But in the latter the old, and therefore more intense, hatred for the Teutonic knights quickly overpowered his momentary thirst for vengeance. He had barely concluded the treaty with the Order when

he sought and obtained a reconciliation with Jagiello. The most salient feature of Witold's character was a pronounced sympathy with Lithuania. If he could not reach the desired goal by the straight road, he did not, on occasion, hesitate at dubious methods. Here, however, the separate history of Lithuania closes. In 1386 Jagiello was baptised, and wedded Hedwig of Poland. The union of the crowns merges Lithuania into Poland.

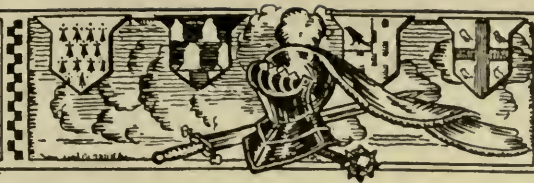
**National
Hero's
Tragic End**

**Lithuania's
Career
of Victory**

**Union of
Lithuania
and Poland**



HISTORICAL MAPS OF POLAND AND WESTERN RUSSIA FROM THE YEAR 1300 TILL 1660



UNION OF LITHUANIA WITH POLAND

STAGES IN THE NATION'S DEVELOPMENT

WHEN King Lewis I. of Hungary and Poland died at Tyrnau, on September 11th, 1382, according to the tenor of the treaty of Kashau, concluded in 1374, one of his daughters was to obtain the Polish crown. He had three daughters—Catharine, Maria, and Hedwig. Catharine was originally intended for Poland, Maria was wedded to Sigismund, Margrave of Brandenburg, and Hedwig was betrothed to Duke William of Austria. When Catharine had predeceased her father, the Polish succession was proposed for Maria. But this was hardly acceptable for Poland. Since Poland had been greatly neglected by Lewis, it wished to acknowledge only that one of his daughters who would pledge herself to reside with her husband in the country. Sigismund, the prospective king of Hungary, could not possibly consent to such an arrangement. Casimir the Great had

**Candidates
for the
Polish Crown**

wished first to strengthen his country economically, in order to be able to show a bolder front against the Teutonic Order—the most dangerous of Poland's foes, since it was supported by all Western Europe; with this object he had concluded a series of treaties with his neighbours. When he concluded the succession treaty with his nephew Lewis of Hungary, the latter had to give a pledge that he would reconquer the lost provinces of Poland with his own forces. From whom? Obviously only from the Order. But Lewis had procrastinated; the Polish atmosphere did not please him. The Order thus increased, and with it the German element. As a result of this, the national feeling and the hatred of the Germans grew so strong, both in Poland and Lithuania, that any candidate would have been more acceptable to the Poles and Lithuanians than the Margrave of Brandenburg. The Polish statesmen were aware that if Sigismund obtained the crown of Poland this would involve the

loss of its independence. When, even in the lifetime of his father-in-law, he had come to Poland at the head of a small army in order to receive homage, his entry into Cracow was barred; only the towns, where the German element predominated, received him cordially. Sigismund was compelled, therefore, to leave Poland without having achieved his purpose. And so the matter rested, since he could not obtain any firm footing at first even in Hungary.

**Sigismund's
Thwarted
Purpose**

The Polish throne was thus once more regarded as vacant. Prince Ziemko of Masovia soon came forward, supported by a large party and the Archbishop Bodzanta of Gnesen, who actually proclaimed him king when the envoys of the queen mother Elizabeth—who died in 1387—appeared, with the declaration that Hedwig, who was born in 1369, and who was destined for the Polish throne, would soon come to Cracow for coronation. But after vainly waiting a long time for Hedwig, the Poles began to lose patience. The matter was not so simple. In the first place, the queen widow was herself in danger. Next, Hedwig, although just thirteen years old, was betrothed to William of Austria, whom the Poles could never accept, and who would not consent to give up Hedwig. Only after a declaration that the claims of Hedwig on the Polish crown would be regarded as waived if she did not appear within two months in Poland, did Elizabeth resolve to send her daughter to Poland. Hedwig, now a child of barely fifteen years, came to Cracow at the beginning of October, 1384, accompanied by the Archbishop of Gran and the Bishop of Csanad, and was crowned on October 15th. The first important step taken by the Polish statesmen had succeeded. The question now remained to find a suitable husband for the young queen.

**A Girl of
Fifteen on
the Throne**

National and religious considerations led the Poles to Lithuania. Poland as well as Lithuania fought against the Teutonic Order as their common and deadly enemy. Only by combined efforts could they hope to crush it. At the same time the thought of a union was not new. Vladislav Lokietok, when pressed hard by the Knights, had married his son Casimir to Aldona, a daughter of Gedymin. The idea then still prevailed that even single-handed they were a match for the Germans. But Lithuania was now torn by party feuds. New and stronger German castles arose on its soil and gripped it with iron arms. Another circumstance also favoured the rapprochement. Lithuania had been zealously addicted to paganism, but the number of the Christians now increased continually. Kejstut, the last pagan on the throne, was now dead. Lithuania was thus, from political and religious reasons, ripe for a union with Poland, and it is easy for two nations to form a sincere alliance when a great danger threatens both.

We do not know from which side the suggestion came. But since the prospect of missionary work on a large scale in Lithuania and the whole East was thus opened up to the Catholic Church of Poland, and since Kmita, the provincial of the Franciscan Order, was a trusted friend of Jagiello, we may suppose that apart from the nobility of Little Poland, who turned the scale and zealously advocated the union of the two states—the Franciscans chiefly prepared the ground in Lithuania. The view that paganism could nowhere be tolerated was then very strong in Europe; the Order owed to it the friendship of Western Europe. But if this pretext, which furnished its chief source of strength in the struggle against Lithuania, were to be cut away, Lithuania must inevitably accept Christianity. Then only could the power of the Roman Church, which was still the decisive force in Europe, be made useful. The fact that Jagiello with his whole people resolved to accept Christianity shows that, in spite of his low moral character, he was a far-sighted statesman, with a clear notion of diplomacy.

In the early days of the year 1385 a Lithuanian embassy to Cracow formally asked Hedwig's hand for their prince

Jagiello. No decision could be made without consulting Hedwig's mother; and messengers were, therefore, sent to Elizabeth. The dislike felt by the Magyars for Sigismund and William caused a decision in favour of Jagiello. It was certainly withdrawn again, and William himself appeared in Cracow, where romantic love passages took place between him and the young queen. But any opposition was wrecked on the firmness of the Polish grandees.

On February 12th, 1386, Jagiello made his entry into Cracow after he had accepted all the conditions proposed. He promised to throw himself into the bosom of the Catholic Church with all his still unbaptised brothers and relations, all the nobles, and all the inhabitants of his country, rich or poor, and to devote his treasures to the use of both kingdoms. Further, he promised to pay Duke William of Austria the forfeit of 200,000 gulden, which was entailed by the repudiation of the marriage contract, to make good at his own cost all the encroachments and curtailments to which the Polish Empire had been subjected, to

release all Polish prisoners of both sexes, and to unite forever his Lithuanian and Russian dominions with the Polish crown. Everything now depended on Hedwig. It was plainly put to her that she would not only serve her own country, but would perform a meritorious action in the sight of God, if a whole region was won for Christianity through her instrumentality. Besides this, the news from Hungary must have forced Hedwig to come to a determination, where the royal power was grievously imperilled, and her mother's life in danger. On February 15th, Jagiello was baptised, together with those of his brothers and kinsmen who were present. The office of sponsor, which had been declined by the Grand Master Conrad of Rotenstein (1382-1390), fell to Vladislav of Oppeln, whence Jagiello received in baptism the name of Vladislav II. Then followed the marriage and the coronation, on March 4th, 1386. After that, Wigand, the king's brother, married the daughter of Vladislav of Oppeln, Prince Janusz of Ratibor married Helene, niece of the king, and Prince Ziemko of Masovia the king's sister, Alexandra. Vladislav II., Jagiello of Lithuania, was not at first hereditary monarch of Poland, but merely

**Lithuania
in the Grip
of Germans**

**A Series
of Royal
Marriages**

**The Wooing
of Poland's
Young Queen**

prince consort and regent of the empire. The name of his dynasty is perhaps more familiar in the form Jagellon.

There is no more important event in the history of the Polish people, with the exception of the conversion to Christianity, than the union of Lithuania with Poland, which was completed in the year 1386. It gave a quite different aspect to the Eastern question, and completely changed

the course of history. Poland, itself too small to play any part in the midst of powerful neighbours, had first leaned upon Hungary. But that policy had not proved to her advantage; Polish interests, especially as against the Order, had been neglected, whereas Poland and Lithuania had now hardly anything more to fear from the Teutonic Knights. Indeed, the Order, when dealing with a Christianised Lithuania, lost its *raison d'être*. Soon not merely the emperor, but the Pope, declared publicly that the Order had now fulfilled its task. Later Popes forbade the expeditions

among the heathen and any injury to Lithuania; a century had hardly elapsed after the baptism of Jagiello when it was proposed that the Knights should be transplanted to Podolia, and be employed in the war against the Turks and Tartars. Besides this, the position of Poland in the new treaty with Lithuania was far more favourable than had been the case in the treaty with Hungary. Poland, as a result of these changes, now stood higher

in every respect than Lithuania. Further, Jagiello, a thoroughly selfish character, had, in return for the crown of Poland, formally given up his country to the Poles. Poland was the recipient, Lithuania the donor, if we disregard the free constitution, the new religion, and the culture which the Poles had to give to the Lithuanians. Henceforward the will of the Polish king was all important in

Lithuania, or rather, since he himself was of little consequence, the will of the Polish nobles and the Catholic priesthood. Lithuania, three times as large as Poland, sank into an appanage of the Polish crown. Hitherto there had been in Eastern Europe three political centres, Poland, Lithuania, and Russia, not to speak of the Tartars, but now the largest of them, Lithuania, suddenly ceased to exist. Henceforward only Poland and Russia confronted each other, and the time was approaching when the question would be decided which of the two was to dominate Eastern Europe.

When the first frosts came in the winter of 1386-1387, Jagiello, accompanied by princes and grandees, and by numerous priests and Franciscan monks as spiritual leaders of the undertaking, marched to his home in order, according to his promise, to baptise his subjects. At the beginning of January, 1387, when the ice built firm bridges everywhere in that country of rivers, lakes, and marshes, the Polish mission appeared at Wilna. It was just



VLADISLAV III. THE BOY KING OF HUNGARY & POLAND
Brief, but stirring, was the reign of this youthful monarch. He was barely fifteen years of age when, in 1440, a Hungarian embassy arriving in Poland, offered him the throne of his late father, Vladislav II. Fighting against the Turks, the young king fell at Varna in 1444.

after the long autumn festivities, a time when the supplies of the Lithuanians began to fail. The missionaries, however, brought a quantity of corn, new white linen robes, and other presents for those about to be baptised, and appeared in state just as Otto, the apostle of Pomerania, had formerly done. The will of the prince

The Dawn of a New Era had still more weight in Lithuania. Besides this, Vladislav Jagiello, in order to win over the nobles, conferred on all Catholic Boyars, as from February 20th, 1387, the "Polish right"—that is, all the liberties which the Polish nobility possessed.

This was the first charter of Lithuania. Concurrently, the Catholic Church was organised by the creation and splendid endowment of a bishopric at Wilna, with seven parish churches at Miednicki, Meszagole, Wilkomierz, Krevo, Niemerczyn, Hajnovo, and Obolcza. The first bishop was the Franciscan Vasylo, a Pole, formerly confessor of Queen Elizabeth, and then Bishop of Sereth. The wooden image of the god Perkunas stood on the highest summit of the town of Wilna. The flames of the unapproachable Znicz still darted forth on the oak-planted square as the missionary procession came up the hill, singing holy songs. The sacred oaks were felled, the "eternal" fire was quenched. A thundering Te Deum announced to the people the dawn of a new era. Not a hand was raised to protect the old gods. Men and women were then led to the river, and whole companies received a Christian name—one to each batch. Distinguished Boyars had the honour of separate baptism.

The same ceremony was performed in the surrounding country. The number of those who were then baptised is put at 30,000. By the end of July, 1387, Jagiello was again in Cracow, and informed the Pope that Lithuania was converted. "Among all kings of the world

Lithuania Adopts Christianity thou, dear son, holdest the first place in our heart," answered Urban VI., whose sternness in 1378 caused the great schism.

But when he further said, "Rejoice, my son, that thou hast been found again like a hidden treasure and hast escaped destruction," these words, transferred to the political world, aptly represented the true state of affairs. Even in Germany there was a prophecy that all states would disappear except Poland and Lithuania.

Various petty states of Eastern Europe now sought support from the newly created empire of Poland-Lithuania; Hungary, for example, was just then crippled by internal disturbances. Soon after the coronation the petty princes of North Russia, mostly vassals of Lithuania, began to do homage to the now powerful Grand Duke. While Vladislav Jagiello still remained in Lithuania, Hedwig personally received the homage of Red Russia, which, since the times of Casimir the Great, belonged half to the Hungarian, half to the Polish crown, but had received from Lewis the Great a Magyar Starost-General. In Lemberg the brothers Peter and Roman who, as voivodes of Moldavia, were, properly speaking, Hungarian vassals, did homage to the Lithuanian; the Metropolitan Cyprian of Kiev read out the formula of the oath according to the orthodox rites. In the year 1390, a second Hungarian vassal, Prince Mircea the Elder of Wallachia, did homage. In the course of the next years the voivodes of Bessarabia and Transylvania did the same, and their successors renewed this oath. In the north

The New Empire's Wide Power the fear of the German-Livonian Order and of Moscow, in the south the fear of the Turks, drove those small princes to seek refuge under the great ruler. The sphere of the influence of Poland-Lithuania expanded now from sea to sea.

Meanwhile, the Teutonic Order had acquired more and more territory by purchase and treaty. It roused up opposition against Vladislav Jagiello at Rome and at every European court. The situation became especially grave, since in every negotiation it constantly invoked the intervention of the empire, and required actual obedience from Lithuanian princes. Vladislav of Oppeln submitted to the Grand Master of Wallenrod himself (1391-1393) a scheme for the partition of Poland. Poland-Lithuania was, however, not free from blame. In dire straits treaties were made with the Knights, and some territory was actually ceded; but there was bitter feeling against every arbitrator who assigned the land in question to the Germans. There was no rupture to be feared in the lifetime of Hedwig, whose father, Lewis, had been a patron of the Order. But after her death, in 1399, the decision could not long be postponed. Witold, Jagiello's cousin, was especially eager for war.

UNION OF LITHUANIA WITH POLAND

In the year 1410, Germany had three kings or emperors, Wenzel, Jost, and Sigismund, and would therefore bring no help to the Order. Lithuania enlisted Bohemian mercenaries and secured the aid of the Tartars. Witold incited the Samaiten country to revolt, although he had previously given 150 hostages to the Order. There was nothing left for these poor wretches except to hang themselves on the doors of their prisons. The Russian vassals of Lithuania marched also to their assistance. Nevertheless, the operations were by no means easy.

and Zbigniew Olesnicki, later Bishop of Cracow and first statesman of Poland, took part in the battle. Contemporaries probably realised the far-reaching effects of this event more than the writers of the present day; John Dlugosz, soon after 1457, urged that the spoils should be kept for ever in the Church, and that the anniversary should be commemorated in perpetuity.

The Order, it is true, tried its fortune repeatedly afterwards, but always without success. If Vladislav II. Jagiello had been a true soldier he could easily have



ARMED POLISH NOBLEMAN AND A "HAIDUK" OF THE EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The Teutonic Order, then the only power in Europe which could mobilise its forces in a fortnight, had splendid artillery, excellent cavalry, and a large body of mercenaries at its disposal. In culture it stood on a distinctly higher level than Poland.

The Grand Master Ulrich von Jungingen anticipated Poland with a declaration of war. The first engagement took place in the territory of the Order at Grünwald and Tannenberg, on July 15th, 1410; the army of the Order was annihilated. The Polish army for the first time sang the *Te Deum* in the Polish language. The chief credit of the victory belongs to Witold. Dlugosz, father of the celebrated historian,

made himself master of Marienburg, for treachery was rife. Many of the Knights collected their money and goods and fled to Germany. The writer who completed the "Chronicle of the Land of Prussia," which had been commenced by Johann von Posilge, an official of Riesenburg, deceased in 1405, laments the fact. In spite of the comparatively favourable treaty of Thorn on February 1st, 1411, the fall of the Teutonic Order was inevitable. The Electoral College recommended the protection of the Order to the Emperor Sigismund, and Charles VI. of France issued a warning to Poland; but such steps were of little avail.

With the collapse of the power of the Order, the influence of Germany, both national and political on Eastern Europe was broken. The empire lost its magic charm there, while Poland became a great European power; the Hussite movement, for example, became possible only after 1410. The Slavonic

An Age of Intellectual Progress

spirit grew so strong that even German culture could not hold its own. The effect of the year 1386, enhanced by the year 1410, thus signifies an important crisis for the Western and Northern Slavs, whose subjugation would certainly otherwise have been accomplished, as well as a revival of the Slavonic movement.

Vladislav II. Jagiello and Hedwig had done great services in raising the level of Polish civilisation. Hedwig first endowed a college at the University of Prague for such Lithuanians as studied theology there, and then obtained permission from Pope Boniface IX. to found a theological faculty in Cracow. Finally she left her fortune to the University of Cracow, so that in the year 1400 it was able to leave the hamlet of Bawol, near Cracow, and settle in its own buildings in the city. The king himself and the highest officials registered their names as the first among 200 students. Peter Wysz began with lectures in the presence of the king. After 1410 it was possible to equip the university still better, and it soon flourished. Nicholas Copernicus studied theology, medicine, mathematics and astronomy there in 1491. Schools were provided, churches built, art studied.

The Pomeranian duke Boguslav, formerly an ally of the Order, now did homage to the Polish king. Duke Ernest the Iron of Styria, Carinthia and Carniola, a brother of that William who met with such humiliating treatment in 1385, went to Cracow in 1412, concluded a defensive and offensive alliance with Poland,

The Beautiful Ancestress of the Hapsburgs

and married a niece of the king, the daughter of Ziemko of Masovia, Cimburbis, or Cecilia, who created a sensation by her physical strength, her beauty, and her "large lips." She became in 1415 the mother of Emperor Frederic III., and thus—after the hereditary Countess Johanna von Pfirdt, who died in 1351—the second great ancestress of the house of Hapsburg; at the same time she attained a similarly high dignity in

house of Wettin, since her daughter the Margaretha, who died in 1486, was married to the elector Frederic II. the Clement. The Emperor Sigismund himself, who even before Tannenberg had invaded the Cracovian territory, concluded a truce with Poland, and from November 8th, 1412, pledged the thirteen towns of the Zips district to Vladislav Jagiello. In fact, just when the Hussite movement was at its height, embassies appeared several times in Cracow to offer the crown of Bohemia also to the Polish king.

But this scheme, like the further progress of Poland, was wrecked on the personality of the king. Vladislav II. Jagiello, uneducated and sensual, without energy and deficient in military ability, was not the man who might have served a great empire, burdened with a difficult constitution in critical times, although from his position as Grand Duke of Lithuania he was invaluable as a visible sign of the union, and was clever enough to adapt himself to the new situation. He was, besides, too indifferent in most matters. His nobles, especially the bishops, man-

Vladislav II. Cultured but Effeminate

aged everything. Nevertheless, a certain progress is observable in him if we picture to ourselves how he once had governed despotically as a pagan; while he now had to rule a Catholic people within almost constitutional limits. Transplanted to another soil, his disposition underwent a change; from a rude barbarian he became a soft-hearted and absolutely effeminate character. He towered above the princes of Moscow, for example, in culture. Illuminated by the glory of a great victory, and as the suzerain of many princes, he loved to appear in magnificent state, like his brother-in-law Sigismund, for whom he always showed a certain weakness. He rode with a suite of 100 knights and an escort of 6,000 or 8,000 horse. He was so generous that the story ran in the territory of the Order that he had won the Polish crown by bribery, and his successors completely squandered the crown lands. Vladislav Jagiello was four times married. After the death of Hedwig in 1399 he married the daughter of the Count of Cilli, a granddaughter of Casimir the Great and sister of that Barbara who, having married, as her second husband, Sigismund in 1408, died as empress widow in 1451; next, Elizabeth Granovska; and, finally, in 1422, he

espoused, through the mediation of Witold, the Russian princess Sofie Olfzanska of Kiev, who died in 1461. He died on May 31st, 1434, at Grodek, having almost attained the age of eighty-six years.

His successors, called after him Jagellons, ruled in Poland until 1572 as elective, not hereditary, kings. In the fifteenth century Poland reached the highest point in her political history, while in the sixteenth her civilisation was at its zenith.

Some years after the death of Vladislav II. Jagiello, who had left two sons, Vladislav (III.) and Casimir IV. (Andreas), a Hungarian embassy appeared in Poland in 1440, which offered the crown of St. Stefan to Vladislav III., a boy of barely fifteen years. Fear of the Turks had caused this recourse to powerful Poland. This time not merely the notables of the national party, but also the bishops, even Olesnicki of Cracow, the all-powerful leader of Polish policy, counselled acceptance of the offer. It was worth the struggle against the unbelievers. Poland also had interests in the south. This led, therefore, to the first war against the Ottomans. The young king fell at Varna on November 10th, 1444. The Hungarians had, it is true, chosen Matthias Corvinus king in 1458, and the Bohemians, George of Podiebrad. But after the death of the two, the Bohemians first, and then the Hungarians, by the choice of Vladimir (II.), a son of Casimir, fell back upon the house of the Jagellons. This family retained the crowns of Poland, Hungary, and Bohemia until 1526, when Lewis, son of Vladislav II., fell as the last of the Bohemian-Hungarian branch at Mohacs.

Young King Falls Fighting the Ottomans

More important for the Polish Empire than the acquisition of the crowns of Bohemia and Hungary was the victorious advance to the Baltic. The Teutonic Knights had often tried after 1410 to retrieve their losses. Poland was compelled to wage a tedious war against them during the years 1420-1430; the campaign flagged greatly. But the dissolution of the Order could not be staved off. The estates of the country, dissatisfied with the rule of the Knights, took up a hostile attitude; the "Lizard League" founded in 1397, and the Prussian League of 1440, were openly and secretly aimed against the Order. Men once more took courage and tried to effect a rupture.

After the Emperor Frederic III. in 1453 had issued the command that the league was to be dissolved, the latter resolved to submit to the Polish king, Casimir IV. Andreas. In February, 1454, twelve members of the league appeared in Cracow and offered the Polish king the possession of Prussia. Cardinal Olesnicki tried to dissuade him. But Casimir accepted it without hesitation, and immediately nominated the spokesman of the Knights of the Lizard, Hans von Baisen, to be governor, awarded to the Prussian estates the rights of salvage, etc., and freed the towns from the harbour dues known as poundage. The Order, defeated and actually driven out of Marienburg, was forced to accept on October 19th, 1466, the unpalatable second treaty of Thorn.

The whole of Western Prussia, with Marienburg, Thorn, Danzig, Elbing, and Kulm, fell to Poland, and Ludwig von Ehrlichshausen (1449-1469) was compelled to take the oath of fealty to the King of Poland for East Prussia. Every Grand Master, six months after election, was to swear the oath of loyalty to the king for himself and his followers. The Master was to recognise no superior—Poland excepted—but the Pope, and to conclude no alliances or treaties without the sanction of the king. Prussia and Poland were to remain united for ever. Immediately afterwards "suitable persons" from the subjects of the Polish kingdom were added to the Prussian houses of the Teutonic Order, on condition that they should not compose more than half the members of the Order, but should be also eligible to half its offices. The Grand Master further could not be deprived of his office without the king's knowledge. A long chapter in Polish history was thus closed. "With reluctance I saw," said Dlugosz, "how Polish territory hitherto was divided among different nations, and I count myself and my contemporaries happy in having been allowed to live to see this territory won back again."

Poland's Lost Territory Won Back

Poland thus obtained a large town population, of which she had long and deeply felt the want. The possession of the mouth of the Vistula and a firm foothold on the Baltic Sea was of inestimable value to Poland, although she did not make full use of it for the development of her trade, or succeed in making the townsfolk Polish.



THE WEDDING TOILET OF A YOUNG LADY OF THE BOYARS
From the painting by C. G. Makowsky.

EASTERN
EUROPE TO
THE FRENCH
REVOLUTION



POLAND
IV

THE NEW DOMINION OF POLAND LITHUANIA'S PLACE IN THE DUAL MONARCHY

MORE important for Poland than its foreign relations was the internal development—that is, the development of the constitution in the young dual monarchy and the other relations between Poland and Lithuania. The chief task was to secure for all future time the union which had early been accompanied by such great successes. The solution of this and many other problems devolved upon Poland.

There could be no doubt as to the foundation on which the constitution was to be based. The Catholic religion was certainly the standard by which all reforms must be tested. This fundamental idea had already been expressed in the document of February 20th, 1387, in which the Polish rights were only granted to Catholic Lithuanians; a special article went so far as to assert that any man who

The Place of Religion in the State left the Catholic faith should *ipso facto* lose all privileges. In order that the Church might grow in the future, marriage between the Roman Catholic Lithuanians and members of the Greek Orthodox faith was forbidden; if, however, the parties had secretly married, the Greek party was to be compelled to accept conversion. The non-Catholic population was excluded, therefore, from all privileges.

But this policy of depressing the non-Catholic population, intelligible and wise as it was in itself, provoked bitterness in the Lithuanian and Russian districts and commotions in the adjoining states. When Jagiello was in Cracow in 1386 he had, in order to secure Lithuania, transferred the grand ducal office to his brother Skirgello. One danger threatened, however: his cousin Witold, who had only obtained Grodno, seemed eminently dissatisfied with the new turn of events. He entered into secret connections not only with the Order, but also with the Grand Duke Vassilij Dmitrijevitch of Moscow, and was a suitor for the hand of his sister Sophia.

The cousin brought his Russian bride home in the face of the express prohibition of the king.

An alliance of Lithuania with Moscow influenced for the first time Polish and Lithuanian relations. The distinction

Schemes and Schemers in High Places between the Roman and the Greek faith became the more noticeable, since Lithuania definitely inclined toward the

side of the latter. Witold wished to take the opportunity of his marriage to surprise Wilna. Jagiello, who suspected even his brother, who belonged to the Greek faith, thought it best to win over Witold to his plans. The latter happened to be in the territory of the Order when Bishop Henry of Plock came to him on a secret mission from Jagiello. Witold accepted the offer, effected a reconciliation with Jagiello and Hedwig at Ostrov in Volhynia, and received the grand ducal title, while Skirgello was sent to Kiev. From that day Witold remained so loyal, to the Catholic Church at least, that Pope John XXIII. conferred on him later the title of "Vicar of the Church."

The case was different with his loyalty to the Polish crown. The subordinate position which his native land now took as regards Poland, and perhaps also the slight inflicted upon the Orthodox Church, in which he was brought up, must have chagrined a typical Lithuanian like Witold. The great campaign which he prepared against the Tartars throws a peculiar light on his political plans. He fed himself with

Great Campaign Against the Tartars the thought of bringing the Russian principalities under his supremacy in order finally to make even Poland

dependent on Lithuania. But if he wished to subjugate Moscow, which was then growing, the Tartar power must first be crushed. He was defeated, however, on the Vorskla in 1399. His hopes, so far as they had travelled in that direction,

were buried in that reverse. The battle on the Vorskla was therefore momentous not only for Poland and Lithuania, but also for all Eastern Europe. Above all, it placed Lithuania in a lower position towards Poland. The depressed Witold now resolved to tighten the bond with Poland, and hurried to the king at

Poland and Lithuania Amalgamate Cracow. Now for the first time the amalgamation of the two countries was seriously carried out. At the beginning of 1401 Witold assembled his Boyars and Russian vassal princes at Wilna; they all pledged themselves to help Poland with all their forces and take measures that, if Witold died, the whole dominions, inherited and acquired, might devolve on Vladislav Jagiello.

Witold renewed his oath of homage, and the other princes followed his lead; Svidrigello alone appended, as the chronicler of the Order relates, "an illegal seal" to the document in order to testify to his reluctance. Immediately afterwards the Polish dignitaries held an assembly on their side at Radom on March 11th, and equally gave the promise that they would support Lithuania, and after the death of Vladislav Jagiello would not elect a king without Witold's knowledge. If a personal union was concluded in 1386, a constitutional union of the two kingdoms was now effected. The advantage lay with Poland; Lithuania was to be independent only during the lifetime of Witold, and would then be incorporated with the crown of Poland.

When the common danger threatening from the Teutonic Order had been dispelled after the great victory of 1410, it seemed as if the union would break up, for Witold believed that he was strong enough single-handed. Since the Polish statesmen had at times almost spared the Order, they might nearly be suspected of having intentionally wished to

Catholicism the Religion of Chivalry keep the necessity of an alliance with Poland continually before the eyes of the Lithuanians. Witold for his part valued Western civilisation too highly not to form a true estimate of its blessings. But if he wished to raise his country to the plane of a European state, it was essential to make his people Catholics. Catholicism had yet another charm for him—it was the religion of chivalry. Witold had

already dubbed several of his men as knights; but now a creation of knights on a large scale was planned.

The Polish and Lithuanian nobles hurried in crowds to Horodlo on the Bug (1413). Each Polish clan adopted a Catholic Lithuanian Boyar, who then received the family name, the arms, and all rights of the members of that Polish family; thus, for example, the palatine of Wilna, Monvid, became a member of the Leliva family, and bore the same arms as Jasko of Tarnow. Witold himself named forty-seven Boyars as the most worthy. The personal union of 1386 and the constitutional union of 1401 were thus followed by the inauguration of brotherhood between the two nations. All earlier enactments were renewed, and the preliminaries of the impending corporation of Lithuania were so far arranged that it was resolved to undertake for administrative purposes a new partition of the Lithuanian territory on the Polish model.

Vladislav II. Jagiello on this occasion increased the fundamental privileges of the nobility by an enactment of great importance for the future. **The Polish Parliament Recognised** Henceforward all nobles of Poland and Lithuania were to have the right, whenever it was necessary, of holding meetings and parliaments, for the benefit of the realm with the sanction of the king, at Lublin, Parczow, or some other suitable place. By this enactment the Polish parliament, as it is styled in the charter, was legally recognised, and the chief power in the state was placed in the hands of the nobility. While this new parliamentary constitution implied for Poland an enlargement of existing rights, it was something quite new for Lithuania, which had hitherto been governed by an absolute monarch.

The Lithuanians, in return for their adoption of the Catholic religion and the surrender of political independence, received the same liberties and the same constitution as the Poles, whose arms they were permitted to bear as brothers. Their political loss was compensated by their newly acquired influence on the general affairs of the empire. The two other achievements of the Lithuanians, at any rate, proved illusive. The greatest confusion then prevailed throughout the whole community; the Hussite and the Protestant movements soon increased it.



SIXTEENTH CENTURY ARMOUR OF A POLISH CHIEFTAIN

The gorgeous panoply of a military commander of the sixteenth century, the fantastic dress being made of numerous small iron scales or plates and the elaborate ornamentation being of copper work covered with gold. From the Museum of Tsarskoe Seloe.

Nevertheless, Christianity had not yet lost all its strength. But chivalry was waning; it had already become untenable on military, economic, and social grounds, and from the advance of civilisation. Lithuania had only just laboriously introduced what Western Europe had already begun to discard. On the other

Contending Religions in Poland

hand, the constitution of Horodlo is of first-class importance from the standpoint of civilisation and history generally. Its most prominent characteristic is the accentuation of Catholicity. The Polish statesmen tried to solve their main constitutional problem by the example of Western Europe. Did they succeed? The constitutions of the West were equally based on a Catholic foundation; but their success was not menaced by the existence of a non-Catholic element. Poland, on the contrary, had two strong religious parties side by side. That no account was taken of the Greek faith was attributable to the ideas of Western Europe; but a political reason for this was adduced. "Difference of faith produces difference of sympathies." But subsequently friction was produced by this, and rebellions broke out. Moscow, seizing on this weak spot in the armour of Poland, proclaimed herself the protector of the Orthodox faith and brought Poland to the ground. Through this vulnerable point of her constitution Poland was affected by the prevailing Roman Catholic ideas.

Witold then once more showed that he towered above the Polish politicians in statesmanship. It was clear to him that the gulf must somehow be bridged; he perceived the constitutional humiliation of the Orthodox population, and found the solution in the idea of ecclesiastical union. Rome, if an oppressed sovereign sought her aid, had formerly stipulated for a complete adoption of the Catholic faith,

Dissensions in the Roman Church

even if some occasional exemptions were promised. But now it was resolved to carry out the unification of the two Churches in such a way that the Orthodox population need only accept the Catholic articles of belief and show obedience to the Pope, but in other respects should retain their Greek ritual. Before the spread of the Hussite movement men would hardly have ventured to lay such terms before the Curia. Witold energetically supported the

prosecution of this plan. It was essential that the Russo-Lithuanian district with Kiev should, in Church matters, be made independent of the Metropolitan at Moscow. In the same year that Huss was burnt at the stake at Constance (1415), Witold convened a synod of the Russo-Lithuanian clergy at Novohorodok in Lithuania, and proclaimed the independence of the Russo-Lithuanian Church with Kiev as its centre. Gregor Camblak, raised to be Metropolitan of Kiev, went in 1418 with eighteen suffragan bishops to Constance, at the command of the Grand Duke, in order to conclude there the union with the Roman Church. On account of the dissensions in the bosom of the Roman Church the negotiations fell through.

But the idea of union remained. Thus, the union concluded at Florence in the reign of Vladislav III. is, properly speaking, the sequel of those efforts. The plan was resumed in the year 1596 under Sigismund III., when a union was agreed upon at Berest; and so again later. But there is a vast difference between the plan of Witold and the later unions. Witold

The Polish Nationality Strengthened

contemplated only a constitutional equalisation of the Russo-Lithuanian and Catholic population, in which connection he, as a statesman, laid no special weight on creeds, and even protected the Jews; while later the only wish was to promote the Roman Catholic Church and the spread of the Polish element.

The second chief characteristic of the Polish constitution of 1413 is the stress laid on nationality. The Piast constitution had taken no account of other races because it had no cause to do so. But when in 1291 the Bohemian king Wenzel II. became King of Poland also, the Polish nobility, following a precedent under Henry II. of Silesia in the year 1239, drew up a charter that the king should confer offices on Poles alone. The same thing occurred when King Lewis of Hungary reigned in Poland, and again at the election of Jagiello. This article of the constitution raised a barrier between the Poles and the other nations, and thus strengthened the consciousness of Polish nationality.

A third peculiar feature of the Polish constitution was its republican spirit. Since in Horodlo it was only said generally that nobles might meet in suitable

localities, but was not precisely laid down by whom or how often they were to be summoned and how many might be present, the republican character of the constitution was emphasised. Wherever several nobles met they had, *ipso facto*, the right to decide on affairs of state; this was the source of the later Sejmiki and confederations. The unity of the constitution was destroyed by it. When an attempt was made, in 1540, in the imperial diet, to fix at least the number of their deputies, the nobility did not even concede that point. Every noble was a deputy by birth and had a share in the imperial government. The anarchy of the falling empire had its origin at Horodlo. Two classes now guided the destinies of Poland—the Catholic priesthood and the nobility. The peasant population and the citizens of the towns had no place by the side of these two. The impoverishment which the privileged orders brought upon the middle class had a most disastrous effect on industry and trade. The peasantry, however, were bound to retrograde in every sense. The two powerful parties were naturally anxious to increase their privileges still more. When Vladislav Jagiello in 1425 wished to secure the succession of his sons, the stipulation was required in return that for the future only men of noble birth should be admitted to spiritual dignities. This stipulation was not granted, because it ran counter to the custom of the Roman Church itself; but henceforward priests from the common people were to be excluded at any rate from the cathedral chapters at Cracow and Gnesen. Jagiello conferred a new favour on the nobility at Jedlno in the year 1430, and in 1433 at Cracow: "We promise and vow that

we will not allow any property-owning Pole to be imprisoned for any crime, or any penalty to be inflicted upon him before he has been assigned to and brought before some court; excepting thieves and criminals caught red-handed, as well as persons who cannot or will not give any security. Nobody shall be deprived of his goods by the king, but only by the sentence of the barons." This was the Polish act of Habeas Corpus. In Lithuania people had long been

discontented with the state of things created by the union with Poland. Chiefly belonging to the Orthodox communion, they felt their religious and political degradation the more keenly, since they were socially and economically prejudiced by it, and their culture must in the long run inevitably be stunted. In fine, it was felt that Lithuania was in an inferior position as regards Poland. This was perceived with the greater bitterness, since before 1386 Lithuania contained three times as much territory as Poland. At first the opposition massed itself round Witold. The Poles won him over. Then he wished to equalise the differences in a constitutional way by the union. But he could not overcome the politically inferior position of Lithuania. In a letter to Vladislav Jagiello he declared

that the Emperor Sigismund (Poland's evil genius, in whose power it lay to break up the union) had suggested to him the idea of aiming at the royal crown for Lithuania. Witold, in fact, staked everything upon obtaining his coronation. He had already invited Jagiello and many neighbouring princes to Luck. The imperial embassy, which was to bring him the crown, had reached the Polish frontier when the Poles barred the way. Sigismund



CASIMIR IV: POLAND'S POWERFUL KING

When he ascended the throne of Poland, in 1447, Casimir attempted to curtail the excessive power of the Catholic ecclesiastical princes, and forced the Pope to renounce the exclusive right of nominating these dignitaries. He died in 1492.



THE CHRISTMAS STAR: A PRETTY POLISH CUSTOM

At the Christmas season the Polish peasants go round the villages, carrying a huge lighted star, symbolising the Star of Bethlehem. Three boys impersonate the three kings of the East, Caspar, Melchior, and Balthazar. They also carry a little puppet-show, in which the drama of the Nativity and other Scripture incidents are performed.



CHRISTMAS IN POLAND: THE STORK AS CAROL-SINGER

In commemoration of the legend that tells how the birds and beasts of the field came to worship the Infant Jesus, the young Polish peasants dress up as various creatures, such as the stork and the bear, and go round the houses singing traditional carols. They are paid with gifts of cakes and sausages. The ceremony is practised also during the Carnival.

and Jagiello were at Luck, when Witold died unexpectedly (October 27th, 1430). The danger thus disappeared. Witold probably did not aim at a complete severance of Lithuania from Poland or at the status (which Sigismund designed imposing on him) of a vassal of the German emperor, but rather intended to place

Poland's Yoke Presses on Lithuania

Lithuania on an equal footing with Poland, and wished to employ Germany for the purpose. The Polish yoke grew heavier after Witold's death. Thus, for example, Polish garrisons were thrown into Kamienec and other Podolian fortresses without any warning, and Sigismund, the Grand Duke of Lithuania, was forced in the name of Lithuania to waive all claim to Podolia, and actually to surrender the most important fortresses of Volhynia. Nor was that all. The Poles demanded that all fresh acquisitions of territory should be made in the name of the crown of Poland alone. Finally, in all negotiations and treaties with foreign countries Lithuania was almost completely ignored. The malcontents grouped themselves round the person of Svidrigello, and the opposition found support in Moscow. Then war was determined upon in Poland. Svidrigello, defeated in 1435 on the River Svienta, was forced to recognise the suzerainty of Poland. But the opposition was not yet crushed by this defeat, and now the Grand Duke Casimir himself, brother of King Vladislav III., put himself at its head. The union of Florence in 1439, the arrangements of which were promoted by the Polish statesmen (Bishop Olesnicki received for his services a cardinal's hat), could not but make the more bad blood in the Russo-Lithuanian districts, since King Vladislav III. at the suggestion of the cardinal conferred on the united clergy the same rights which the Latin clergy enjoyed. Casimir IV.

Casimir IV. and the Church

Andreas, even after he had become King of Poland in 1447, did not alter his Lithuanian proclivities. On the contrary, he endeavoured to change the constitution, the defects of which he had clearly recognised. His greatest anxiety was due to the excessive power of the Catholic ecclesiastical princes, especially the haughty behaviour of Olesnicki, who, being the real originator of that constitution, tried to overshadow the crown itself.

Casimir, adroitly making full use of the schism which then divided the Roman Church, forced the anti-Pope Felix V. to renounce the exclusive right of nominating the ecclesiastical dignitaries of his empire; henceforward the king had for six years to fill ninety first places. By this plan the election of the chapters became invalid, and only persons acceptable to the king could be nominated to high offices. Casimir IV. also passed the enactment that the prelates as landowners should be liable to military service, by which means the military constitution of Casimir the Great was completed.

The king also planned to break down the excessive power of the nobility. He was at the same time firmly resolved not to allow Lithuania to be overshadowed by Poland; he resided by preference in the former country and surrounded himself with Lithuanians. When we hear what his attitude towards Bohemia and the Hussites was, how in 1449, in his capacity as Grand Duke of Lithuania, he made an alliance with Grand Duke Vasilij Vasiljevitch against common enemies—the second treaty of Lithuania with Moscow,

Lithuania Threatens to Revolt

made in the spirit of Witold—how they mutually secured the guardianship of their children and allowed free trading facilities, and how cautious was Casimir in settling the frontier on the side of Moscow, we may fairly suppose that Casimir courted connections with Moscow in order to show a bolder front against the Poles, and then to be able to reform the constitution.

He delayed to confirm the Polish privileges, wished to institute a trial for high treason against the cardinal, surrounded himself with younger men of his own views, and published pamphlets on the necessity of constitutional reform; in fact, he did not shrink from employing the headsman's axe in order to show the great officials that they were not masters of the state. He began by favouring the lesser nobility, in order to pit them against the magnates. This policy led later to the change in the constitution.

There was popular talk in Lithuania of conquering Podolia by force of arms, and the bitterness between Lithuania and Poland soon reached such a pitch that an open revolt of Lithuania threatened in 1456. If Casimir had persevered in his action



GENERAL VIEW OF THE CITY OF WARSAW



MONUMENT TO KING SIGISMUND AND THE MARKET PLACE



THE PALACE OF THE RUSSIAN GOVERNOR

SCENES IN WARSAW, THE ANCIENT CAPITAL OF POLAND

he would certainly have gained his end. But financial straits forced him to concessions. Poland was confronted with a war against the Order. The Slachta, which met at Cerekwica, refused to take the field before their privileges had been confirmed. Casimir himself required money, since he wished to marry Elizabeth,

The King in Financial Difficulties the sister of the Hungarian king, Ladislaus Posthumus; and since according to the laws the country had to furnish the dowry for the queen, the king was forced in 1453 to give way, and at the imperial diet at Piotrkov, in the presence of twelve knights and twelve barons, took the constitutional oath at the hands of the cardinal whom he detested. The regal power was still more restricted by the appointment of four councillors as assessors to the king, without whose consent no ordinance of the king should have the force of law. This first defeat of the crown was followed by others under Casimir's successors.

From the time of Casimir onwards we can notice two currents in the national life of Poland: the majority of the nobles worked for the enlargement of their privileges, while the second party aimed at the strengthening of the royal power and a restriction of personal liberty. This division of aims was to be found in every state of Europe. A contemporary of Casimir was the Florentine Niccolò Machiavelli (1469-1527), who, in his "Principe," which was addressed to Lorenzo de' Medici in 1514, published a treatise for the guidance of princes, to whom he wished to communicate the art of attaining an unrestricted authority. And at the court of Poland lived a representative of this school, the humanist Filippo Buonaccorsi, better known under the Latin name of Callimachus Experiens, to whom, together with John Dlugosz, Casimir had entrusted the education of his children.

Opposing Forces at Work in Poland

But while in many European countries the imperialistic party won the day, the republican party in Poland continuously gained the upper hand.

Casimir's son and successor, John I. Albert (1492-1501) vigorously prosecuted his father's plan, but in the end, like him, had to acknowledge failure. He is said to have planned nothing less than a coup d'état in order to overthrow the nobles and strengthen the monarchical power.

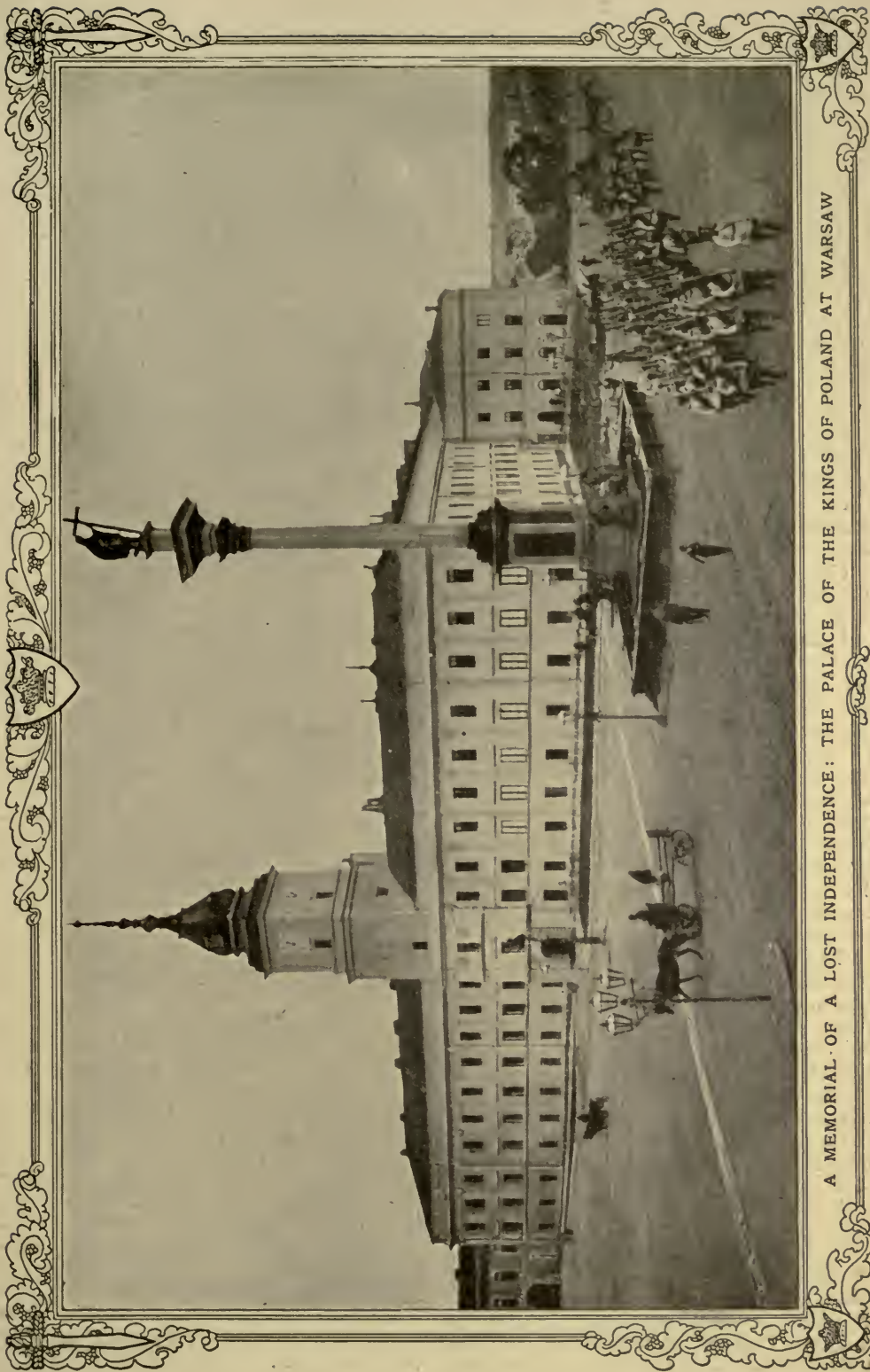
He governed without the senate. When the primate Olesnicki died, John Albert set his brother Frederic on the archiepiscopal throne. He introduced greater magnificence at court and made difficulties, whenever possible, about the admission of the magnates. He concluded a treaty with his brother Vladislav (II.) of Bohemia and Hungary in which they pledged themselves to help each other "in case of any rebellion of their subjects or any attempt by them to restrict the monarchical power."

The most certain means of increasing his power seemed to him to be a victorious war; he proposed to conquer Moldavia for his youngest brother Sigismund. All the Jagellons, with the exception of Alexander of Lithuania, assembled at Leutschau in Hungary in 1494 to discuss that campaign. They had, besides, every cause to join forces, since the Hapsburgs had concluded an alliance with Moscow against Poland. Preparations were made under pretext of a war against the Turks. Then the same situation came about as under Casimir—the nobles would not vote any supplies, and

The Nobility Defeats the Crown

Albert saw himself compelled to grant extensive concessions to the nobility at the diet at Piotrkov in 1496. Besides this, he suffered an overwhelming defeat in 1497 at Cozmin in the Bukovina.

The new, and at the same time monstrous feature, of the legislation of John Albert, extorted in 1496 by the Slachta, was that it formally surrendered the peasant population to the nobility. The pressure of the Slachta must have been great indeed when it could be complained in the diet that the country-folk left their fields in crowds and that the villages were empty. On the basis of the enactments of Casimir the Great (who had checked emigration so far that only a peasant who had more than one son should be allowed to send one to school or to business in the town, and then only on a certificate from his lord) it was enacted that henceforward in every year only one peasant might leave his village. This restriction was not modified until 1501. In another article townfolk were prohibited from acquiring and owning property according to provincial law. Further, the admission of non-nobles into the ecclesiastical hierarchy was restricted. Formerly, indeed, no



A MEMORIAL OF A LOST INDEPENDENCE: THE PALACE OF THE KINGS OF POLAND AT WARSAW

non-nobles were admitted to the higher offices in the cathedrals at Gnesen, Cracow, Posen, and Plock, but now the superior posts generally, to the exclusion of foreigners, were reserved for natives of noble birth alone. These two provisions were ostensibly designed to increase the military force. If, according to the tenor of the military system of Casimir the Great, only land-owning nobles were under any obligations of military service, in the interests of public defence the admission of non-nobles to ecclesiastical offices ought to be prevented, and the sale of "noble" property to them forbidden, because they were exempt from military service. Only certain benefices might be conferred upon "plebeians."

The articles concerning workmen were equally harsh: they were forbidden to go to Prussia and Silesia to work at harvest-time, in order that there might be no want of labour in Poland and that the wages might not need to be raised. The destitute were to be employed on the construction of fortresses on the Turkish or Tartar frontiers. The statute of 1496 significantly recounts that there were more beggars in the realm of Poland than anywhere else. The poor population, therefore, took refuge by hundreds in those ownerless districts on the Dnieper where freedom and a less degrading existence were still to be found, and they found a suitable employment in campaigns against Ottomans and Tartars. From these people arose the avengers of Polish oppression. The same characteristics are shown by the laws passed under Albert's brothers, Alexander I. (1501-1506), and Sigismund the Elder or the Great (1506-1548). The imperial diets were bent on further restricting the royal power. Thus we may call attention to the provision that the king had not to decide anything by himself, but merely to lead the deliberations of the senate; for "an oligarchical government was better than a monarchical." Further, the famous statute *Nihil novi* declared that the king henceforth might not introduce any new measure without

the assent of the senate and the provincial deputies; this strengthened the provisions of 1453 and 1454. High offices were to be conferred according to length of service and not at the caprice of the monarch. Grave consequences ensued from the decree of the diet of 1504, by which the king might not pledge or give away crown lands except with the knowledge of the diet and the assent of the senate. The legislative proposals which aimed at the increase of the defensive powers of the realm are noteworthy, and they would doubtless have achieved their purpose had they been carried out. According

to them, not merely were the townsfolk who owned landed property liable to military service, but every tenth man from the country population was to be drafted into the militia, which was intended to form the basis of the nation's military organisation.

The diets under Sigismund frequently occupied themselves with this question. Under him the liberty of the peasants to leave their homes was still more restricted, since they were made solely and absolutely dependent on the lord, while the rights of private jurisdiction were extended. In the legislative enactments of Melnik, of 1501, which, however, are not to be found in the "*Volumina legum*" of Jan Laski (John a Lasco; 1466-1531), it is laid down that, in case the king should prosecute any innocent person, or not conform to the enactments of the council, and act contrary to the well-being of the empire, the whole empire was released from the oath of loyalty and might regard the king as a tyrant and a foe.

Such proceedings could not produce any good impression in Lithuania. When John Albert's brother, Alexander, became Grand Duke of Lithuania, this was done without the assent of Poland. The union, therefore, was formally non-existent. Alexander, in fact, trod in the footsteps of Witold and Casimir, since he similarly entered into alliance with Moscow. Only the war against the Order brought both parties quickly together again.



SWORD OF THE
POLISH KINGS



POLAND UNDER THE JAGELLONS

SEEDS OF DECAY IN THE NATIONAL LIFE

WHEN Sigismund, Casimir's son, mounted the throne of Poland in 1506 Eastern Europe presented a very different political picture from that of a hundred years before. The hardest task of Poland in the course of the three last centuries, the suppression, that is, of the Teutonic Knights in order to occupy the coast of the Baltic, had been performed in 1466. It was high time, for a few decades later it would hardly have been possible.

Threatening clouds gathered in the east and west of Poland just at the close of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth. On the one hand Moscow was arming for an attack on Poland-Lithuania; on the other side the Ottomans were pressing with increasing power. Poland had long enjoyed tranquillity on the side of Moscow, which, groaning under the Tartar rule, had been unable to move. But when Ivan III.

**Ivan the
Champion of
the Orthodox**

had shaken off the Mongol yoke and had his hands free, he formed comprehensive schemes. He worked for the unification of Russia with skill and good fortune. One district after another was brought over to him.

When he married in 1472 the Byzantine princess Sophia (Zoë), daughter of the despot Thomas of Morea, the last of the race of the Palæologi, he assumed the Byzantine imperial arms, the double-headed eagle, and claimed from Rome the title of Emperor of Russia. He also laid claim to the Russian districts of Poland. The current of anti-Polish feeling in Lithuania was perceived by Ivan III. He therefore came forward as the champion of the Orthodox population of Poland. The Russian party in Lithuania was always strong; and capable men, such as Michael Glinskij, stood at its head. Even in Casimir's days the political conditions in Eastern Europe seemed to have shifted in favour of Moscow.

Since the year 1481, after the Tartars had been beaten, the Lithuanian princes, hitherto friendly towards Poland, began one after the other to go over to the side of Moscow. Alexander, while Grand Duke of Lithuania, was openly pro-Russian. A rapprochement between him and Ivan took place in 1494. Alexander married the

**Poland's Stand
Against the
Catholic Church**

Princess Helene and waived his claim to a series of towns in favour of his father-in-law. In the marriage contract he pledged himself not to force Helene to go over to the Catholic religion, and in fact not to allow her to do so "voluntarily." He built a chapel for her in Wilna, and surrounded her only with people of her own creed. We learn from these stipulations that the determined influence of the Roman Catholic Church on public policy, against which a stand was being made in Poland, was already recognised in Moscow. Alexander confirmed in 1499 the old rights of the Orthodox Church.

Ivan also knew how to stir up hostility on every side against Poland, and to organise a menacing league against it. He married his son Vasiliy to a daughter of Stefan the Great of Moldavia, and thus drew this country into the sphere of his interests. He was allied with the Teutonic Order and friendly with the Tartar Khan Mengli Giray I. (1469-1474 and 1478-1515); he observed an amicable attitude towards Turkey, and would not

**Germany and
Moscow in
Agreement**

entertain any idea of a league with Poland and Hungary against Turkey. His son Vasiliy observed the same policy. In this attitude towards Poland the Russian princes were met by the German emperor Maximilian, who, as an opponent of the Jagellons in the contest for the crowns of Bohemia and Hungary, found a welcome ally in the Muscovite grand duke. This was the first time that Germany entered into relations with Moscow.

Equally threatening was the attitude of the Sublime Porte. It was the zenith of Ottoman power. Moldavia and Wallachia already wavered in their loyalty as allies of Poland; if they were lost, it would be the turn of the Dniester district. Finally, it lay with the Jagellons to defend the Hungarian crown. This state of things

League Against Poland drove Poland also towards the south and provoked hostilities with Germany. The Hapsburgs, therefore, were eager, in league with Moscow and the Teutonic Order, to close the circle of the enemies of Poland; besides these, Maximilian won over the Margrave of Brandenburg, the Duke of Saxony, and the King of Denmark, for the combination against Poland, as well as a distinct party in Poland itself.

It was thus high time for Sigismund to act. He had concluded an alliance with Hungary in 1507, had renounced Moldavia in favour of Hungary, and married Barbara, sister of John Zapolya, besides winning over Mengli Giray, the Tartar Khan, by "yearly presents" of 15,000 gulden—everything in order to show a bolder front to Maximilian and others—when he suddenly changed his views. Sigismund could not, of course, wage war with all his enemies at one and the same time, and was forced, therefore, to decide whether to turn toward the West or the East. But Maximilian also had cause to seek a peace with Poland. The great struggle between the Hapsburgs and Valois then began. The succession in Milan and Naples aroused this struggle, and both antagonists fought in every part of the world where they could inflict damage on each other.

Sigismund decided for the contest with the East and for the alliance with Maximilian. His brother Ladislaus (Vladislav) II. of Hungary was the intermediary. Thus, on July 22nd, 1515, that memorable treaty

The World Power of the Hapsburgs

between the three monarchs as to the succession, which was decisive not merely for the history of Poland, was arranged in Vienna. The granddaughter of the emperor, Maria, was to marry Lewis, the son of Ladislaus, and Anna, his daughter, was to wed one of the two grandsons of the emperor, Charles or Ferdinand; the emperor went through the form of betrothal with Anna in the name of the not yet selected grandson, in the church

of St. Stephen. It was further decided that, in the event of Lewis dying without issue, the Hungarian crown should devolve on his sister Anna.

This treaty meant the renunciation by the Jagellons of their claims to the crowns of Bohemia and Hungary, and therefore to any power in the West, and founded the world power of the house of Hapsburg, just as it laid the foundations of the later empire of Austria. The day which saw the last Hungarian Jagellon fall at Mohács, August 29th, 1526, was the birthday of the Austrian monarchy.

But this treaty, on the other side, brought advantages to Poland. The emperor no longer supported the Teutonic Order, and did not aim at an armed alliance with the Grand Duke of Moscow, but left Poland a free hand. The situation that had been prepared and created by the battle at Tanenberg was formally recognised and confirmed by Germany so far as such treaties can be binding. The year 1515 forms the last stage in the development of the conditions created by the year 1410. Poland thus entered upon a new chapter of her historical development.

New Chapter in Polish Development

The empire, which had hitherto turned its face toward the west, now turned toward the east—namely, toward Moscow. The contest with this power fills the pages of the history of Poland for the succeeding centuries and decides her fate. Poland, indeed, only gradually recognised the necessity of the struggle. Even Sigismund did not keep this goal steadily before him, though he wavered in his loyalty to Germany.

The Poles, whose country lay on the upper courses of the Oder and the Vistula, must have always struggled to reach the Baltic. This motive, indeed, led to the union with Lithuania, which equally was drawn toward the Baltic. For this reason the Lithuano-Polish union was maintained in the face of all hindrances. In the second treaty of Thorn of 1466 the Poles had reached the goal which the course of their rivers clearly indicated. The same physical necessity caused the change of front in the year 1515. Poland never found the partnership with Hungary profitable; the connection was physically impossible, since a chain of mountains raised a barrier between them. Bohemia and Hungary especially had greater interests in common with Austria than with Poland, which lay on another line.

There the Danube created out of all the surrounding regions a new state, Austria, the necessity of which was proved by the joint wars against the Turks, who wished to dispute with it the possession of the Danube. The influence of geography therefore kept Poland aloof from Hungary, Bohemia and Austria, and indicated to her that abandonment of all interests in Hungary which forms the one side of the treaty of 1515.

But the other side of the treaty, the advance against the East, was qualified by physical conditions. While Western Europe is divided by mountain ranges into many distinct and separate parts, in which individual states could develop apart, since they were protected from their neighbours by Nature, East Europe forms one gigantic plain which, in spite of its expanse, must have favoured the formation of a homogeneous political structure on its whole surface. The waves of nations continually swept on and broke one on the other; the weaker tribes were subjugated, until at last only the strongest survived. Nowhere perhaps has the ethnographical picture changed so often as here—on the sea-coasts, if anywhere.

Many centuries elapsed before a homogeneous political structure arose in this gigantic basin. There were countless tribes there, and countless tribes were fated to fall, until finally, on the question who was to rule over the whole of East Europe, only two nations could come under consideration—the Poles and the Russians. And as soon as they recognised each other as rivals they rushed at each other, just as when in the desert one wild beast crosses the path of another. Properly speaking, the two kindred stocks, since they had similar economic, political, artistic, and even national interests, and to some degree the same enemies, could have quite well united, as was the case with Poland and Lithuania. But it was shown once more how powerfully an idea

Poles and Russians in Antagonism

dominates man. The two races, educated in different schools, worshipped quite different ideals. It was not the Poles that were fighting against the Russians there, but the Catholic Church against the Orthodox, republicanism against despotism.

Hence the bitterness of this East European war; it was a war of two conflicting principles. Moscow had emerged from the Tartar school hard and barbarised. An implacably stern absolutism had saved Russia from destruction. How, therefore, after this experience, was she to give up her own form of government and join the Western current of ideas? People and prince alike in Russia were so convinced of

the blessing of absolute monarchy that they were readier to go further in that direction rather than to abandon it; especially since in the impending war all the resources of the country stood at the absolute disposal of the despotic ruler, and the nation was so devoted to him that it hardly ventured to murmur under the heaviest oppression. A glance at the development of things in Poland could only strengthen Moscow in this conviction.

Just when the struggle between these two nationalities began, the royal power in Poland had gradually sunk into a phantom monarchy; the king and the nobility seemed to constitute two hostile, opposing parties. The nobility would not undertake anything unless they received in return some concession or other from the king. The *Slachta* decided on war and peace, and obtained pay for the campaigns outside the borders of the empire. The ravages and losses in war had to be made good to them, and their prisoners of war ransomed by the king. The nobility was desirous of paying as few taxes as possible, and of lightening the burden of their other state duties, and naturally saw with pleasure when the king was freehanded. The kings bore the whole load of responsibility, and often rescued the realm from distress merely by the weight of their personality and with



SIGISMUND I.: AN ENERGETIC RULER

During his reign, from 1503 till 1548, Sigismund I. was endeavouring to strengthen the monarchy and to pass wise laws. All his efforts, however, were unable to check the seeds of decay which had taken root in the national soil.

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their own means. These nobles, again, cared nothing for economy or work ; work was the concern of the peasants. These latter, therefore, and the king were the martyrs of the commonweal. And the class which possessed the most power in the state regarded the highest interests of the kingdom as something almost foreign.

Poland's Weakness in Battle How could Poland under such conditions be a strong state ? These weaknesses came to light in all the wars which Poland waged in the fifteenth century. The whole management of the war against the Teutonic Order, which, after the year 1410, was enfeebled, was a discredit to Poland as a state ; and all the more so since there were brave soldiers and competent officers enough in the country. Nevertheless, the Polish nobility was proud of its imperial constitution and its personal privileges. Its freedom appeared to it in a peculiarly brilliant light when it saw how in the neighbouring kingdom the intellectual life was stunted under the oppression of the despotic tsar.

We see here the strange phenomenon of two nations alarmed at the defects which each noticed in the other, and driven to exaggerate their own good qualities. The Russians enlarged the despotic power of the tsar to a monstrous degree ; the Poles strengthened the freedom of the individual so greatly that the unity and liberty of the kingdom were destroyed. The two countries, apart from isolated personalities, who wished now and again to stay the evils, but could not carry their purpose through, did not adopt a middle course between the two extremes or any other solution of the problem.

Let us consider other circumstances in order to determine what were the intentions of each of the two opponents in the impending struggle. Although Poland was weaker as a state, yet it was benefited by the higher civilisation and the support of Rome, so that it came forward in the contest with the East as the representative of Europe in the interests of culture and religion. It could boast also of the sympathies of Europe, which did not, however, go beyond wordy agreements, and did not prevent the Western Powers from attacking Poland itself on a favourable occasion. Poland at first made great progress. But then only too soon the difficulty of her task was apparent.

Culture and Religion in Poland

If Poland was resolved to carry Roman Catholicism to the East, she was destined to learn that Greek orthodoxy was being organised and grouped round Moscow as its representative. And even those aristocratic liberties which the Poles thought to disseminate in the East were accompanied by conditions which were fatal to them, since a heavy oppression of the country population went hand in hand with them. These two movements, the religious and the social, could not but cause widespread agitation among the population, which led to revolts and the ultimate loss of the Ukraine. The Poles finally became conscious that a concentration of all their energies was necessary in order to face the hard struggle. But it was at this point that the capabilities of the highly gifted and patriotic people failed. The old proverb, "Rzecz poŝolita cnota stoi" (the republic exists by virtue), was no longer applicable, since civic virtue had disappeared from Poland.

Sigismund and his son, Sigismund Augustus, the last two Jagellons, clearly perceived the root of the malady from which

The Sigismunds Endeavour to Check Decay the Polish nation suffered. The period of their reigns is therefore an unbroken series of attempts to change the

constitution, to stem the arrogance of the nobles, to strengthen the monarchy, and to pass wise laws ; and we must admit that they showed abundant proofs of good intentions, energy, perseverance, and self-sacrifice. We see them and their successors continually at war with the disorder and anarchy in the country, but also notice how uselessly they spent their efforts in this unequal contest and were unable, try as they might, to check the universal progress of decay. Sigismund (1506-1548) soon showed his incapacity for the weighty task. Even before 1515 he was involved in war with Moscow, and gained some successes ; but the war could no longer be prosecuted energetically. It was the same in the second war, which broke out in 1533. Moldavia was already on the side of Moscow. Sigismund here displayed marked feebleness toward Germany. When, in 1518, he married as his second wife Bona Sforza of Milan, the daughter of Giovanni Galeazzo, who died in 1494, and thus became nephew of the Emperor Maximilian, he seems to have let himself be influenced by Germany, as Jagiello once did.

The brilliance of the imperial title induced him to form a friendship with Ferdinand I., and to ask the hand of Elizabeth, the emperor's daughter, for his son Sigismund Augustus. But he did not make full use of this alliance with Germany. Thus, he did not declare war, for example, against the Order, whose Grand Master persistently refused to do homage until after the death of Maximilian in 1519. But even then he did not understand how to retain his advantage. In 1521 a truce for four years was concluded by the good services of the Emperor Charles V., who once more tried to play off the Teutonic Order against Poland.

The Reformation made nowhere such rapid progress as in Prussia under the rule of the monastic knights, and by Luther's advice it was resolved to change the lands of the Order into a secular duchy. The Grand Master, Albert of Brandenburg, a son of Frederic of Anspach and Sophia, Sigismund's sister, who died in 1513, and therefore a nephew of Sigismund, entered Cracow at the beginning of April, 1525, laid aside the dress of the Order, and did homage to the king on the great square at Cracow as a secular prince and hereditary duke of Prussia. The duke pledged himself to be a loyal vassal to the king, and to aid him in war with a hundred knights, and renounced his right of coinage. He received in return the first place in the Senate at the king's side. On the extinction of his descendants in the male line Prussia was to fall to Poland.

There was little cause for Poland to rejoice at this conclusion of the matter. For now the place of a periodically elected Grand Master was filled by a hereditary German duke, and, what was a far weightier matter, the country, owing to the Reformation, assumed a thoroughly German character. The old enemy reappeared in a form still more dangerous to Poland. So weak and short-sighted was Polish policy, that even after the death

of Duke Albert II. Frederic on August 27th, 1618, the fief was not resumed according to the meaning of the compact, but was transferred to the Kur-Brandenburg elder line of the Hohenzollerns. The complete severance of Prussia from the Polish crown could only be a question of time; it was destined to take place in 1659, when Poland, completely surrounded by enemies, was in the greatest straits, and a formidable danger was threatening from the East. Even now Moscow and Prussia united against Poland, and their friendship soon became traditional.

It was but a slight compensation that Sigismund united the western Masovian principalities with his own crown after the extinction of the Piasts in those parts. It was fortunate for Poland that with true discernment he maintained friendly relations with Turkey.

In spite of his circumspection and foresight Sigismund, though personally an efficient ruler, who reduced to order the chaos of the imperial finances, did not achieve a complete success in any direction. How could the vast empire make a bold show when the nobility evinced no patriotism, but were bent on their own advantages and the increase of their privileges, and only too often prejudiced the respect due to the crown? Even under



SIGISMUND II.

He was heir to his father's difficulties as well as to his father's throne, but he was an able ruler, and his governing genius revealed itself in matters of foreign policy. Known also as Augustus I., he reigned from 1548 till 1572.

Jagiello, the Slachta, when the king had refused to cede some privilege, had hacked in pieces before his eyes the deed of acknowledgment intended for them. They had threatened Casimir, the son of Jagiello, with deposition. The same scenes were repeated now.

Maximilian, who, even before 1515, stood in strained relations with Sigismund, succeeded in bringing over a part of the nobles to his side. The Slachta refused the king the supplies for the war against Moscow. Christopher Szydlowiecki, one of the most influential ministers of Sigismund, prided himself on having received from Maximilian 80,000 gulden, without being conscious that he was guilty of high treason.

For the same reasons Sigismund was unable to carry on the war against the Order with the necessary vigour. When, in 1537, he summoned the nobility to a campaign against Moldavia, and some 150,000 men assembled at Lemberg, these masses would not march to the war, but became rebellious and demanded legisla-

**Polish Troops
Become
Rebellious**

tive reforms. An attempt on the king's life was actually made in the diet of 1523. But when in 1538 it was proposed

to punish severely the crimes of public outrage and lèse majesté recourse was had to Roman law, since the national code was deficient. It deserves to be specially noticed that the custom now began to develop of allowing no law to pass without the common consent. This fundamental principle led ultimately to the "liberum veto."

This state of things lasted under Sigismund II. Augustus (also called Augustus I.; 1548-1572), son of Sigismund I. He was much wiser than his father, so that he accomplished notable results, both in foreign policy and in the field of internal reforms.

Sigismund Augustus was able to make an important conquest on the Baltic Sea. The Livonian section of the Teutonic Order was then approaching its dissolution, and Poland required to keep watch on the forthcoming negotiations as to the succession. The Order had never reached such power and prosperity in Livonia as in Prussia. For one thing, the stream of immigrating Germans was less full there; for another, the continual struggle between the Order and the archbishopric of Riga prevented any close amalgamation of the estates of the realm. The provincial bishops did not shrink from looking for outside aid. Thus the last Archbishop of Riga allied himself with Poland, and put himself formally under the protection of the Polish king, conduct intensely exasperating to the Order, which had always

**The Baltic
Supremacy in
the Balance**

shown a national spirit. Poland and Russia had a keen interest in the decision of the Livonian question. The pos-

ssession of this rich and populated country, and through it of an important position on the Baltic, was worth the greatest sacrifices. The supremacy on the Baltic simply depended upon the sovereignty of the old German colony. Russia was still more interested, although in spite of the "historic" rights put forward by the

tsars, no Russian prince ruled on these coasts until 1721. Russia was pressing forward in the sixteenth century with redoubled strength; access to the ocean was essential for her, if she wished to become a great power in Europe.

But Sweden and Denmark had an equally marked interest in the solution of the Livonian question; the former, because she had planted foot on the north and east shores of the Gulf of Finland, and found the advance of Russia a menace to these possessions; the latter, because since the days of Waldemar II. she raised claims to Esthonia. If we reflect that the empire with which Livonia was politically united, and from religious reasons Rome also, must have had interests at stake, we shall comprehend how the Livonian question might grow into a European one.

The prospects of Poland were the most favourable, and the Polish king adopted the most practical measures. Not only had Sigismund I. (who was still on the throne) always opportunity as patron of the archbishopric of Riga to interfere in the internal affairs of Livonia, but he had also

**German Princes
on the
Side of Poland**

a loyal ally in Duke Albert of Prussia, his Hohenzollern vassal, who, as former Grand Master, exercised a great

influence on the Order in Livonia, and was willing to employ it for the benefit of Poland. He succeeded in raising his brother William to be coadjutor, and in 1539 to be Archbishop of Riga, and thus strengthened his influence in that direction.

The Curia supported the Polish king in everything; and for this reason Sigismund Augustus was obliged to proceed cautiously in matters of reformation in his empire, and to try and hinder any general defection from Rome. Poland, as well as William himself and his brother Albert of Prussia, entertained the idea of secularising the archbishopric of Riga, as had been the case with Prussia. William selected as the heir to his plans his kinsman, the young Duke Christopher of Mecklenburg, formerly bishop of Ratzeburg, who was also nearly related to the King of Poland.

Thus the most powerful princes of North-Eastern Germany now made common cause with Poland. Christopher, in spite of the protests of the Livonian states, was elevated to the post of coadjutor of the archbishop. Moscow also had achieved some success. In the year 1554 the Livonian Order had

concluded a treaty with Ivan IV., in which it agreed never to enter into an alliance with Poland, and to remain neutral in case of war, besides paying a contribution from the bishopric of Dorpat of one mark per head.

The outbreak of war was brought on in 1556 by an intercepted letter from the bishop to his brother Albert of Prussia, in which there was mention of his plans directed against the Order. The archbishop was arrested as a traitor, his castles and seats were occupied, the archbishopric confiscated, and the management of it handed over to the bishops of Dorpat and Oesel. The outbreak of the war, which, in distinction from that of 1700 to 1718, is usually called the First Northern War, was accelerated, since, on the death of the Grand Master, Heinrich von Galen, Wilhelm von Fürstenberg, a man of warlike propensities, was elected Master (1550). But it was now seen that the days of the Livonian Order were numbered.

While Sigismund Augustus stood with 100,000 men on the frontier of Courland, the Knights were hardly able to put

Poland at War with the Knights 10,000 men, including land-knechts and peasants, into the field. Internal feuds broke up the forces of the country. The Order was compelled, therefore, to yield without a struggle, to ask the Polish king for forgiveness, and to reinstate the archbishop with his coadjutor. The declaration of war by Moscow was made in November, 1557. And now the general war began. The Knights of the Order and their vassals performed many heroic feats in it, but confusion, discouragement, and treachery prevented the classes agreeing on united action.

As once before in the hour of need in Prussia, so also here a movement was made against the Order, and once more the intrigues were due to the Polish party, who raised their supporter Gotthard Kettler to the Mastership; Poland thus immediately gained a great advantage from the election. Kettler, it is true, wished to preserve his independence, and sought help from the Holy Roman Empire, the Teutonic Order, and other powers, but, as he himself said later, found no consolation from anyone, while the disturbances in the country grew worse.

The Grand Master and the archbishop, weary of the disorders, soon surrendered to the Polish king. The treaty was signed

on November 28th, 1561. The territory of the Order was secularised. Gotthard Kettler returned to secular rank, and received Courland as a fief with the title of the Duke of Courland and Semgallen, and also a seat and vote in the Polish Senate. Mitau, not Riga, was assigned him as residence. All the country be-

Additions to the Empire yond the Dwina, Riga included, was incorporated in the Polish Empire, while the king at the same time confirmed all the privileges of the country, secured to it a German government, German language, and the freedom of the Augsburg Confession, and also promised to obtain the sanction of the German Empire to these treaties, by which Livonia was separated from the empire. The government of Livonia was entrusted to the Duke Kettler. On the basis of this *Privilegium Sigismundi Augusti* the territory of the Order was able to maintain its German character for 300 years. In the year 1562 all the estates of the realm, and twenty years later Riga, agreed to the treaty.

Poland gained a further advantage by the friendly overtures of Sweden. John III., brother of the Swedish king, Eric XIV., married in 1562 Katherine, the daughter of the Polish king; the son of this marriage became king of Poland as Sigismund III. in 1587. Sweden came into the possession of Reval and Esthonia with the consent of Poland. But even Denmark gained some advantages, for the Danish prince Magnus, obtained the bishopric of Oesel by treachery. Moscow, which persistently continued the war and made devastating inroads, was obliged to be content with Dorpat. But this was ceded to Poland in 1582.

Attempts had been made at numerous imperial diets to reform the judicial system, the common law, the system of taxation, and the constitution of the army, but almost fruitlessly, since often

Poland's Sterile Legislation what had been once accepted was again rejected. If we cast our eyes over the legislation of Poland from 1500 to 1560 or so, we are astonished at its sterility; so little was passed, so much was merely discussed. Sigismund Augustus only succeeded in effecting some improvement towards the close of his reign. Even under his father, the nobles in the imperial diets of 1535-1536 had demanded and agreed to a revision of the statute-

book. In the course of time resolutions had been passed by the imperial diets which were contradictory to each other ; thus, for example, the privileges of the monasteries and the clergy, as well as the jurisdiction of the bishops and the immunity from taxation enjoyed by the clergy, were inconsistent with the laws of

the country affecting the taxation of property, and with the military constitution connected therewith, as well as, on the other hand, with the statute *Neminem Captivabimus* and with the sovereignty of the nobles generally. Even under Casimir III. the Slachta had opposed the privileges of the clerics, and the king thus succeeded in breaking down the excessive power of the Church.

The tendency everywhere was to abolish all privileges, whether belonging to classes or individuals. There was also a general wish to abolish the *Incompatibilia*, or questionable concentration of several offices in one person. It was further important from the standpoint of the royal treasury and national taxation to organise and classify the crown lands which had been pawned or given away in large quantities, and were held on illegal titles. Their occupants were now forced to give them up, and thus a fund was created which was large enough to cover the most necessary outgoings of the kingdom, and by which the nobility could be relieved of their burdens. But the most important reform was to abolish the privileges of individual provinces and to bring them under one law, in order to put an end to their efforts for independence and to the lawless state of things. To these belonged in the first line Lithuania, then Masovia, Prussia, Livonia, and finally Zator and Oswiecim (Auschwitz in Galicia), which John Albert had acquired. All these legislative labours were comprised under the name "execution of the laws," and the nobility at every opportunity noisily clamoured for their acceptance. The future political and social structure of the kingdom was dependent on this reform ; so was the solution of the religious question ; for Protestantism at that particular time had received a great stimulus in Poland. The freedom which Poland enjoyed was favourable to the spread of various doctrines. Humanism had found a great response

there ; and with it the Hussite movement, which it fostered, was so widely spread that the Hussites were supported in the towns and even among the nobles. The Lutheran teaching found the ground still better cleared, because the old Hussite doctrine had not yet died out, the power of the clergy was limited, and freedom of conscience was now traditional.

Lutheran ideas were disseminated in Poland as early as the year 1518. In Dantzic the monk Jacob Knade successfully raised his voice against the abuses of the Church. Even in Great and Little Poland, and in other provinces, preachers came forward. Only in ultra-conservative Masovia did the new doctrine find no followers. The nobility greedily grasped at the new teaching, and not less greedily the citizens of the towns. We soon find followers of the Calvinistic teaching, which in Poland was spread perhaps still more successfully, besides Anti-Trinitarians, Socinians, Bohemian Brethren, Arians and others.

Powerful noble families adopted the new doctrines and took them under their protection. They raised centres of the new teaching on their estates. Many priests and monks, and even bishops, opposed the Catholic Church. Religious innovations found patronage even at the royal court, and secret meetings were held at the house of the queen's confessor, a Franciscan. The court preacher was a friend of the movement. The heir to the throne, Sigismund Augustus, at that time still grand duke of Lithuania, was considered a supporter of the new teaching ; it was only towards the end of his life that he came forward as a zealous Catholic.

The king, under the pressure of the bishops and the Curia, was at first moved to adopt severe measures. In the years 1520, 1522 and 1523 he forbade the dissemination of Lutheran books on pain of confiscation of property. The synod in Lenčyzca published in 1523 the bull of excommunication issued by Leo X. against Luther, excommunicated for its own part all heretics, and introduced a clerical censorship by giving priests the right to institute searches in private houses. The king was petitioned to renew the old Hussite statute of Wielun dating from the year 1424, according to which heresy was to be punished as *lèse majesté* and to be subject to episcopal jurisdiction. The

**Clerical
Privileges
Abolished**

**The Days of
Religious
Prosperity**



THE RELIGIOUS CELEBRATION OF THE UNION OF POLAND AND LITHUANIA

This interesting event in the history of Eastern Europe was proclaimed on July 1st, 1569. The union was, in fact, an incorporation by Poland of Lithuania, which henceforth ceased to be an independent state. When the oaths to the treaty were administered, the two parties to it shed tears, but while Poland's tears were of joy, those of Lithuania were of sorrow.

From the painting by Matejko.

inquisition was introduced in the year 1527; in 1534, it was forbidden to attend the University of Wittenberg, and in 1541, on pain of loss of nobility, to keep priests who were independent of Rome. And later the episcopate, consolidated by the exclusion of its doubtful members, developed a successful energy, especially when the

**Execution the
Punishment
of Heresy**

vigorous Bishop of Ermland, Stanislaus Hosius, took the lead in the Catholic reaction.

But all these measures against the new doctrines bore little fruit. King Sigismund had acted with severity only in Dantzic, when he went there in March, 1526, to suppress heresy, and ordered thirteen citizens to be executed in the market-place without a trial; and that though he had earlier sworn "by the king's honour, helmet and sword," and under letter and seal, to shed no blood, but to establish peace and concord. This was indeed of small avail; Prussia remained the first country where the Lutheran doctrine was promoted to be the national religion.

But then the king relaxed in his zeal. When Dr. Johann Eck challenged him to proceed in the spirit of Henry VIII., he answered him, in 1528: "The times are changed, and with them the rulers and the spirit of the legislators; sciences decay and others blossom. King Henry may write against Luther—you will allow me to be king of the sheep as well as of the goats." So he adopted mild measures. His son Sigismund Augustus did the same. One case only is known where Sigismund allowed the burning of a woman, Katharina Malcher; otherwise the bishops at most let some innovators die in prison without a trial. So under Sigismund Augustus, only once was a woman burnt at the stake.

The prohibition on visiting foreign universities was removed in 1543, since it was totally impossible to enforce it. Sigismund Augustus, who often asserted he would be no judge over men's consciences, acted with equal, or, perhaps, greater leniency. The bitterness between the nobility and the clergy meanwhile grew more intense, since the former would not recognise the episcopal jurisdiction. "We only wish," said Jan Tarnowski, "to submit to the king's court, and if the king merely executed the will of the bishops, our slavery would be worse than the Turkish; for the least suspicion

would suffice to stamp any man as a heretic. No injustice is done to the bishops, for as members of the *Senaté* they will be, in some sort, judges with us in matters of heresy." And when the Bishop of Cracow, Zebrzydowski, answered him, "What shall I be if I am not to be judge over heresy—beadle or bishop?" Tarnowski remarked to him, "It is better for you to be a beadle than for me to be a slave." It is exhilarating to hear with what manly courage the nobles defended their freedom.

The young Rafael Leszczynski once, during Mass in the cathedral, while the king and bishops were kneeling, put his cap on his head. This breach of decorum was aimed at the bishop, not the religion. In Poland, freedom was prized beyond everything, while earthly honours were despised. Things went so far that full liberty of conscience was demanded for the serfs. The Poles showed that they were truly a nation of free men. The young Rafael was then chosen marshal of the imperial diet, in defiance of the bishops who had impeached him before the king. It was wished to abolish the episcopal jurisdiction, in order to bring the clergy under the laws of the country. This was intended to be decided at once as a main feature of the programme of legislative revision.

The matter was not easy, and the king long hesitated. If he decided in favour of the bishops and recognised their jurisdiction, dangerous results would follow; on the other hand, no right of deciding religious questions could be conferred with propriety upon the secular judges. The king, therefore, postponed the decision and resolved to temporise, although in principle, according to the sense of the old laws, he recognised the episcopal jurisdiction. Possibly the Livonian question deterred him from breaking off with the Curia, whose help he required.

In spite of, or rather on account of, this great freedom, Protestantism could not strike root deeply in Poland. In Germany it was a reaction against the encroachments of the Church; there it had sprung up out of the existing conditions, like a wild plant. In Poland the Church could not allow herself any great abuses, and Protestantism was accordingly regarded as an imported luxury. Most people played with it, to show that they were at

**Nobility and
Clergy in
Opposition**

liberty to hold different views. When, then, the Catholic Church renewed her vigour at the Council of Trent, and clearly proclaimed her object, the Counter Reformation in Poland had an easy task. While in the West the Reformation had been mostly suppressed with bloodshed, in Poland the Counter Reformation was carried out almost unnoticed; even such influential opponents as Stanislaus Orzechowski went over again to the Catholic Church. Only the animosity between the Roman Catholic Church and the Greek Orthodoxy grew more bitter.

A side movement, started by the Reformation, deserves our notice—the wish for a national church. The preachers employed everywhere the popular dialect in spreading their teaching, and thus revived the national languages. This had already been done to some degree in Poland by Hussitism, and Protestantism now developed the Polish language to higher perfection. If the Polish language ousted Latin in Poland in the sixteenth century and created a national literature, this golden age, as elsewhere, was primarily inaugurated by the Protestant movement. The dialects, now awakened to fresh life, forced their way into the church services. While in the West the opponents of the Catholic Church aimed at extending the independence of their own national churches, seeking in France a Gallican national church and in England establishing the Anglican national church, Poland also wished for the establishment of a national church with a Slavonic liturgy and more or less complete independence from Rome. And the opposition wished to win the king over to this plan.

But since this would have necessarily brought with it a change of the constitution, this point also formed part of the programme of the Revision or "Execution of the Laws." Finally the king, in 1562, soon after the acquisition of Livonia, determined in favour of the Execution. A start was made with the easiest part of the demands, namely, the crown lands and the *Incompatibilia*; the *Slachta* understood originally by this the abolition generally of all special privileges. But by the influence of the queen the question of the confiscation of the mortgaged crown lands was first dealt with; she wished by the multiplication of crown lands to

found a dynasty, as had been done in the case of other royal families.

As under Sigismund, a resolution passed by the imperial diet in the year 1504 was chosen as the starting-point, by which the pledging of crown property was made dependent on the sanction of the Senate. Some grandees under Sigismund had torn their grants of privileges in pieces and thrown them at the king's feet, and there were now some such who resigned their offices if they filled two or more. But when a serious attempt was made to confiscate the crown lands, such difficulties cropped up that the whole scheme melted away.

Sigismund Augustus himself showed the greatest self-sacrifice, since he agreed that a fourth part of the revenues of all the crown lands should be applied to cover the expenses of the army, and took for his share exclusively those estates about which it had not been decided whether they should be confiscated. In the future the management of the army was often assigned to this royal fourth. This, indeed, was estimated at so low a figure that it had later to be doubled.

The question of ecclesiastical jurisdiction then came up. After great discussions the king decided in favour of a compromise, which recognised the jurisdiction of the Church, but withdrew from it the secular arm. This law was so formulated in 1565 that municipal starosts could not be made responsible by the ecclesiastical authorities for the execution of commands. But the party of reform demanded that the clergy and nobility should be placed on a precisely equal footing with regard to the burdens of taxation and military service. Only the presence of the papal legate, Francis Commendone, a skilled diplomat, who knew how to smooth the ruffled waters, spared the Catholic Church in Poland new humiliations. He was vigorously supported by Bishop Hosius of Ermland, who had represented Poland at the Council of Trent in brilliant style,

**Catholic Church
Escapes
Humiliations**

and had composed a new *confessio fidei* adopted by the whole Catholic Church.

Commendone recommended the clergy, in order to preserve their other rights, not to evade the duty of paying taxes; the Church tithe was therefore a tax. The attempt of the legate to introduce into Poland the resolutions of the Council

of Trent met with great difficulties ; a part of the clergy opposed several of the enactments. Thanks only to the good offices of the king, who declared he wished to live and die a Catholic, the Catholic Church finally conquered her opponents, who were in a more unfavourable position from the very first, since they were split up into many parties. All the plans of the opposition—the national church, the national synod, and the complete abolition of clerical jurisdiction—remained unfulfilled, although it tried to win over the king to its cause by meeting his wishes in all his private affairs. On the contrary, he accepted from the hand of the legate the resolutions of the Council of Trent, gave them validity in Poland, and published an ordinance which banished foreign religious innovators from the country ; indeed, he even wished, in concession to the wishes of the legate, to allow no religious discussions between the Catholics and the zealous reformers. The Catholic Church did not approve of disputations, judging correctly that they could not be profitable to the faith.

The laws as to the *Incompatibilia*, as well as that touching the duty of an official to reside on the scene of his duties, were once more strictly enforced, both for secular office-holders, and, in the meaning of the resolutions of Trent, also for spiritual dignitaries.

But the revision affected also the privileges of the towns, since the export of goods to foreign countries was prohibited—a prohibition which was certain to undermine the welfare not only of the towns, but also of the whole empire. The nobility alone were to be permitted to export raw materials. Since the importation of foreign goods was still allowed, it will be understood how the development of home industries was thus sapped. Poland never understood how to honour sufficiently this important

Polish Industries Sapped

branch of human energy and national prosperity. The prejudiced notion that work is unworthy of a nobleman, and that trade and industrial undertakings are ignoble, has survived there until modern times.

In Poland the value of the towns and their importance for culture and industry was not recognised till it was too late. In a dialogue, written about this time by Lucas Gornicki, between a Pole and an

Italian, the Pole will not allow himself to be convinced of the necessity for towns, which became everywhere the centres of political and social life and of culture, and points to the Tartars, who, indeed, had no towns. Towns and the citizen class were never able to develop in Poland. Owing to the depression in trade and industries which then set in, wealthy citizens began to have recourse to agriculture. Poland did not rise beyond an agrarian standpoint, and was therefore exploited by Italian, English, and Scottish traders. No sufficient use was made of her position on the Baltic. Instead of favouring the Baltic trade, the Poles burdened Dantzic with taxes, and brought matters to such a pitch that this busy town often looked round for other patrons. No one in Poland took any interest in commerce.

All these enactments, by which the privileges of the magnates, the bishops, and the towns were partly limited, partly abolished, made the chamber of provincial deputies the most powerful institution in the state—a circumstance which, in view of the low education of the *Slachta* and the one-sided representation of their

Lithuania's Independent Position class rights, could not conduce to the national prosperity.

In 1563 an important ordinance was passed by which the Orthodox Greek nobility in Lithuania were conceded the same rights which the Catholics possessed ; henceforward any Boyar was admissible to any office. The nobility, incensed at the connection of the king with the Catholic Church, refused other important proposals of the king, such as the reform of the army and finance, the order of the election to the throne, and others.

A complete unification of the empire in place of loosely compacted unions was the more urgently demanded ; the king, with the prospect of a dangerous war with Moscow before his eyes, was himself in favour of the scheme. But the Lithuanians offered a stubborn resistance. Their embassy, with Nicholas Radziwill the Black at its head, after pointing to the independent position of Lithuania and the previous measures of union, declared for a personal union, even if a restricted one, demanded diets of their own, a revision of the frontiers of Lithuania and Poland, and a special coronation of the king as Grand Duke of Lithuania. The king stood on the side of the Polish crown, and

was resolved to incorporate Lithuania with it. To facilitate the execution of this plan, he cleared away the last legal obstacle by waiving his hereditary rights in Lithuania, and thus placing both parts in equal relations to his person.

When the Lithuanian deputation left the Polish diet, in order in this way to prevent the incorporation of their country, the king nevertheless declared his intention to carry it out. The entreaties of the envoys, who implored the king with tears to protect them, were unavailing. On the Polish side there was talk of war if Lithuania offered resistance. Thus in 1569, at the imperial diet at Lublin, the "union," which was in fact an incorporation of Lithuania, was definitely carried. Podlachia, Kiev, and Volhynia, districts which had originally been Lithuanian, and for a long time a disputed possession, were first united with the Polish crown in a special act. Only the use of the Russian language in law courts was granted them. Lithuania lost its richest provinces. Any man who refused to recognise this act was held to have forfeited his titles and property.

**Poland
in Tears
of Joy**

There was no idea of serious opposition, since the lesser Lithuanian nobility, who were jealous of the magnates, remained loyal to Poland, in order by the closer union with Poland to obtain the same rights which the lesser nobility in Poland possessed. Thus on July 1st, 1569, the union was proclaimed, and both sides swore to it. Lithuania only retained its own officials, and therefore ceased to be an independent state. Both parties shed tears when the oaths to the treaty were administered, only with the distinction that in the case of the Lithuanians they were tears of sorrow; in that of the Poles, tears of joy. What the first Jagellon, Vladislav II., in 1386, 1401, and 1413 had, so to say, merely promised, the last really accomplished.

After this the union of Prussia, Livonia, and the other provinces was carried through, and the amalgamation was complete. Poland now was united. This was a great political and economical gain: Nothing now stood in the way of Polish colonisation in the vast Russo-Lithuanian regions; and the stream of German and Polish colonists to the eastern provinces swelled from year to year.

But the chief source of weakness to the empire was not thus removed. This lay

not so much in the constitutional relations of individual parties as in the impotence of the crown—that is to say, in the Polish constitution, which threatened to degenerate into an anarchy. This evil was bound to spread over every province equally. Nothing occurred to strengthen the central administration; on the contrary, the Slachta, in view of the king being childless, of the question of succession, and of the election to the crown, feared to lose in power, and to have diminished rights even in the religious question.

**The Great
Weakness
of Poland**

The future of the religious parties depended to a great extent on the attitude of the king towards this question; and both parties, the Catholic no less than the united non-Catholic, cherished the idea of choosing a king after their own heart by an electoral compact. Since for the moment the non-Catholics were in the majority, there were many among the minority to whom the principle of a majority in the resolutions of the parliament seemed dangerous. They demanded the legal introduction of "unanimity." They clearly saw the necessity of a strict government, but liberty was more valuable in their eyes than order. Since a general assent was necessary in adopting resolutions, the *liberum veto* now really existed, although it was first claimed as a right in 1652.

Sigismund and Sigismund Augustus failed, therefore, in their efforts to strengthen the power of the sovereign. The latter, while still Grand Duke of Lithuania, married, after the death of his first wife, without the consent of the Senate, Barbara, the daughter of the Castellan Radziwill. His father and the Slachta disapproved; the nation was reluctant to recognise Barbara as queen. In order that his bride might be crowned, the king adopted a conciliatory attitude toward the nobles. After the death of his deeply loved Barbara, he married the second

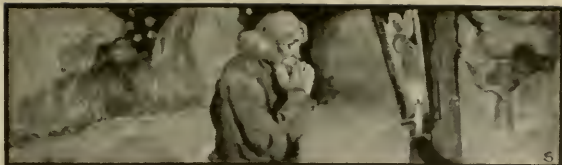
**Augustus
Succumbs to
Weight of Cares**

daughter of Emperor Maximilian II., Katharina, a sister of his first wife, Elizabeth. Since he had no issue by her, he wished to be divorced from her and to marry again. But Rome and the clergy, whom the king tried equally to propitiate by concessions, were opposed to his wish. He thus did not face either one or the other Order with firmness. Overwhelmed by cares, Sigismund II. Augustus died on July 14th, 1572.



THE LAST STAND OF A GREAT POLISH GENERAL AT THE BATTLE OF CECORA IN 1620

During the reign of Sigismund III., from 1587 till 1632, Poland was frequently on the battlefield. Led by the famous General Zolkiewski, the Polish troops, in 1620, went to the assistance of the Palatine of Moldavia, but were put to flight by an overwhelming army of Tartars. Zolkiewski fell fighting at Cecora, and Poland's nationality disappeared a century and a half later.



THE DECLINE OF POLAND

A NATION BETRAYED BY ITS NOBLES

AFTER the death of the last Jagellon, whose reign seemed in the memory of the nation a period of power and glory, a period of decay set in, which ended with the political downfall of the country. The constitution was, in isolated points, logically completed, according to the principle of the most absolute authority of the individual, and was used to the full by every individual in his own interest without regard for the common good. After the extinction of the Jagellon dynasty, Poland was proclaimed an elective monarchy. The primate of the kingdom, the Archbishop of Gnesen, obtained thereby wide privileges. The conduct of state affairs during the interregnum—the summoning of the elective diet, the acceptance or rejection of candidatures, and the proclamation of the name of the elected—devolved upon him. Catholicism in Poland

**The Pivot
of European
Diplomacy**

was thus once more greatly strengthened. There was no dearth of candidates, and the political situation might well be learnt from the promises of the representatives of the European sovereigns. Above all, on this occasion the hostility between France and Austria, the pivot on which the diplomacy of Europe then turned, cast its shadow on Poland. Both opponents brought forward their candidates and fought each other with traditional bitterness even on Polish soil. France relied on her friendship with Turkey; Austria offered an alliance with Spain and Denmark against Turkey; both held out the prospect of further advantages. France promised the formation of a fleet and the organisation of the finances and army; Austria, a favourable solution of the Livonian, Prussian, and other questions; both powers threw money by handfuls among the senators and the Slachta.

But the King of Sweden also announced his candidature as husband of Katharina, one of the Jagellon stock, and promised an alliance against Moscow. There was, how-

ever, among the Slachta a strong party (that which under Sigismund Augustus had deserved the greatest credit for the reform of the legislature) which recommended the candidature of the Tsar of Moscow, and laid stress on the great benefit for Poland which would proceed from this

**New King
Supported by
the Clergy**

course, as formerly from the union with Lithuania. But Ivan the Terrible seemed devoid of ambition; he sent his embassy and courteously announced the conditions on which he would accept the crown of Poland. Once again native candidates, from envy and unpopularity, were insufficiently supported by their countrymen.

Henry, Duke of Anjou, brother of the King of France, and his heir-presumptive, was elected in the middle of May, 1573, not merely because French diplomacy was clever, but because his Catholicism found favour with the high clergy. He was also supported by the papal legate, who henceforth intervened at every election of a Polish king in the interests of the Church, and always with success. This success was aided by the circumstance that royal elections henceforward were held in the fields near Warsaw, where many of the strictly Catholic Masovians could take part. Ten thousand of them appeared at the election of Henry.

The Slachta once again had an opportunity of imposing conditions on their king, which were as humiliating as possible. The king, hitherto, could only more or less maintain his position by three means: he

**The Slachta
Humiliates
King Henry**

had the right, first, when confronted with conflicting resolutions of the diet, to make one of them law or to "conclude"; secondly, to confer the vacant offices of state, with which he could reward his adherents and create a party for himself; and, finally, to call out the militia, and therefore often practically decided upon war or peace. The new king, on the contrary, was no longer to possess the

right of "conclusion"; the Senate was to decide on war and peace, and the diet was to summon the army. The freedom of denominations was proclaimed, and the title "heir to the empire" was erased from the royal title. Should the king act contrary to these terms, the nation was justified in refusing him obedience. Besides this, Henry pledged himself to build a fleet at his own cost, to keep up 4,000 soldiers, and to pay the debts of the empire. However suspicious these pacts were, the new king subscribed them and took the oath to the constitution.

**The King's
Flight from
Poland**

If the people did not see in the king the first power in the empire, but almost an enemy to their liberties, they still regarded the monarchy as a brilliant post, for which there were always candidates, of whom, indeed, nothing more could be predicated than that they wished to gratify their pride. It goes without saying that many candidates put themselves to great expense, that other countries had a welcome plea for intervention, which Poland bought by her moral degradation, and that a contested election threw the land into civil war. But the Slachta was still lulled in the sweet dream of liberty and security. The connection with France might, perhaps, have been profitable to Poland; but Henry fled on July 17th, 1574, in order to place on his own head the crown of France after the death of his brother Charles IX. His reign left behind no traces beyond those of the resolutions adopted at his election.

Even at the next elections the candidates of the Roman Catholic party came to the front; thus, Stefan Bathori, Prince of Transylvania, who reigned from 1576 to 1586; then Sigismund Vasa of Sweden, the son of John III. and of Katharina the Jagellon, from 1587 to 1632; he was followed by his sons, Vladislav, who ruled till 1648, and John Casimir, who in 1668 resigned the crown and went to France.

**Candidates
for the
Polish Throne**

Then two natives (Piasts) were elected—Michael Wisniowec (1669-1673), of a rich and respected family; then John Sobieski. Next came a double election. The one party chose Stanislaus Leszczynski, a native, who was supported by Sweden and France in the war known as the first War of the Polish Succession; the other, the Elector Frederic Augustus of Saxony, who held his own after many contests

until 1733. This occasion was the first on which Russia actively interfered in the Polish disorders. She declared for Frederic Augustus, and helped him to drive out all enemies. After that time the Russian influence in Poland was preponderant. Frederic Augustus II., the son of Augustus the Strong, defeated Stanislaus Leszczynski for the second time, with the help of Russia, in the second War of the Polish Succession, and became the Polish king, Augustus III.; he died in 1763. Similarly the last Polish king, Stanislaus Poniatowski (1764-1795), was a candidate of Russia.

Of this whole series two kings, Stefan Bathori and John Sobieski, stand out conspicuously, and to a lesser degree Vladislav. But while Sobieski, the liberator of Vienna in the year 1683, was merely a military hero, Bathori, a no less able general, distinguished himself by his skilful administration and his statesman-like insight. If anyone could have lifted Poland out of the political and social slough, it would have been Bathori. After he had by his manly attitude defeated the

**Bathori's
Famous
Declaration**

rival candidate, the Emperor Maximilian, who had already taken an oath to the constitution at Vienna, he waged an obstinate struggle with the Slachta about the restrictions dating from the year 1573. He was required to renounce the right of distribution, that is to say, the right to grant imperial offices; these, so soon as they became empty, were to be filled by election in the respective voivodeships. The king then made at the diet of Thorn the famous declaration that he had no intention of being merely a king in a picture.

While he still, as elective candidate, waged war against the imperial party, but especially against Dantzic and other German towns, which took Maximilian's side, Ivan IV. the Terrible conquered almost all Livonia, with the exception of Reval and Riga. Bathori's immediate goal was, therefore, war against Moscow. After he had secured himself against the Turks and Tartars, and had raised a loan from Frederic George, Margrave of Brandenburg-Anspach, he began the war in 1579. In spite of superiority of numbers Ivan's armies were beaten everywhere, and Polock and many other towns and fortresses were captured. Ivan, hard pressed, looked round for help, sent an embassy

to the emperor and the Pope, professed that he wished to join the Russian Church closely with the Roman, complained of Bathori's "un-Christian" procedure, and begged for intervention.

Rome was not in a position to resist such tempting prospects. In 1581 the papal

Ivan the Terrible and the Bible legate Antonio Possevino appeared in Poland and went forthwith to Moscow. His conversation with Ivan on religious

questions is interesting. Ivan showed himself well read in the Scriptures, perhaps more so than may have been expected by the legate; on the whole, he developed such amiable traits that Possevino, doubtless to the amazement of all, styled him a sweet ruler who loved his subjects.

The upshot of the legate's exertions was that Ivan obtained comparatively favourable terms of peace. At Kiverova Horka, in 1582, he merely renounced his claim to Livonia, Polock, and Wielun; he received back the other places which had been conquered by the Poles. The favourable opportunity of subjugating Moscow and proceeding to the conquest of all Eastern Europe had thus been let slip; so, too, the advance of Rome in that quarter was checked.

Once more it was the Slachta which by its shortsightedness and selfishness had hindered the king in the execution of his plans. It haggled with the king over every penny, reproached him for showing favour to Zamojski, a general who had distinguished himself in the war with Moscow, and for his non-fulfilment of the electoral capitulation; always choosing the most unfavourable moment, in order to compel the king the more certainly to comply. Indeed, it forced him into negotiations with Moscow and refused the supplies for the war, so that the king was driven to incur debts with foreign countries. When Ivan died in 1584, Bathori contemplated a renewal of his plans against Turkey, but he died unexpectedly on May 2nd, 1586, at Grodno.

The reign of Stefan Bathori was in many respects profitable to Poland. Not merely was the glory of the Polish arms revived by his martial deeds, the Muscovite lust of conquest quenched for long years to come, and that semi-Asiatic power driven back from the Baltic Sea, but he left other noteworthy traces of his energy. Thus, he devoted his especial attention to the important religious question. It could not escape him that the religious disputes led to no union, crippled the power of society and the realm, and at the same time appreciably checked the development of culture and civic virtues. Starting from this practical standpoint of attention to the general welfare of his country and his subjects, he threw



STEFAN BATHORI: THE FEARLESS
Able alike as a general and as a statesman, Stefan Bathori stands out prominently among the Polish kings. A man of strong will, he left behind many traces of his energy.

himself, though formerly a Protestant, definitely into the Catholic cause, and was thus the first who, with all the means standing at his command, was resolved to carry through the Counter Reformation without giving an exclusively Catholic direction to his policy.

Nevertheless, in his reign the Order of Jesuits gained great influence in Poland. The Jesuits had already moved into Braunsberg in 1565 at the invitation of Cardinal Stanislaus Hosius, the greatest Roman Catholic champion of Poland, and under Henry and Bathori they in-

creased greatly. They founded schools everywhere, and won over the rising generation for their purposes. However successful their pedagogic labours were in many respects, especially in the field of classical philology, they did much to disintegrate the structure of the state, as became evident

Peasants Raised to the Peerage under the weak successors of Bathori. A particularly favourable light is thrown on Bathori by his friendly feeling towards the peasants. He regarded the patent of nobility merely as a distinction for services to the country, and is said to have raised fifty-five peasants to the peerage. He protected the peasants everywhere; for example, in Livonia against the German

knights, summoned them to military service, and organised a corps of those who were settled on the royal estates—the first regular infantry. Out of every twenty small farmers one was chosen for military service. This corps was called the chosen or farmer corps; it acquitted itself well. He introduced a better organisation into

Bulwark the imperial militia; he improved the artillery, and created
Against the for himself an efficient staff. It
Tartars was further important that

Bathori completed the organisation of the Cossacks in the Ukraine. Even in the fifteenth century there was in the unclaimed regions on the Dnieper, which had been ravaged by the Turks, a large population, which, fleeing from Poland and Russia to escape intolerable oppression, gradually settled in those parts, and soon did good service as a bulwark of Christianity against the Tartars. It was a vigorous, warlike people, which only needed military organisation to become a formidable power. Bathori now adopted them in the name of the empire, and drew up lists of the able-bodied soldiers, but limited their number of conscripts at first to 600. By this means he obtained new forces for the empire against Russia.

It was a fresh reminder to the Slachta that the laws must be regarded, when Bathori had one of the unruly members beheaded. He held the reins of government with a firm hand. Under his direction a much-needed reform in the judicial system was carried out. He abandoned, indeed, his old right of the last instance, which from various reasons was no longer enforceable; law courts were thus instituted for separate groups of provinces in Lublin, Piotrkov, Wilna, Grodno, and Lutzk. In spite of his high ideals, this king was the object of the meanest attacks. The Slachta accused him of despotic aims and threatened him with deposition. Stefan

Bathori's did not allow himself to the
Successor on very last moment to be deterred from his goal. After
the Throne the death of Bathori the situation grew worse.

The election of Sigismund III. Vasa and the alliance with Sweden had not proved beneficial to Poland, first, because this house subordinated the newly acquired state to the strict Catholic interests, and secondly, because it only furnished incompetent rulers. Poland was at first by its

new dynasty drawn into the vortex of Swedish troubles. Sigismund and his two sons naturally tried to retain the Swedish crown, their paternal inheritance. But the empire had not the slightest interest in this purely dynastic question, since Sweden had quite other political and economic aims; Protestantism, too, was the state religion there. But the Catholic Church, to whom primarily the election of Sigismund was due, since she thought to bring the Swedes back to her bosom, contrived to interest the realm in the dynasty by the promise which the king made to cede Esthonia to Poland. Supplies were granted to the king for the journey to Sweden. He was crowned there on February 19th, 1594, and subscribed, actually with the knowledge of the papal nuncio, a declaration which excluded the Catholics in Sweden from all offices, while he intended in Poland to exclude the heterodox; such was the policy that was adopted and carried through.

But this was all that Sigismund did in Sweden. His uncle Charles of Südermanland placed himself at the head of the Protestants, drove out the royalists step by step, and was able by the year 1604 to be crowned king under the title of Charles IX. The long war which broke out over this brought Poland, in spite of occasional successes and deeds of valour, to the verge of destruction by the terrible losses and humiliations which it sustained; it ended finally (1660) in the treaty at Oliva with the resignation by the king, John Casimir, of all claims to the crown of Sweden, and with the exhaustion of the Polish empire, which had been obliged to neglect and abandon its most important interests.

It was, further, of the greatest consequence to the empire that Sigismund became the willing ally of the Jesuits. Thus a flood of Catholicism poured into the country, which disregarded other religions; a policy that could only create misfortune in Poland, where there was such diversity of creed. The neighbouring powers, shielding religious interests, took, as might be expected, now the Protestants now the Orthodox under their protection, merely in order to interfere in the affairs of the empire. The very first appearance of the king on the scene showed that he was entirely in accord with the Catholic party. At a hint from Rome he was

willing to abdicate the Polish crown in favour of the house of Hapsburg, and himself to retire to Sweden—a proposal which evoked general consternation and ill-feeling. The Jesuits in the interests of the Church negotiated the marriage of the king with Anna, and after her death with Constantia,

Abortive Attempts at Church Union

daughters of the Archduke Charles of Styria and of Mary of Bavaria. The privileges which the Orthodox Church had acquired at the time of the Hussite and Protestant movements were removed, and there was a reversion to the ideas of union.

The attempts at union in 1415 and the Florentine union of 1439 had proved abortive. The Hussite movement and then the Reformation strengthened the Orthodox Greek world in its resistance to the Roman Catholic Church. The union only split up the Russian society into two camps, which fought against each other more bitterly than the Orthodox and the Catholics. A union of the Greek Orthodox Church with Rome is nowadays usually disparaged. The Slavonic liturgy, which would not have been tolerated by Rome, was of inestimable value to all the Slavs; they are indebted to it for their oldest literature.

But, on the other hand, the Orthodox Church, except in the first centuries of its spread among the Slavs, was nowhere an engine of civilisation. It was rather the cause why the Slavs and other nations of the Greek Church remained backward. Their clergy felt that most deeply in places where they lived side by side with the Romans; for this reason the Orthodox bishops were mostly those who first espoused the cause of the union. If some such union had been introduced, with a set purpose and yet in a conciliatory spirit, among the Russo-Polish provinces, the success would have been irresistible. But what the Roman priests now undertook under the spiritual guidance of the Jesuits and the protection of the Polish

king met with no approval in the community. The majority of Orthodox bishops and the most influential laymen, such as Constantin Ostrogski, were for the union; at their head was Archbishop Michael Rahoza of Kiev.

But the Catholic prelates failed to recognize the existing conditions and to be influenced by them. The earlier champions of the union, therefore, drew back, among them the powerful prince Ostrogski. When, besides this, the Patriarchs of Antioch and Constantinople came personally to Poland in order to organise the resistance, only a handful of partisans of the union were left. Both parties met for a final discussion at Brest in 1596. They soon divided into two



KING OF SWEDEN AND POLAND

Devoted to the Catholic Church, Sigismund III. Vasa of Sweden became the friend of the Jesuits. He was even willing, at a hint from Rome, to abdicate the crown of Poland.

groups, and banned each other; only a few bishops, with the Metropolitan Rahoza and their small following, declared for the union. Two of them, Hypatius Potij, Bishop of Vladimir, and Cyryl Terlecki, Bishop of Lutzk, went to Rome with the charter of union, and took the oath of obedience in the name of the whole Russian Church. Thus the famous union of Brest was effected. The Uniate bishops were immediately to receive seats and votes in the Polish Senate.

This union brought no gain to the Catholic Church and the Poles in the future, chiefly because the animosity between the two Russian parties increased and they fought against each other still more obstinately.

At this same time a meeting of the heterodox, or Dissidents, as they were called in Poland, assembled at Thorn to

Swelling Tide of Catholic Influence

discuss how the swelling tide of Catholic influence might be stemmed. They sent a deputation to the king, but he did not receive it. The union of Brest could not, however, hold its own; for the king and the Slachta did not wish to fulfil the conditions of union. The Uniate bishops were not introduced into the Senate, nor were the privileges of the Church observed; in this way the whole work of

union was made ridiculous in the eyes of the non-united Orthodox. The persecution of the Greek Orthodox, who had not joined the union, became more and more severe; they were hindered in their performance of Divine worship; their priests were publicly insulted and outraged; their churches were leased by

**Orthodox
Priests in
Disfavour**

their patrons to Jews, who then demanded money payments for the opening of the churches. Many towns expelled the Orthodox from the town council, and even from the body of citizens. Their churches and church property were taken from them; in a word, the oppression became intolerable. Hatred of Poland increased throughout the East, and the masses were stirred up by the non-united priests. The Cossacks in the Ukraine were especially active, and came forward as protectors of the Orthodox faith. They demanded with threats rights for their metropolitan and their bishops, and for themselves equal rights with the Slachta; but the old respect for the freedom of all had been lost under the influence of the reaction.

There was no longer any place for the heterodox in Poland. The Orthodox, therefore, organised their forces and attempted to do something for the improvement of culture. Prince Ostrogski founded in Ostrog an academy and a printing-office; presses were started in other places also. The gulf between the two camps, which cleverly strengthened themselves, grew daily wider.

All this was done by Poland in her blind infatuation at a time when some faint prospects in the East were opening out to her. The house of Rurik in Russia was extinct, and Lithuanian magnates placed at that time the pseudo-Demetrius on the throne of the tsar. This Dmitri, about whose real family, in spite of searching investigations, nothing can with certainty be said, was a friend of the Poles

**Threatened
Deposition of
Sigismund**

and of European culture, possibly a Pole himself. There was actually in Poland a party which entertained the plan of deposing Sigismund and offering the Polish crown to Dmitri.

When this plan miscarried, Poland was still offered an opportunity of getting a footing in Russia, since after the deposition of the Tsar Vassili Shuski, the Privy Council in Moscow chose as tsar Vladislav, son of Sigismund. Polish troops under Sholkievski

held Moscow in their power. An agreement was so far made that Vladislav should pledge himself to protect the Greek faith and the Greek Church, to allow the Boyars to retain their privileges, to grant them the Polish privilege of *Neminem Captivabimus*, and to conclude an alliance with Poland. But the narrow-mindedness of the father, who, probably at the instigation of the Church and the Jesuits, wished to acquire the crown of Russia for himself, and the rebellion of the Zebrzydowski family, which broke out at the most critical moment, frustrated all the great plans regarding a union with Moscow once and for ever.

When Russia, therefore, was being consolidated at home under the new Romanof dynasty, Poland and Russia once more faced each other with the old hostility. Poland resolved on war in order to bring Vladislav to Moscow by force of arms; but at the same time the folly was committed of binding the king even then to incorporate any future conquests with the Polish crown. Vladislav was forced in the year 1617 solemnly to resign

**Cossacks
to the Help
of Poland**

Smolensk, Starodub, and a series of other countries in favour of the Polish crown, as if this resignation of Russian provinces would be a recommendation to the Polish candidates in Russia.

For the favourable peace at Deulino near the Troizkaja Lawra (1618), which secured to them Smolensk, Dorogobush, Czernigov, and several other towns, the Poles are indebted to the Cossack Hetman Konaszevich, who came to their help with 20,000 picked troops and enabled them to march on Moscow, as well as to the pacific nature of the Tsar Michael Romanof and the Russian desire for tranquility. Soon afterwards Poland was entangled in a war with the famous Swedish warrior Gustavus Adolphus, and with Turkey, which cost her great sacrifices, in spite of the heroic deeds of the generals Stanislaus Koniecpolski and Chodkievich. The Cossacks, who since 1596 had already come forward openly as protectors of the Orthodox faith, now assumed a menacing attitude.

The Slachta, when it met after the death of Sigismund in 1632 to elect his son Vladislav IV. Sigismund, who died in 1648, restricted still more the power of the crown. The king was in the future not to be allowed to begin a war without the

consent of the imperial diet, or to enlist soldiers out of his privy purse; he was required to confer the vacant offices within six weeks after the diet, to cede to the country the profits of coinage, to build a fleet on the Baltic, and to contribute two quarters instead of one quarter of the royal revenues to the war with Moscow. Besides this, the old tax of two groschen from the hide of land was abolished as "a survival of the old serfdom."

**The King's
Restricted
Liberty**

According to these provisos the king was more restricted in his liberty than the ordinary noble, since the latter might keep troops; Zamojski Wisneovecki and others were able to put 10,000 men into the field. Vladislav was compelled to accept these stipulations, and in the course of his reign had to submit to still further curtailment of his freedom. As he once went to Baden to take the waters, the diet of 1639 passed a resolution that the king could not leave the country without the consent of parliament. Later the king was prohibited, and this time with more justice, from incurring debts in imperial affairs.

Vladislav was obviously forced to try and improve this untenable position of the crown in regard to the estates, and to strengthen the central power. His whole reign is a covert struggle against the existing constitution. Above all, he wished to withdraw himself from the excessive influence of the Catholic Church, which he judged harmful to the welfare of the country. The Church, dominated by Jesuits, encouraged men to enter their community, conceded no privileges to the Uniates, and thus rendered the whole work of the union void. The Jesuits in Poland, as in other countries, searched for Protestant and other heretical books and destroyed them. The schools came gradually into their hands; they founded their own academy in Cracow, in order to enter into rivalry with the one already existing. They accumulated immense

fortunes, and finally watched every step which the king took.

Vladislav, who in May, 1624, at his father's instructions, had undertaken a long journey to several courts, and finally to Rome, at last ventured to take up a bold attitude against the predominance of the Church. He, like Casimir IV. previously, endeavoured to make the influence of the crown felt in the election of the bishops, and negotiated with Rome on the subject with some success. He wished that the papal consent to the founding of the Jesuit academy in Cracow should be recalled. He instituted in Thorn, certainly to the indignation of the Catholics, a discussion between the different confessions, which, however, like others previously, remained unsuccessful.

He protected the non-united, and, disregarding the union at Brest, left them their own bishoprics in Lemberg, Premysl, Lutzk, Mohilev, and the archbishopric of Kiev, without troubling himself about the protest of Rome; in fact, he actually permitted the return of Uniates to Orthodoxy and treated the Greek Orthodox with justice. The success of his exertions was considerable. In consequence of this the eastern provinces, and, above all, the Cossacks, the champions of Orthodoxy, remained true to the



A KING WITHOUT LIBERTY

The liberty of the crown was curtailed during the reign of Vladislav IV. The diet of 1639 passed a resolution that the king could not leave the country without the consent of parliament.

king, although they were aware that they could not expect any just treatment from their enemy the Slachta.

In an equally decisive manner he broke away from the foreign policy of his father. He strove for an alliance of Poland with Russia, carried on war with

great energy, and obtained in 1634 at Poljanovka a favourable peace, which brought to the Poles the possession of Sievsk, Smolensk and Czernigov. His intention was now to wage a joint war on a grand scale against Turkey; he therefore yielded in the Swedish question, and in the truce at Stuhmsdorf on September 12th, 1635, in return for the restoration of Prussia,

renounced all claim to Livonia, which was conquered by Sweden. In his eagerness to attain his purpose he made overtures to the house of Hapsburg, and married Cecilia Renata, an Austrian archduchess. When on her death he married a French princess—Marie Louise of Nevers-Gonzaga—he did so probably in order to fit out troops against Turkey with her money.

Social Revolution in Poland

If Poland then achieved successes, she owed them only to the circumspection and self-sacrifice of her king. In return she was not even willing to pay the debts incurred by him in the war against Moscow, and after great efforts a tax was granted the king only as "gratitude." In one single point did the king allow himself to be carried away by the Slachta to take a step momentous for Poland, in the legislation concerning the Cossacks.

At the close of the sixteenth century a great economic and social revolution had been completed in Poland. The colonisation of the eastern provinces had made unexpected progress. Red Russia, Volhynia and Podolia had been long occupied by the Polish lords; now the stream of colonists flowed into the Dnieper region and swept along with it the inhabitants of the above-named regions. Even nobles who, in consequence of the civil wars and also of the struggle with Russia, were at the end of their economic resources, marched under the protection of mighty lords to the eastern provinces, and there became Cossacks. Small landowners in the western provinces could not hold their own from want of hands; equally in the east the uncertainty and the exhausting work of colonisation rendered the development of small farms impossible.

The consequence was that the petty nobility, especially in the east, became dependent on the large landowners; by this step their influence in national life would naturally sink, while that of the magnates rose. If in the fifteenth and also in the sixteenth century the petty nobles had exercised such power in the state that they could pass even the great legislative Revision, and if the constitution had stood under

the banner of democracy, the centre of gravity was now shifted once more to the Senate, which, by economic pressure, ruled the chamber of provincial deputies.

The development of Poland from the close of the sixteenth century lay, therefore, in the hands of the magnates; the oligarchs dictated to the crown; with them originated the first of those revolts so disastrous to the state, which were destined to lead irresistibly to the downfall of Poland. Side by side with the formation of the large landed estates in the eastern provinces went a movement of the population from west to east, which shifted the economic and also the political centre of gravity of the empire toward the eastern frontier. The great nobles of the east guided the state according to their own will.

In addition to this a social transformation took place. Among the Cossacks a party was slowly developing which aimed at freedom and wished to be on equality with the nobles. But nothing was more dangerous for the great landowners of the eastern marches than this movement, by which they ran the risk of losing the whole peasantry, the one support of their farms. All who were oppressed and wished to live a life of freedom joined the Cossacks. The

**Cossacks
on the
Increase** peasant population could only be held back by force from running away and migrating to the Ukraine. The number of the Cossacks increased from year to year with great rapidity. To remedy this evil, measures were taken that only 600 Cossacks should be admitted, and registers were drawn up for inspection, while all others had to remain peasants.

The threatened oligarchs now thought of applying an efficient remedy. At their instigation the diet of 1638 resolved to place the registered persons under a Polish commissary; all who later acquired privileges were to forfeit their rights, liberties and incomes. Their possessions were confiscated by the lords, and they must

immediately pay taxes on them. This resolution of the diet kindled a revolt of the Cossacks which was destined in the end to result in the loss of the Ukraine.





GREAT DAYS OF COSSACK POWER AND THE COMING UP OF RUSSIA

AFTER the conquest of Kiev and the subjugation of Russia by the Tartars, Moscow on the one hand, and Lithuania on the other, had grown into new political centres. But in Kiev all culture and political life were dying out. The country gradually became a desert; the survivors left by the sword of the Tartar were dragged away into captivity or emigrated, while a few who remained behind, living in perpetual danger, sank into barbarism and took refuge in the forests and fens. It was only when these districts were conquered by Lithuanian princes that the fugitives came back and the country was once more populated. Princes of the Olgerd stock received large tracts of this unowned land and introduced settlers. Their primary duty was always, however, to ward off Tartar attacks, and the military organisation had therefore first to be taken in hand. Thus, in course of time a kind of military frontier against the Tartars was developed. The first step was taken by the frontier starosties (districts governed by starosts); the resident landowners also fought the Tartars on their own account. Owing to this duty of defence, free companies were formed, which stood in very loose relations with their princes and starosts. At the beginning of the fifteenth century they bore the name of Cossacks.

The whole institution, like the name, is of Tartar origin; but the Slavonic Cossacks developed quite differently. In any case, a direct connection with the Kirghiz, who call themselves Kasaks, is not demonstrable. It is also better to

Definition of the Cossacks

separate them entirely from the Casoges on the peninsula of Taman, and the Tcherkesses in the Caucasus, who were subjugated in 965 by Sviatoslav. Among the Tartars those persons were called Cossacks who made raiding expeditions without the permission of their chiefs. Russian and Lithuanian princes, such as Vasilij IV. Ivanovitch and Sigismund I., made formal complaint to the Tartar khans that the "Cossacks"

invaded their territories. In Russia people were originally called Cossacks who, in contrast to the settled population with their burden of taxes, were engaged in trade and commerce, exporting salt in particular, or served on board the shipping on the Volga, or were occupied with fisheries on the Dnieper and brought fish to the market at Kiev—people, in short, who were not fettered to the soil. But by the beginning of the sixteenth

Cossack Bands the Refuge of Discontents

century there were Cossacks whose duties were exclusively military, although they were not free, but were the subjects of various princes. They must have been the descendants of those free itinerant traders who must have been familiarised with every sort of danger on their journeys. Citizens and peasants who found their burdens intolerable flocked to them. These Cossack bands often bore the names of their lords; thus we find "Cossacks of Prince Demetrius Wisniowiecki," or, according to the names of the starosties and towns, Cossacks of Kanew, Bar, Winnica, Bilacerkov and Kiev, of Smolensk, Riasan and Putvol. Those of Czerkasy were so renowned that the Cossacks were later called generally Czerkasy. The greatest services in the organisation and development of the Cossack system were performed by the frontier starosts and by the princes.

Daszkovicz, Starost of Czerkasy on the Dnieper, went to Poland and demanded in the diet at Piotrkov that these free companies should be recognised as an imperial army, whose duty was to guard the frontier; he showed also how important that might be for the empire. His request was not granted; and when the government proposed to restrict the Cossack right of settlement they withdrew behind the rapids south of Czerkasy. Here the free Cossack race, which recognised no sovereign, made its home. We find the first traces of these "Saporoska Sjetsch" in an edict of King Sigismund

Augustus of 1568. They are more precisely described to us in the documents of the end of the sixteenth century. Their strongholds were the islands in the Dnieper, where they had their forts.

Their organisation was that of the orders of chivalry in Western Europe. Implicit obedience, piety, chastity in the camp, absolute equality—these were the conditions of life among the Sjetsch. The assembly was the only authority; it elected the chief, the Ataman or Hetman, who held his office only for one year, and then was brought to account for his actions, and could even be punished by death; the Asavul, or second in command, and a chancellor (pisar). The assembly possessed also the only judicial authority. Quarrels were strictly forbidden; theft and the plundering of Christians were punishable by hanging. The Sjetsch lived according to the precepts of the Orthodox Church and strictly observed the fasts.

Their most honourable task was war against the infidels. They lived in fenced enclosures (kurenj) which were covered with horse-skins, 150 in each. Married men could be received into the company, but their wives might not be brought with them. Their food was a sort of yeast, fish, and fish-soup. A new institution thus began to flourish in those parts; indeed, it seemed as if a new state would spring up there, on a new non-European basis. While in Poland and the rest of Europe the freedom of individual classes alone was known and preserved, there the very lowest stratum demanded for itself the same freedom; there was to be there no class distinction, but merely a free nation.

Independently of the Sjetsch, free companies also were formed which, when they planned a raid, chose a Hetman for themselves. But everything later was concentrated in the Sjetsch, which formed the rallying point of all the Cossacks of the

Ukraine. So far as we know, the noble John Badovskij was elected Hetman over all the Cossacks for the first time under

Sigismund Augustus in 1572. The same king put all the Cossacks under the jurisdiction of one judge, who had his residence at Bilacerkov. After this time captains, or Hetmans, who were recognised by the Polish government appeared at their head. The Cossack life possessed an irresistible charm; and when the news spread of

this fairyland where every man could live as free as a bird, and it received a solemn consecration as a sworn foe to the infidels, it was gradually populated with fugitives and deserters from Poland and Russia. The country on both sides of the Dnieper round Kiev, as far as the Tartar frontier, became a paradise for all the poor and the oppressed, not less than for those who thirsted for glory and feats of arms. The Little Russian race seemed qualified to put into practice the idea of universal equality and freedom. The science of war was here brought to high perfection. At the same time a literature was produced which glorified the Cossack life in attractive ballads and tales. All the Slavonic world might well be proud of this free state. Of course this people, which regarded war as the object of life, could not fairly be expected to cultivate a higher civilisation.

The Cossacks might have brought incalculable advantages to the country and the whole empire of Poland if the Poles had understood how to fit this new member into the organism of the state. But the democratic spirit of the Cossacks did not harmonise with the aristocratic constitution of Poland. There were in Poland after the Union of Lublin (1569) only three sharply divided classes—the Slachta, the citizens, and the present serfs. There was no place for the Cossacks among these three classes, and, instead of any advantages, the Cossacks therefore presented to Poland a social and political problem, as important as it was dangerous, which in its subsequent shape became predominantly an economic question.

The Cossacks exercised on the peasantry in Poland and Lithuania such a strong attraction that only the severest penalties could restrain the people from fleeing by crowds into the Ukraine. They seemed, therefore, to the Slachta to be a revolutionary influence which disturbed the order of the state, and, by encouraging the exodus of the labouring country population, threatened every farm with desolation and ruin. But the economic stability of the Polish state depended on the serfdom of the country population; this had been a main object of the legislature, just as in the ancient world the prosperity of the state had depended on slavery as a legal institution. It is therefore intelligible why the Slachta persecuted with deadly



CHARACTERISTIC PORTRAITS OF THE FIGHTING COSSACKS

1, Cossack officer; 2, 3, 4, and 5, Typical Cossacks soldiers of the Caucasus; 6, Cossacks of the Don.

hatred and deep contempt those runaway peasants who ventured to put themselves on a level with their betters. They staked everything on reducing the Cossacks again to the position of peasants. The division of interests was not to be healed, and war was inevitable. It was an almost hopeless task to find a means of arranging the dispute and solving the social problem.

Apart from Sigismund I., who had quietly promoted the organisation of the Cossacks, Sigismund Augustus was the first who attempted to link the Cossack element with the organism of the Polish state, since he placed them under the authority of the starosts, restricted their numbers, and fixed their pay. Bathori had only taken in his pay 600 Cossacks, and those for the war against Moscow. It was only under Sigismund III. that the diet of 1590 determined to pay 6,000 Cossacks. They were entered upon a list and called "registered." Their commander-in-chief was the Polish Crown Hetman for the time being, so that the Cossacks were intended to compose only a part of the Polish army. The "registered" received grants of land, a court of justice of their own at Baturin, and the right of electing superior officers. All the others, by far the majority, were intended to revert to the status of peasants. Sigismund thus found a way out of the difficulty which only satisfied a very small proportion of the Cossacks. But the Slachta did not wish to admit even these 6,000 into the state, and treated them merely as mercenaries. This provoked new strife. The "registered" combined with the non-registered Cossacks and rebelled against the government, attacked the Slachta on their estates, and, under leaders of their own choice, made raids upon Turkey and the Tartar territory. Through this

state of affairs a new difficulty sprang up for the Polish government; for this arrogance of the Cossacks threatened every moment to bring on their heads a dangerous war with the Porte, and injured Ottomans were continually lodging complaints against insolent Cossacks. All commands were as useless as the execution of several Hetmans. What did the free Cossacks care about the national interests of Poland? They loved liberty and war above everything else;

they went as gaily to battle as to a dance. Often imitating the intrepid Varangians, they sailed in their light craft from the Dnieper to the Black Sea and plundered the suburbs of Constantinople or the towns of Kilia, Akerman, Ismail, Sinope and others. Sigismund built the fortress of Kremenczug on the Dnieper in 1591 to hold 1,000 men, whose task it would be to keep the Cossacks in check. But even these standing garrisons were unable to restore order. In the year 1592 the first revolt of the registered Cossacks broke out, under the leadership of the Hetman Christopher Kosinski. Prince Constantine Ostrogski, himself Orthodox, suppressed it at the head of the Slachta. The Cossacks were forced to surrender Kosinski and elect another Hetman, to give up the booty, and to bind themselves not to undertake any raids without the knowledge and consent of the government,

and not to receive any deserters. But a second rising followed in 1596, under Loboda and Severin Nalivajko.

The first revolt may have had a more social character, but now there was a religious element added, since the Cossacks rose to protect the Orthodox faith, which was threatened by the union of Brest in 1596. Ostrogski, the antagonist of the union, now himself fanned the flame, since he wished to wreak vengeance on



ANCIENT COSSACK CHAIN MAIL
Present-day Cossack in the armour of the past.



GIRLS OF THE KUBAN COSSACKS, SHOWING THEIR DIFFERENT HEADGEARS



A KUBAN COSSACK WITH HIS WIFE AND DAUGHTER; AND A KUBAN GIRL

FAMILIAR TYPES OF THE KUBAN COSSACKS

Alexander Siemaszko, the castellan of Braclaw, and on the Bishop Cyryl Terlecki. The rebels assembled in his territory; they were joined in Ostrog by Damian Nalivajko, a brother of Severin, the chaplain of Ostrogski; many nobles, even the non-registered, took their side. The best generals, Zamojski and Sholkievski, were

**Turkish Fleet
Burned
by Cossacks**

sent against the insurgents and forced them to surrender. The two Hetmans were given up and were beheaded at Warsaw. Treated with great harshness, the Cossacks now fled in masses to the left bank of the Dnieper, to Saporoshje, where they established their headquarters. Their numbers grew so rapidly there that they were able once more to undertake raids; they surprised Varna in 1605, and destroyed, in 1607, Oczakov and Perekop.

The Saporogi became especially formidable when the Hetman Peter Konaszevich Sahajdacynyi, a bold and skilful strategist, placed himself at their head in 1612. He plundered, in 1612, the coast of the Crimea as far as Eupatoria, took Kaffa, destroyed Sinope in 1613, pillaged in 1614 the coast of Asia Minor, and in 1615-1616 Trebizond, and burnt the Turkish fleet. It was he who supported the Polish campaign against Moscow. The name of Saporogi was soon universally used for the Dnieper Cossacks. Konaszevich assumed the title "Hetman of both banks of the Dnieper and of the Saporogi," and placed himself over the "registered"; in fact, he entered into alliance with the tsar and with Turkey.

He was the first Hetman who openly protected the Church and organised it, since he demanded an Orthodox Metropolitan with suffragan bishops for Kiev, and carried his point. The Patriarch of Jerusalem, Theophan, came to Russia and consecrated Jov Borecki as Metropolitan and six other bishops; Konaszevich assigned them estates. He founded

**The Cossack
Period
of Greatness**

many churches, renewed the monasteries, opened schools, and was thus the first who laid stress on the improvement of culture. He also called upon the Polish government to confirm his position; this was done when his help was required against the Turks.

But he was always endeavouring to emphasise his independence. When Poland, in the treaty with Turkey of 1621, promised to keep the Cossacks in check,

he immediately organised an expedition into the Turkish territory, by way of registering his protest against that stipulation. Strangely enough, this man of iron, who, for instance, ordered the Hetman of the "registered" Borodovka to be beheaded in sight of the Polish camp, and seemed to love war and war only, retired after the battle of Khotin, where he was wounded in the hand, into a monastery, and there occupied himself with the composition of a book, to which even his enemies gave unstinted praise. Konaszevich died on April 5th, 1622, an extraordinary character, bold to foolhardiness, a clever statesman, a patron of culture and freedom; in short, one of the greatest Slavs in history. He founded the national independence and spread abroad the fame of his native Ukraine; among the Cossacks themselves he roused a deep love for the mother-country. He is still celebrated in song.

In three years after his death the Cossack country sank from the pinnacle to which it had been raised by Konaszevich. The Cossacks had been welcomed everywhere as mercenaries; Loboda and Nalivajko had fought under the emperor's banner in

**Decline of
Cossack
Independence**

Transylvania, and others, like Lisovski, in Germany itself. The Polish government now sent the Hetman Koniecpolski to the Ukraine, on the right bank, under the pretext of preventing Cossack inroads into Turkish territory. The Cossacks were unexpectedly surrounded by his forces on Lake Kurakov, misled by false promises, and compelled to surrender. They were forced to accept the following terms on the heath of Medveshi Lozy in 1625. Six thousand "registered" were to be retained, 60,000 gulden in gold paid to them, and the register kept in the imperial treasury; the Hetman was to be confirmed in his appointment by the Polish Crown Hetman; inroads into Turkish territory were to be discontinued; the boats were to be burnt and no new ones built. A thousand of the registered Cossacks were to be on garrison duty in the country of the Saporogi.

The non-registered were to serve their lords and sell their goods within twelve weeks. Michael Doroszenko was then chosen Hetman, and confirmed in his post by Koniecpolski. Some years afterwards a Polish army came again into the Ukraine, and under its protection the Slachta indulged in acts of the greatest injustice and

violence. Murders, outrages, and confiscation of property were the order of the day. If we reflect that hardly one in twenty could be entered on the register, we shall realise how great a mass of inflammable material was collected there. There was equal danger seething among the Saporogi, who had their own Hetmans.

On the election of Vladislav IV., the representatives of the Cossacks also appeared in the imperial diet. They asked for electoral rights, abolition of the union, increase in the numbers of the registered, and the confirmation of the privileges of the Orthodox Church. They received the answer that the Cossacks certainly formed part of the body of the Polish republic, but only as the hair and nails, which could be cut off. In order to emphasise his demands, Petryzky, Hetman of the "registered," marched to Volhynia and ravaged the property of the Ślachta. The Cossacks were not admitted to full electoral privileges; but the rights of the Orthodox Church were confirmed and its Metropolitan, Peter Mogila, was recognised. Vladislav IV. promised to restore the Orthodox dioceses

Cossack Leaders Beheaded

and to found new dioceses for the Uniates, and allowed them to build some churches and to set up printing-presses. But there was little talk of the freedom of the Cossacks; on the contrary, he ordered the new fortress of Kudak to be built on the Dnieper, which was intended to keep the Saporogi in check. The Hetman Sulyma destroyed this fortress, for which act he was impaled in Warsaw and an army was sent against the Cossacks; these, under Pawluk, who already contemplated the autonomy of the Ukraine, were ready for a desperate resistance. The Cossacks fought fiercely at Kumejki and Borovitza, but were forced to give in. Pawluk, Tomilenko, and other leaders were beheaded.

The Cossacks had to ask for pardon; all who went to Saporoshje were to be sent back to their lords. The preparation of the register was for the future entrusted to the royal commissaries, and the people were robbed of their goods. The diet of 1638, rendered arrogant by its last victory, now had recourse to the severest measures. The "registered" were put on a level with the peasants, declared to have forfeited all rights, and deprived of their goods. Henceforward the Polish commis-

sary resided in Trechtemirov. The Polish armies encamped in the Ukraine and mercilessly wasted the country.

But people were much deceived in Poland who expected that the Ukraine would be finally pacified by the enslavement of the Cossacks. As an answer to the resolutions of the diet a new revolt

Terrible Fall of the Cossacks

broke out under Hunia, Ostrjanycia and Filonenko. But this also was suppressed. In a camp which had surrendered unconditionally, every single person was massacred. Among the Polish magnates who took the greatest interest in the enslavement of the Ukraine, Jeremias Wisniewiecki—a voivode of the Jagellon stock—distinguished himself by his barbarity; at the head of his own troops he burnt, beheaded, impaled, or blinded all the Cossacks who fell in to his hands.

The rebellion was crushed by the weight of numbers. Many fled to Saporoshje and wandered about in the steppe. The idea of gaining support from some foreign power now gathered strength. Ostrjanycia and Filonenko went to Moscow; some 6,000 are said to have entered the service of Persia. The Ślachta now ruled absolutely in the Ukraine; the Cossacks were forbidden even to fish and to hunt. The Jesuits, too, came there before long. Many magnates, such as Wisniewiecki, Konieczpolski, Kalinovski, Potocki, acquired huge tracts of land. The district which Wisniewiecki now possessed was greater in size than many a German principality. A deputation of the Cossacks—Roman Polovetz, Bogdan Chmelnicki, Ivan Bojaryn, Ivan Wolezenko—which demanded from the king the restoration of freedom, of the right to own property, and of payment for service, could not effect anything. There was tranquillity in the Ukraine only for ten years; it seemed as if the country only wished to try to what limits the oppression of the Polish Ślachta could go. To

Ten Years' Tranquillity in the Ukraine

this period belong the meritorious exertions of the famous Metropolitan of Kiev, Peter Mogila. The family of Mogila gave some able rulers to the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia; it was connected by many matrimonial ties with the foremost families of Poland. Peter received his education partly in the school of the Staupropian fraternity at Lemberg, which was intimate with his family, and

partly abroad. In 1625 he entered the most celebrated monastery of Russia, the Peczerskaja Lavra at Kiev, of which he became abbot at the end of 1627. In this capacity he went in 1632, at the head of the Cossack deputation to Poland, to the Reichstag, and petitioned the king to grant rights to the Orthodox Church.

The Famous Metropolitan Peter Mogila

The consecration of Jov Borecki as Metropolitan of Kiev by the Patriarch Theophan of Jerusalem, at the request of the Hetman Konaszevich, had taken place without the king's knowledge; the office of metropolitan and certain bishoprics were now intended to be recognised by the state. After the death of Borecki, Peter Mogila was recognised as Metropolitan in 1632.

Mogila's first and important task was the improvement of secondary and elementary schools. While the Catholic priests, the Jesuits in particular, founded and supported scientific institutions on every side in order to fight the Evangelicals with spiritual weapons, the Russian clergy at the period of the Tartar dominion had sunk very low. The majority of the priests were illiterate. Even the most bigoted supporters of Orthodoxy could not fail to see that, if they wished to save their Church, they ought not to neglect culture any further. Ecclesiastical brotherhoods were founded, and printing-presses and schools were set up for the protection of the Church in the most important sees, such as Lemberg, Kiev, Luck, Wilna.

The first Orthodox school with a press was founded in 1580 by Prince Constantine Ostrogski in his town of Ostrog. A school with a press was next founded in 1586 at Lemberg by the Stauropigian fraternity; another in 1588 at Wilna, when the Patriarch of Constantinople stayed there; a third in Luck, in 1589; a fourth in Kiev. Books in defence of their Church now began to be published by the

Education Spreads in Spite of Persecution

Orthodox party. The danger was the greater since King Sigismund III., an enthusiastic Catholic and patron of the Jesuits, aimed at the extirpation of the Church and schools of the Orthodox party. When Theophan, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, appeared, he was announced to be a Turkish spy, and the bishops consecrated by him were brought before the courts. In spite of all this they held their own, and the schools increased in

number. Mogila was especially desirous of founding in Kiev a university, like those of other countries, in which instruction could be given in Latin, Greek, and Polish. He sent young persons abroad for some years to study the higher branches of education, and then installed them as professors in his school, which bore the name of a "college," and was subsequently raised to the rank of a university. He sacrificed all his property to this end. He was soon in a position to send exemplary monks and efficient teachers to the Prince of Wallachia and to Moscow.

A vigorous intellectual movement now began. An apologetic Orthodox literature appeared; the Greeks could now vie successfully with the Roman Catholics. The school had good teachers, and it educated famous scholars. Mogila himself was conspicuously active in the literary field. He wrote a series of the most necessary church books for the people and for teachers, amended the text of the translation of the Bible, and composed apologetics, especially the "Orthodox Confession of the Catholic and Apostolic Church of the East" (the Confessio

An Age of Intellectual Activity

Orthodoxa of 1643). Russia was able for centuries to find sustenance in the intellectual products of this man and his school. In the year 1640, Peter Mogila proposed to the Tsar Michael to found a monastery with a school under the direction of Little Russian monks, in which the instruction should be given in the Greek and Slavonic languages. Two of the learned Kievans, Epifanij Slavi-neckij, at the recommendation of the Patriarch Nikon, and Simeon Polockij, entered into closer relations with the Tsar Alexis.

Polockij in particular was both a prominent preacher and a poet, whose dramas were produced at court; he was also (after 1670) manager of the royal printing establishment. He it was who drafted the first scheme for a university in Moscow with faculties in Slavonic, Greek and Latin—a magnificent conception, which can be traced back to Mogila himself. The sons of Alexis, Feodor and Ivan were patrons of the Kievan scholars. Peter the Great invited the teachers of this school to his court, and formed out of them a staff of savants, to whom he confided the intellectual regeneration of Russia. The pupils of the Kievan school



ENTRANCE TO THE PALACE OF THE KHANS AT BAKHTCHI-SARAI



PALACE AT ALOUPKA AND TOMBS OF THE KHANS AT BAKHTCHI-SARAI



IN THE GARDEN OF THE PALACE AT ALOUPKA
IN THE CRIMEA: SCENES IN THE LAND OF THE TARTAR KHANS

bore the torch of culture everywhere, and filled the highest offices in the Church.

Mogila died in 1647, barely fifty years old, worn out by his restless energy. As Konaszevich aroused the pride and the independence of the inhabitants of Southern Russia, so Mogila, a kindred spirit, awakened the culture of the Ukraine, covered it with the glory of science, and promoted the self-consciousness of the Orthodox Church. It must be confessed that even thus the old defects of the Greek Church could no longer be made good; the richest and most conspicuous families, to whom nearly half the Ukraine on the left bank belonged, gradually went over to the Catholic Church. Almost the only adherents of the Orthodox faith were the poor, and in the towns the few citizens who were

persuaded by spiritual brotherhood to continue in the Eastern Church. In the year of Mogila's death there was already great excitement in the Ukraine, and at the beginning of 1648 the Cossacks defeated a Polish army. This time Bogdan Sinovi Chmelnicki, son of a Sotnik from Tchigirin, had placed himself at the head of the insurgents. He had studied in the Collegium Mogilanum and then in the Jesuit school at Jaroslav, and had the reputation of being a well-read man. He fought in the Polish army at the battle of Cecora, where his father fell; he himself was taken prisoner and detained for two years in Constantinople. There he learnt the Turkish habits and language, a knowledge which proved very useful to him. Returning home on the conclusion of peace he went, discontented, to the Cossacks, shared in all their revolts, and was nominated chancellor (pisar) by them.

His was a kindly, peaceable nature; it would never have occurred to him to stir up a rebellion had not the arrogance of the Polish Slachta and the prevailing anarchy in Poland driven him to it. His estate of Sobotovo was taken from him (he was not a noble) by the under-starost Czaplinsky; his wife was carried

off, his son killed, and when he demanded justice he, like all other injured persons before him, failed to find it. He then turned to the king. The latter had then received humiliation upon humiliation from the Slachta; there was reluctance to pay even his war debts, and his personal liberty was restricted; as just at this time his only son had died, his sorrow knew no bounds and his temper was greatly excited. He is said to have hinted to the Cossack who now lodged his grievance before him that he had a sword with which he could procure justice for himself. In any case, there is little doubt that Vladislav gave some encouragement to the Cossack; the whole subsequent attitude of Chmelnicki shows it. On the

way back from Warsaw Chmelnicki stopped in every village, complained everywhere at the injustice done to him, and asked if the people were ready to take up arms against the Poles; all were only waiting for the right moment. Having reached the Ukraine, he took counsel in the forest with his friends who had grown grey in campaigns; they all thought that no help could be looked for except from themselves. An order for his arrest was issued, but he escaped to Saporoshje (towards the end of 1647). After having secured the assistance of the Cossacks in an assembly, he went to the

Tartars to ask their help. His proceeding got wind in Poland, and at the beginning of 1648 two army corps were sent to the Ukraine, one overland, the other down the Dnieper; in the latter were embodied the "registered" under the Hetman Barabasz. Chmelnicki advanced to meet them, and when they came to shore they went over to him.

Chmelnicki called on them to protect their life and liberty, their wives and children; a shout of joy greeted his words; Barabasz was thrown into the river. Thus the Ukraine on both sides of the Dnieper was in a blaze. The clergy preached the war everywhere and encouraged the revolt. But the feeling was intense enough



A GREAT REBEL LEADER

Bogdan Sinovi Chmelnicki revealed his qualities as a leader, overcoming the Polish forces at Shovti and again at Korsunj. There was great rejoicing—the pealing of bells and the thunder of cannon—when he entered Kiev.

without this. Not merely the people in the Ukraine, but also those of Red Russia, and even the country folk in the western provinces of Poland, rose up and helped the Cossacks. If they murdered the Slachta and the Catholic clergy, pillaged their property and burnt their churches, they only requited them for what they themselves had already suffered. Every discontented spirit hurried into Chmelnicki's camp, knowing well that the hour of reckoning was at hand.

Chmelnicki soon defeated one Polish army at Shovti Wody, another at Korsunj. At the news of this Vladislav IV. started to go to the Ukraine, but died on the way, at Merecz, on March 20th, 1648. Another large army was put in the field, but this, being surrounded on the River Pilavka, took to flight under cover of darkness, and the whole rich camp fell into the hands of the Cossacks. Confusion and perplexity now prevailed in Poland. The Cossacks wished to be led to Warsaw. But Chmelnicki hesitated, probably because there was no reliance to be placed on the Tartars. He only marched to Red Russia, besieged Lemberg, took 200,000 gulden as ransom,

**The Victorious
March of the
Cossack Army**

invested Zamosc, received there 20,000 gulden, and awaited the result of the royal election. His embassy worked for the election of John Casimir, brother of Vladislav, who was eventually elected.

Chmelnicki now began his homeward march; and made his entry amid the pealing of bells and the thunder of cannon into Kiev, where he was solemnly received by the Patriarch of Jerusalem, by the metropolitan, the clergy, and the citizens. There now appeared in his camp ambassadors of the sultan from Moldavia and Wallachia, from Transylvania and Moscow, all with offers of alliance. Chmelnicki played the part of an independent sovereign. Ambassadors also came from the newly elected king, at their head Kisiel, an Orthodox noble. But Chmelnicki rejected all proposals for peace, and marched for the second time to the Polish frontier, since he knew that only the sword could decide.

The king in person now took the field against him. A battle was fought at Zborov. John Casimir had almost been taken prisoner when Chmelnicki gave orders for the slaughter to cease; he wished, he said, to extirpate the Slachta, but not to fight against the king. New

terms of peace were put forward by him. He demanded that 40,000 should be put on the list of the "reserved," and that the voivode ships of Kiev, Tchernygov, Poltava, and Podolia, should be given to the Cossacks; abolition of the union of Brest, a seat for the Orthodox Metropolitan in the Polish Senate, and the

**Russia
in the
Ukraine**

expulsion of the Jesuits and the Jews from the Ukraine. Poland would not listen to these conditions, and preparations were renewed for war. The people now began to mutter that Chmelnicki was deserting them and would not win freedom for them. But this time the Cossacks, although Chmelnicki is said to have had 350,000 men with him, were beaten at Beresteczko in Volhynia, through the treachery of the Tartar Khan, who, having made an agreement with the king, left the field of battle at the decisive moment and carried off with him as prisoner Chmelnicki, vainly urging him to turn back. The latter regained his liberty after much trouble, and when he came back all was lost. He still persevered, indeed, and even won some victories; but he saw that the country could not hold its own without foreign aid. At the assembly specially convened for the purpose some declared for Turkey, others for Moscow; there were a few voices in favour of remaining with Poland. The masses were for Russia, with which the common faith formed a link. Chmelnicki himself preferred Russia. He sent in 1653 a solemn embassy to the Tsar Alexis, who had hitherto maintained an unfriendly attitude toward the insurgents, and this time the Grand Duke decided to accept the Cossacks. In the next year Muscovite commissaries appeared in the Ukraine and took possession of the country. An army under Doroszenko submitted some years later to Turkey. In the centuries of struggle between Poland and Russia for the sovereignty in the East, the year 1654 forms the turning point. Poland had been driven into the background by her own fault, while the power of Russia was from year to year extended at the expense of Poland. It might now be said that the game was lost for Poland.

**Poland Driven
Into the
Background**

But the democratic Cossack community was as little adapted for the arrogant Muscovites as for the aristocratic Polish republic. Absolutism cannot brook



THE GREAT ADVENTURE OF MAZEPPA, PRINCE OF THE UKRAINE

Born of a noble family in Podolia, Mazeppa became a page in the court of the King of Poland, and there he is said to have intrigued with the wife of a Podolian count. For this offence the young page was lashed to a wild horse and turned adrift. The horse dropped dead in the Ukraine, where Mazeppa was released by a Cossack family, who nursed him in their own hut. He subsequently became a great leader, and in the Northern War of 1707 made a bold effort to free the Ukraine. By permission of the artist, R. Wheelwright.

national forms of liberty in its own domain. Moscow was otherwise, with its rude Boyars and its low culture, little adapted to benefit a people like the Cossacks, who, accustomed to freedom, stood on a higher plane in politics and culture. The position of the Cossacks, however, became more endurable under the Muscovite sceptre, since definite laws were enforced there; all subjects were equal, and even those outside the Boyar class were not treated more indulgently. The weight of the government was, therefore, felt less acutely.

An independent existence for the Cossack state was impossible. The Cossacks received their material as well as spiritual requirements from Russia. They bought their weapons in Russian marts, and they owed their very moderate degree of intellectual development to the Orthodox clergy, whose patron the Russian Tsar was. Chmelnicki alone, with his sound common sense, recognised this. A bold and skilful soldier, he was hardly competent for his great task as a statesman; he was no born ruler, but, always regarding himself as a servant of the crown, he only thought how to find out another master for himself. He showed superficiality in his grip of the national and the social questions. He owed the successes which he achieved more

to accident and the universal hatred of the Slachta than to his genius. The people did not notice these defects in him; and when he died, on August 25th, 1657, at the age of sixty-four years, a Cossack ballad sang that it was not the wind that groaned and howled in the trees, but the nation bewailing its father Chmelnicki.

It was not long before the Muscovite administration in the Ukraine caused a bitter disappointment. The Polish party therefore grew again, especially among the upper classes, while the people mostly remained loyal to Moscow. There was still vacillation; at one time there were fresh submissions to Poland, as, for instance, in the case of Juri, Chmelnicki's own son,

at another time there were reversions to Moscow. But there were always the three parties existing in the Ukraine, the Polish, the Turkish, and the Russian, which fought each other with renewed vigour. Soon there was evidence of a deplorable split between the Cossacks and the population which was excluded from the military service. The Cossacks, who acquired large estates, began to separate themselves more sharply as an aristocracy from the lower stratum, over which they wished to rule, like the Slachta in Poland. The democratic spirit, which had formerly worked wonders in the Ukraine and had inspired and morally elevated the whole people, gradually disappeared. Soon the hate of the people turned against the Cossacks themselves, who became their oppressors. When the reorganisation of the government and the army was completed under Peter the Great and a standing army was raised, the Cossacks no longer fitted into the new political and military structure. But Peter still spared them. It was only when Hetman Ivan Mazeppa (the hero of Byron's poem) had attempted in the Northern War (1707) to emancipate the Ukraine with the help of the Swedes, and had entered into secret negotiations with Charles XII., that Peter struck about him with his usual cruelty; he took no further con-



MAZEPPA: HERO OF BYRON'S POEM
In the Northern War of 1707, Hetman Ivan Mazeppa, whom the poet Byron has immortalised, made an effort to free the Ukraine, with Swedish help; this led to the abolition, by Peter the Great, of the office of Hetman.

sideration for the separate interests of the Cossacks, instituted in Moscow a special "Chancery for Little Russian affairs," and abolished the office of Hetman.

Menshikov captured the Sjetch of the Saporogi on the island of Chortiza, and they now emigrated to the Crimea. They were recalled to the Dnieper under the Empress Anna in 1737. They did not recognise their country again. Southern Russia had become quickly settled after the subjugation of the Tartar khanates, and was covered with towns. The steppe, through which the Cossacks had roamed like the Arabs through their desert, had been transformed into a populous land. Discontented with



KAMLUCKS AND THEIR HOUSES IN ASTRAKHAN



IN THE TEA MARKET AT ASTRAKHAN



THE CARPET FAIR IN THE KREML AT ASTRAKHAN

SCENES IN THE ANCIENT CITY OF ASTRAKHAN, FORMERLY KNOWN AS SARAI

this, they wished their old land to be restored to them and changed back again into a waste—a further proof that they, the knights of robbery and plunder, were no longer suited to the new age and an organised government. Once again in the time of Catharine II. a savage social and religious war against Poles, Jews, and Catholics blazed forth, when the Cossacks, together with Haidamakes and every sort of riffraff, wreaked their fury and pillaged whole towns like Umani. Gonta and Selisnjak were the ringleaders; the Greek clergy once more added fuel to the flames. At last, in 1775, Potemkin, by Catharine's orders, took the Sjetch and destroyed it. One part of the insurgents emigrated to Turkey; the rest remained as Cossacks of the Black Sea; they received the southern shore of the Sea of Azov and the island of Fanagoria as their homes, with a special constitution. This was the end of the free Cossack life; it survived only in songs.

Catharine II., being alarmed by revolts, especially by that of Pugatchef (1774), and also indignant because her new settlements and towns in the south were injured in their development by a population of born robbers, declared, in the decree of May 3rd, 1783, in spite of her liberal views, all the crown peasants of Little Russia, and therefore the peasants among the Cossacks, to be serfs—a measure by which 1,500,000 peasants were presented to the nobles. When in the same year she united the Crimea (the Tartar Cossacks) with the empire, "the old life of those half-nomads, half-robber knights,

The Serfs Under Harsh Treatment

with all its romance and adventure, ceased for ever in the south, and the stillness of the grave sank over that country where for centuries a noisy life had pulsed." A similar phenomenon came to light in the territory belonging to the state of Moscow, and to some extent in the adjoining districts. The peasant population was no better treated there than in Poland;

the treatment of the serfs became more and more oppressive, only with the distinction that it was not so much the Boyars here, as the state itself and the magistrates, who ill-treated the people with true Oriental brutality, and extorted from them the uttermost farthing. Whole districts be-



PUGATCHEF: A LEADER OF REVOLT

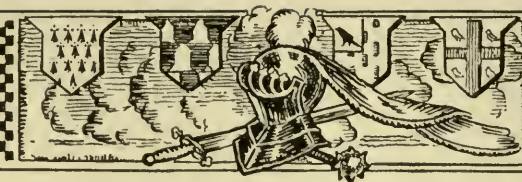
Catharine II. was much alarmed at the frequent revolts, and at the hindered development of her new towns in the south in consequence of these outbreaks. Pugatchef, who gave himself out to be Peter III., in 1774, was a particularly dangerous revolutionary.

came depopulated. According to the official report there were in one region of 460 square miles (German) only 123 inhabited settlements and 967 deserted ones; the reason often given for this was "the tsar's taxes and imposts." The people emigrated by thousands; the limitation and the subsequent abolition of the right of emigration proved ineffectual. All the pretenders to the Russian crown found supporters among the Cossacks or started from that country. Among the more famous chieftains we may mention Bolotnikof, who encouraged the bands to murder the Boyars, to appropriate their goods, their wives

and daughters, to plunder the warehouses of the merchants and divide all state offices among themselves; then the dreaded Hetman Stenka (Stefan) Rasin in the time of the Tsar Alexis (1667-1671); Kondratij Bulavin under Peter the Great

(1707-1708); Pugatchef, who gave himself out to be Peter III.; further two pseudo-Demetri; they were all supported by these bands. This was the harvest which the state of Moscow reaped from the Asiatic brutality of its policy. But among the Cossacks also arose Jarmak Timofejef, who became famous by the conquest of Siberia, and then Deschnef, the discoverer in 1648 of the strait between America and Asia which was later rediscovered by Behring and called after him. Cossacks conquered Azov and wished to surrender it to the tsar. Nevertheless, the revolts of these Cossacks gave the Russian government much trouble. It was only after the defeat of Pugatchef under Catharine II. that their wide domains became gradually reduced to order.

Cossacks at Last Reduced to Order



THE FALL OF POLAND

AND ITS PARTITION AFTER 800 YEARS OF INDEPENDENCE

THE loss of the Ukraine was not the sole disaster which befell Poland in 1654. The war for it with Moscow and Turkey was almost worse. But the Swedish king, Charles X. Gustavus, against whose accession John II. Casimir (1648-1668) raised a protest, also declared war with Poland. In addition to these Prince George Rakoczy II. of Transylvania attacked Poland in 1657. For many years Poland had not been faced by such great danger. Warsaw and Cracow were in the hands of the Swedes; the Great Elector of Brandenburg took Prussia; Wilna and Red Russia were occupied by the Russians and Cossacks, and Rakoczy was committing the most terrible ravages. The king fled to Silesia. The saddest feature was that the Slachta joined the Swedes, and that there were traitors who roused rebellion against their own sovereign. The nobler minds formed a league, at whose head the king placed himself; and an alliance was concluded with Austria and Denmark.

In spite of some successes, Poland was forced to submit to great sacrifices. In the treaty of Wehlau (September 29th, 1657) she renounced the suzerainty of Prussia in favour of the Elector Frederic William; by this concession the duchy of Prussia was definitely lost. By the treaty with Sweden, concluded on May 3rd, 1660, in the Cistercian monastery of Oliva near Dantzic, Poland had to cede Elbing and Livonia; besides this, John Casimir abandoned his rights of inheritance in Sweden, and was only allowed to assume for his life the title of King of Sweden.

Poland's Concessions to Moscow

The Polish arms were comparatively most successful in the Ukraine, where the Poles succeeded in winning over to their side a part of the Cossacks under Wyhovskij.

Even the son of Chmelnicki submitted to Poland. Nevertheless, Poland was compelled by the truce of Andrussov (January

20th, 1667) to cede to Moscow Smolensk, Severien, Czernigov, and the Ukraine on the left bank of the Dnieper for thirteen years, and Kiev for two years. The war with Turkey, which had been brought about by the defeat of a part of the Cossacks under Doroszenko, similarly ended with a humiliating peace for Poland at Buczacz (Budziek), which was concluded eventually under Michael, the successor of John Casimir, on September 18th, 1672. According to its terms Poland ceded part of the Ukraine to Doroszenko, Podolia with the fortress of Kamieniec (Kamenez) to Turkey, and consented to pay an annual tribute of 22,000 ducats.

The Sad Condition of Poland

Still more unfortunate for Poland were the moral degeneracy of its Slachta and the general corruption of public life. Each group concluded peace on its own account with the enemy; the parties were hostile to each other and stirred up ill-will against the king; even individual officials carried out an independent policy. Many were in the pay of foreign powers, among them, for instance, the primate of the empire and John Sobieski, the subsequent king; the high dignitaries publicly taunted each other with venality.

It was in the year 1652 that a single deputy from Troki in Lithuania, Vladislav Sicinski by name, dissolved the Reichstag, which had been summoned at a dangerous crisis, by interposing his veto. That the validity of a resolution of the Reichstag depended on the assent of each individual member—the "liberum veto"—was the essence of the constitution; each individual was the embodiment of the majesty of the empire. Unanimity in all the resolutions of the Reichstag had already been demanded, and minorities had before this dissolved the Reichstag. But it was unprecedented that an individual should have dared to make the fullest use of the "liberum veto." Foreign interference and

the exercise of influence on the imperial policy were henceforward much simplified, since all that was now required was to win over one single individual.

But then, as formerly, as if that was the obvious course, the blame was laid on the king. John Casimir was cautious and bold, but nevertheless the *Slachta* hated him. He was accused of indifference, no regard was paid to him, and his deposition was discussed. He anticipated this last proceeding, as he resolved to lay down the crown voluntarily. There was still much haggling about the annuity payable to him, just as he had formerly been forced from motives of economy to marry his brother's widow, Marie Louise, in order that the country might not require to keep up two queens. The abdication took place on September 16th, 1668. The Senate and the Chamber of Provincial Deputies met in a joint session. With touching words of farewell the weeping king laid on the table of the house the deed of abdication, and the whole assembly wept with him. But the whole state, as it were, abdicated in the person of the king; his retirement was the most tangible proof of the impossible position of public affairs.

The ex-king revisited Sokal, Cracow, and Czenstochau; he learned of the election of his successor, the feeble Michael Thomas Korybut Wisnioviecki (1669-1673), and went to France, where he died at St. Germain on December 16th, 1672. Shortly before that, King Michael had been forced to conclude the shameful peace of Buczacz. He was the son of that voivode, Jeremias Wisnioviecki of Reussen, who had once vented his fury on the Ukraine Cossacks; but he had not inherited the warlike abilities of his father. Under the prevailing republican conditions

the kingship of Poland in the seventeenth century meant little more than a superfluous ornament, and this was exemplified in Wisnioviecki with peculiar force.

Contemporary Polish literature, which is characterised by the same shallowness as the political life, is a true mirror of the faults and vices of the *Slachta*. There were few exceptions. We find an apt criticism of it in the *Respublica Poloniae* (Leiden, 1627): "The king can do just so much as he can personally effect by good fortune and cleverness. The nobles do what they like; they associate with

the king, not as peers, but as brothers."

In the person of John III. Sobieski (elected after the death of Wisnioviecki on May 10th, 1674), who had distinguished himself as a general against the Turks, Poland obtained a king who would have been capable of retrieving the losses of recent years and of winning fresh glory for the empire. He clung with the full force of his soldierly nature to the plan entertained by the greatest kings of Poland of opening the decisive campaign against Turkey in alliance with Moscow and Austria, since he rightly saw that the future of Poland depended on it. This idea led him in 1683 to Vienna, where he defeated the Ottomans.

This brilliant victory, which made him celebrated in the whole Christian world, and further successes in Hungary, were the last rays of sunlight in which the fame of Poland shone. A thorough statesman, he treated also the religious question from the political standpoint, and thought he could end the disputes between the Roman Catholics and the other confessions by a synod, which he convened at Lublin in 1680 and then at Warsaw. From this higher point of view he organised the Ukraine, adopting



JOHN II. CASIMIR

Reigning during a period of wars and rebellions (1648-1668), Casimir placed himself at the head of a league which succeeded in bringing about an alliance with Austria and Denmark. He abdicated in 1668, dying in France in 1672.

just and lenient measures, and in this way he won over a large part of the Cossacks.

He did not hesitate at great self-sacrifices in order to attain his purpose of annihilating the Turks. At the beginning of 1656 he sent Christopher Grzymul-towski to Moscow to conclude an alliance with the Tsaritsa Sophia. Poland ceded, on April 21st, in perpetuity, Smolensk, Czernigov, Dorogobush, Sterodab, and Kiev, with the whole of the Ukraine on the left bank of the Dnieper. Moscow was to pay 146,000 roubles, and to wrest the Crimea from the Tartars. The Polish hero, with tears in his eyes, took the oath to this "eternal peace" with Russia, in the hope that he had won this state for his great plans.

But Moscow was then still too barbarous to entertain such noble ideas, and too weak to be able to carry them out. Sobieski saw himself thrown on his own resources. But in his noble efforts he, like his predecessors, was always hindered by that social and political corruption in his own country which rendered every great undertaking abortive. At the beginning of his reign he was full of ideas of a coup d'état, but was compelled, like all the others, to give up every hope. The actions of this monarch furnish a proof that even capable men may become the slaves of circumstances. Men should be accounted great not according to their achievement, but according to their endeavour.

The Slachta did not even allow him to nominate his son Jacob Lewis as his successor; they felt indeed a malicious joy when the latter did not receive the promised hand of an Austrian princess, and they tried to thwart even his marriage with a rich Lithuanian. Filled with mortification and weighed down by care, John III. sank into his grave on June 17th, 1696.

The reign of Sobieski was the last flickering gleam in the life of the Polish state. The terrible times of John Casimir now seemed to have come back; party feuds began afresh and with redoubled fury. Hitherto, individuals or parties had betrayed and sold their country, but now kings did the same; foreign countries had hitherto made their influence felt in Poland only by residents and money, but now they did so directly by troops, which never left the borders of the realm and enforced the orders of their sovereigns by the sword. The Slachta formerly, loving freedom beyond all else, had refused to

make any sacrifices to the dictates of sound policy or to listen to any reform; but now foreign countries were eagerly desirous of maintaining the existing conditions and admitted no reforms. Foreign mercenaries took up their quarters in Poland, established arsenals, fought each other, and traversed the territory of the republic in every direction without asking leave.

Even before this time the neighbouring powers had entertained no great respect for the sovereignty of the Polish state. In 1670 the Great Elector had ordered a Prussian nobleman to be forcibly seized from the very side of King Michael Wisnioviecki and led away to Königsberg. John Casimir himself, even in the reign of his brother Vladislaus, while travelling in the west of Europe, and driven by a storm on the French coast, was kept two years in imprisonment without any special feeling being caused in his country at the incident. Poland was now treated with undisguised contempt.

In the old days, when, according to the ancient custom at a coronation, money was scattered among the crowd, no Pole ever stooped to pick up a coin; now they all clutched with both hands at



THE FEEBLE KING MICHAEL

Unlike his powerful father, the voivode Jeremias Wisnioviecki, King Michael had but little will of his own, and was easily influenced by those around him. He was, in fact, little more than a superfluous ornament; he died in 1673.

THE FALL OF POLAND

doles from whatever side they came. Formerly the Slachta had imposed harsh conditions on foreign candidates for the throne, and had stipulated for the recovery of lost provinces, but now no king could be elected without the consent of foreign powers, obtained by humiliating promises. National and religious intolerance grew in consequence stronger. Rome and the Jesuits had great influence, and indefatigably carried out their task of conversion and antagonism toward all who were not of their creed.

The Elector Frederick Augustus (the Strong) of Saxony, or as King of Poland Augustus II. (1697-1733), owed his election partly to the money which he distributed, but mostly to the circumstance that he had adopted the Catholic faith on June 1st, 1697. In the year 1733 the Reichstag declared heterodox persons to have forfeited all political rights and offices, and by this action had given a new pretext to foreign powers for interference in the affairs of the empire. The sudden dissolution of the diets was now the ordinary course of things. Under Augustus II., out of eighteen diets between the years 1717 and 1733 only five brought their deliberations to a close; under Augustus III.,

only one. Even the law courts were often hindered in their duties by party contests and were compelled to suspend their sittings.

Since the state machinery was stopped recourse was had to alliances and armed combinations which led more certainly to the goal. But it was not difficult even for a foreign power to call into life, to suit their own purposes, some such "confederation." They grew up like mushrooms, fought against each other, and increased the confusion. Together with political disorganisation, the impoverishment of the Slachta made alarming progress. Destitute nobles, who now lived only on the patronage and favour of the high nobility, crowded in masses round the rich magnates, whose

numbers also steadily decreased. As a natural consequence, the peasants were inhumanly oppressed. The towns, more and more burdened by the national needs, were equally impoverished, especially since they never enjoyed the favour of the crown.

The Jesuit schools now only fostered a specious learning, and only educated soldiers of Christ, who were intended to set up in Poland the

Society of Jesus rather than the kingdom of God. Even the Piarists, an order established in 1607, who founded schools



JOHN III. SOBIESKI: ENEMY OF THE TURKS
This great king came too late to avert Poland's impending doom. In happier circumstances he might have saved the empire and won for it fresh glory; as it was, he crushed the Ottoman power, and thus became celebrated in the whole Christian world. He was a thorough statesman as well as a brilliant general. Disappointed, he died in 1696.



**MONUMENT AT WARSAW TO THE POLISH KING
JOHN III. SOBIESKI**

in rivalry with the Jesuits, were more solicitous for their own popularity than for the diffusion of true knowledge. The morality and culture of the Slachta were on a disgracefully low level; and their condition was the more repellent since it bore no proportion to their ambition, their pretensions, or position in the realm.

Punishing Poland
"For Its Sins" The empire had thus been engaged in a deadly struggle for a century. If its neighbours allowed it to last so long, the only reason was that they were not themselves ready and strong enough to swallow Poland up. They jealously watched and counterbalanced each other. It was with good reason that the saying "Poland stands by disorder" now became a current proverb.

Frederic Augustus of Saxony and Poland, physically so strong that he could bend a thaler between his fingers, and a thorough man of the world, seemed as a Polish writer aptly puts it, to have been chosen by Providence to punish the nation for its sins. Frivolous in private and often also in public life, he introduced immorality and political corruption into his surroundings. In 1699 he had just reaped the fruits of the campaigns of his great predecessor by the treaty of Karlovitz, through which Poland recovered from Turkey Podolia and Kamieniec, when he plunged Poland into a war which almost cost him the throne.

He made friendly overtures to Peter the Great of Russia and planned with him a campaign against Sweden; Livonia was to be the prize of victory. The Danish king, Frederic IV. was then drawn into the alliance, and the Saxon troops, which Augustus always kept in Poland, began the war. But the allies had grievously deluded themselves in the person of the youthful King of Sweden. Charles XII. struck blow after blow with crushing effect. While Russia by her natural weight and

Plucky Sweden
and Its Youthful King not by her warlike skill was finally able to conquer the little country of Sweden, Augustus II. and Denmark could not make any stand against it. Charles XII. demanded from the Slachta the deposition of the king, and ordered the election of Stanislaus Lesczynski as king on June 12th, 1704.

Augustus II. tried in vain to win over Charles XII. He repeatedly offered him, through secret emissaries, a partition of

Poland, but was obliged, on September 24th, 1706, when Charles had also conquered Saxony, to renounce the crown of Poland by the treaty of Altranstadt, and did not recover it until Charles XII. had been decisively defeated by Peter the Great at Poltawa on July 8th, 1709. The only power to benefit from this second Northern War was Russia, finally which acquired Livonia, Esthonia, and Ingria, and so set foot on the Baltic.

From the beginning of his reign Augustus II. entertained the idea of strengthening the monarchical power; he kept Saxon troops in Poland, and did not consult the Reichstag. But although he possessed considerable talents as a ruler, the various schemes which he evolved all turned out disastrously for Poland. The opposition against him daily grew stronger, and the followers of Lesczynski, who was deposed on August 8th, 1709, increased in numbers; confederations were formed on both sides. Russia brought matters to a head. Rapidly, and with astonishing astuteness, Peter the Great found his way in the Polish difficulty, and knew how to act. He came

Peter the Great
"Protector of Poland" between the parties as a mediator, but took the side of Augustus as the least dangerous; he sent, as the "Protector of Poland," 18,000 men into the country, and negotiated an agreement between the rival parties in Warsaw.

Augustus II. promised to withdraw his Saxons from the country within twenty-five days; all confederations were broken up and prohibited for the future, and the constitution was safeguarded. In a secret clause the number of troops in Poland was limited; Poland was not to keep more than 17,000, Lithuania not more than 6,000 men. The Reichstag of 1717 was forced to approve of all these points without discussion, for which reason it was called the "Dumb Diet." This was a master move of Peter's, and all the more so since he succeeded in inducing Turkey to recognise this agreement. Since that date Russian troops never left Poland, a policy observed up to the last partition.

Another neighbour had to be considered during the dispute for the Polish succession, in the person of the Elector Frederic of Brandenburg. He retorted to the promotion of the Elector of Saxony to the throne of Poland by crowning himself as King of Prussia, on January 18th, 1701. This action of his meant that he



THADDEUS REYTEN, THE POLISH PATRIOT, AT THE DIET OF WARSAW

Poland's misfortunes fell thick upon her in the latter part of the eighteenth century, when she was partitioned among stronger powers. At the diet of Warsaw, in 1773, called to sanction the dismemberment of the country, Thaddeus Reytan, deputy of Novogrudok, whose integrity gained for him the surname of the Polish Cato, unimpaired of lavish bribes, opposed the election of a Russian Marshal for Poland, and when the weak king Stanislaus would have yielded, the intrepid Reytan, with four companions, kept possession of the sanctuary until he saw the confederation held in the open air. Seeing that further opposition was useless he returned home, and the partition treaty was then ratified.

withdrew from the federation of the German Empire with one part of his territory, and shifted the centre of gravity of power as a sovereign to Prussia, which was not indeed subject to the suzerainty of the emperor; attention was at the same time called to the fact that he claimed the other part of Prussia, which still was subject to Poland.

The far-sighted policy of the Prussian king and his successors is shown by their unwearied solicitude for the organisation and strengthening of their army. The numerical superiority of the Russian and other troops was intended to be balanced by the efficiency of the Prussians. Frederic I. was also approached by Augustus II. with the plan of partitioning Poland. Thus he, the King of Poland, was the first to suggest to his neighbours the idea of its partition. The third occasion was in the year 1732, when he hoped by this offer to win over the Prussian king for the election of his son Frederic Augustus as King of Poland.

The Reichstag, it is true, after the death of Augustus II. (February 1st, 1733), elected with unusual unanimity Stanislaus Lesczynski on September 11th, for the second time. But the *Slachta* forgot that their resolutions were meaningless against the will of a stronger power. Forty



STANISLAUS I.: TWICE KING OF POLAND

The troubled condition of Polish affairs is reflected in the history of Stanislaus Lesczynski, who was elected to the throne in 1704. Five years later, in 1709, he was deposed on the return of Augustus, at whose death, in 1733, he was, for the second time, elected to the throne. But he had to give way to Frederic Augustus II. of Saxony.

thousand Russians entered Poland, and Russia's protégé, Frederic Augustus II. of Saxony, was elected king on January 17th, 1734, with the title of Augustus III. France was obliged to acquiesce in the defeat of her candidate, Lesczynski. He received Lorraine and Bar as a solatium (1735-1738). He was occupied to the day of his death (February 23rd, 1766) with the thought of his unhappy native land, and ultimately collected round him at Nancy and Luneville, the youth of Poland, in order to educate them as reformers.

It was now perceived, even in Poland, that the catastrophe could not be long delayed. The voices that demanded reform grew more numerous. It is a tragic spectacle to see how the nobler minds in the nation exerted themselves vainly in carrying reforms and saving their country. Two great parties (at the head of the one was the Tsartoryski family, at the head of the other the Pötocki) were bitter antagonists. The former wished to redeem Poland with the help of Russia; the latter, with the support of France. Both were wrong in their calculation, for the salvation of Poland was not to be expected from any foreign power, but depended solely on the unanimity and self-devotion of the nation itself, and this



STANISLAUS II.: POLAND'S LAST KING

The end of the Polish Empire was in sight when, in 1764, Stanislaus II. Poniatowski ascended the throne. He did nothing to stem the rapid tide of ruin or to prevent the country's shameful betrayal by its aristocracy. In 1795, Stanislaus resigned the crown, and died three years later.

was unattainable. The whole reign of Augustus III. (he died on October 5th, 1763) is filled with these party feuds.

The evil star of Poland willed that in the second half of the eighteenth century Prussia and Russia should possess, in the persons of Frederic the Great and Catharine II., rulers who are reckoned among the greatest in history, while Poland herself was being ruined by disunion. In 1764, soon after the death of Augustus II., both the adjoining states came to an agreement as to an occupation of parts of Poland's territory. Stanislaus II. Poniatovski, a relation of the Tsartoryski family, who had been elected king on October 7th, 1764, had lived hitherto in St. Petersburg, and had been, as a

William I. of Prussia, had already inquired, through their representatives in Russia, what attitude the tsar would adopt on the fall of the Polish Empire. The idea of a partition of Prussia had already been dispelled by the Seven Years' War; and the Prussian hero of that war, Frederic the Great, was quite ready to apply the idea to Poland. Neither England nor France intervened when, in February, 1772, at the beginning of 1793, and on October 24th, 1795, Poland was partitioned between Russia, Prussia, and Austria, and the Polish Empire disappeared from the map of Europe. The people of Poland had also to endure the mortification of seeing their own diet concur in these outrages of the great powers.



TARTAR CASTLE IN POLAND DURING THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES
favourite of Catharine, intended for the throne of Poland. This circumstance in itself gave grounds for supposing that this king, in spite of his amiable nature, would be a tool of the Russian policy.

The Tsartoryskis, indeed, wished to use the opportunity and introduce useful reforms, and took up a strong position against Russia; but confederations were soon formed for the protection of the old liberties, and these received the support of Russia, whose interest it was to keep up the lack of central authority in Poland. All the European powers then showed a singular eagerness for expansion; the idea of partition seemed to be in the air. The Emperor Charles VI. and Frederic

Thus the Polish state after lasting 800 years, ceased to be. Poland, in the search for the solution of the main constitutional question, went to excess and was choked by the exuberance of individual license.

After this date there were frequent rumours of efforts to be made by Polish patriots, especially by those who had emigrated to France, to recover political independence; European diplomacy has often been occupied with the Polish question. But beyond friendly encouragement the Poles have found no friend who, with powerful hand, could and would have reversed the momentous events of the last decades of the eighteenth century.

VLADIMIR MILKOWICZ



RUSSIA

THE BEGINNING OF THE NATION

RISE AND FALL OF THE FIRST EMPIRE

THE birth of the Russian Empire falls in the period when the Scandinavian Vikings were at the zenith of their power. Just as these hardy rovers sailed over the Baltic, the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, until they reached Iceland and North America, and in their small forty-oared galleys went up from the mouths of the Elbe, the Weser, the Rhine, the Maas and the Seine far into the interior, striking terror into the inhabitants, so, too, in the east of Europe they followed the course of the rivers and discovered the way to the Black Sea and Constantinople. The route which led up the Dwina and then down the Dnieper to Byzantium was called the Varagian way; even the rapids of the Dnieper bore, so it is said, Scandinavian names. The Norsemen, who had founded here and there independent empires in the west of Europe, could do so still more easily in the east.

At the outset of Russian history we find here six or seven independent districts, which stood, perhaps, under Norse rule: (old) Ladoga on the Wolchow, later

**Rurik, the
Ancestor
of Russia**

Novgorod, Bjelosersk, Isborsk, Turow in the region of Minsk, Polock, and Kiev. The core of the later Russian Empire

was at first (about 840) in the north, in the Slavonic-Finnish region, but it soon spread toward the south and was then shifted to Kiev in the basin of the Dnieper. "Russia" absorbed the Slavonic, Finnish, Bulgarian and Khazar empires. Rurik, in Norse Hroerekr, an otherwise unknown semi-mythical hero of royal race [see page

3183], was regarded in the eleventh century as the ancestor of the Russian dynasty.

The soil was so favourable here for the growth of a large empire that the Russians were able, by the middle of the ninth century (860), to undertake a marauding expedition against Constantinople. Besides Slavs, Lithuanians, Finns, and Khazars, the

**Norse Warriors
Ousted
by the Slavs** Varagians fought; usually it was Swedes from Upland, Södermanland, and Östergötland who formed the

picked troops and took the lead in every expedition. The mercenary bands had entered into a covenant with the prince, but were pledged to obey him; they were not, however, his subjects and could, therefore, leave him at any time; their pay consisted in the booty they won. The Slavs composed the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants; they gradually replaced the Norse warriors and ousted them completely later, notwithstanding various reinforcements from their northern home. By the end of the eleventh century the Varagian element had almost disappeared. In less than 250 years the same fate befell them which shortly before had befallen the Finno-Ugrian Bulgars in the Balkan Peninsula. Both races were merged in the Slavonic.

The first hero of the old Varagian style, and at the same time the first genuinely historical ruler, meets us in Oleg, or Helgi, who, in 880, became the head of the Russian state. He conquered (880-881) Smolensk, defeated the petty princes in Kiev in 882, and then transferred thither the centre of the empire. He



THE EARLY RULERS OF RUSSIA

Reproduced from a series of historic medals.



THE RULERS OF RUSSIA FROM 1125 TILL 1276

Reproduced from a series of historic medals.

inflicted on the Khazars and the Bulgarians defeats from which they never recovered. In 900 he forced part of the Chorvats on the Vistula to serve in his army. In this way he founded a Dnieper empire, which reached from the North Sea to the Black Sea, from the Bug to the Volga. Not satisfied with this, Oleg planned an expedition against Byzantium, which, like Rome and Italy, was always the coveted goal of every Northman. In the year 907 he went with a mighty army of allies down the Dnieper; the Russian Chronicle states that he had 2,000 boats with forty men in each. As the harbour in the Bosphorus was closed, he beached his ships, set them on wheels, bent his sails, and thus advanced against the town, to the horror of his enemies, with his vessels from the landside. A propitious moment had been chosen. The Greek fleet had fallen into decay, and the empire was hard pressed by the Bulgarians. The Emperor Leo VI. (the Philosopher) determined, therefore, to bribe the Russians to withdraw, after an ineffectual attempt had been made to get rid of them by poisoned food. The Greeks paid six pounds of silver for every ship, and in addition gave presents for the Russian towns.

Liberty of trading with Constantinople was then secured to the Russians. Their merchants, however, were to enter the city only by a certain gate and unarmed, under the escort of an imperial official; their station was near the church of St. Mammas. They received also the right to obtain for six months provisions in the city, to visit baths, and to demand provisions and ships' gear (anchor, cables, and sails) for their return voyage. This treaty, having been concluded by word of mouth, was sworn to by the Byzantines on the cross, and by Oleg and his vassals before their gods Peran and Wolas, and on their weapons. When the

Oleg's Symbol of Victory Russians left the city, Oleg fastened his shield to the city wall, as a token that he had taken possession of the city. This treaty was reduced to writing in the year 911—a noteworthy document. Both parties first promise love and friendship to each other, and fix the penalties to be incurred by any who disturb their concord through murder, theft, or indiscretion. Then follow agreements as to the ransom

of prisoners of war and slaves, as to servants who had deserted or been enticed away, and as to the estates of the Russians (Varangians or Varagians) who had died in the service of the emperor. The proviso as to shipwrecked men is important as a contribution to international law. "If the storm drives a Greek vessel on to a foreign coast, and any Russians inhabit such coast, the latter shall place in safety the ship with its cargo and help it on its voyage to the Christian country and pilot it through any dangerous places. But if such ship, either from storm or some other hindrance, cannot reach home again, then we Russians will help the sailors and recover the goods, if this occurs near the Greek territory. Should, however, such a calamity befall a Greek ship (far from Greece), we are willing to steer it to Russia and the cargo may be sold. Any part of it that cannot be sold and the ship itself we Russians are willing to bring with us honestly, either when we go to Greece or are sent as ambassadors to your emperor, or when we come as traders to buy goods, and we will hand over untouched the money paid for

The Legend of a Wizard's Prophecy the merchandise. Should a Russian have slain a man on this vessel or have plundered any goods, the agreed penalty will be inflicted on him." Oleg died in the year 912, from the bite of a snake, which, it was alleged, crept out of the skull of his favourite steed; hence arose the legend about the marvellous fulfilment of a wizard's prophecy that he should meet his death from that horse. Nine hundred years later Oleg became a favourite hero of Catharine II., who extolled him in a drama bearing his name.

His successor, Igor or Ingvar, a less capable ruler, carried the work of conquest a stage further. In the year 914 the Russians went with 500 ships to the Caspian Sea and plundered the Persian coasts. The Arab Mascudi has described this expedition, which appears to have been made during the minority of Igor, when his wife Olga (Helga) administered the affairs of the state. He himself took command of the army in 941, when he planned a new expedition against Constantinople; about the same time the Pechenegs, at his instigation, undertook to plunder Bulgaria, which had been allied with Byzantium since 924. But on this occasion the Russian fleet was annihilated by the Greek fire, with which the Russians



A RITUAL MASSACRE OF THE WARRIORS OF SVIATOSLAV AT DOROSTOL IN THE TENTH CENTURY
 This great painting by Siemiradzki shows the warriors of Sviatoslav sacrificing themselves at a ritual massacre under the walls of Dorostol. Sviatoslav, Prince of Kiev, ruled from 964 till 972. In 964 he marched against the Bulgarians of the Danube, conquered Perislaevitz and Durostornus (the modern Silistria). Later he conquered Bulgaria.

By permission of the British Photographic Co., London, W.

now made their first acquaintance. In 944, Igor marched once more against Byzantium—the fourth Russian campaign against the capital. Igor was induced by peasants to withdraw, and a new treaty was then concluded (945). The old trading privileges of the Russians were somewhat restricted. Certain goods, for example,

Russia's Pledge of Protection

might not be sold to them, and strict passports were demanded from them. The Russians, in addition to this, pledged themselves to protect the region of the Chersonnese against attacks of the Danubian Bulgars, and to come to the aid of the Greek emperor in time of need.

The treaty was once more solemnly sworn. "And we," so it runs in the Russian version of the document, "so many of us as are baptised, have sworn in the cathedral of St. Elias (at Kiev), on the holy cross lying before us and this parchment, to hold and observe all that is written thereon, and not to transgress any part thereof. If any man transgress this, whether he be the prince himself or another, whether Christian or unbaptised, may he be deprived of all help from God; let him become a serf in this life and in the life to come, and let him die by his own sword. The unbaptised Russians shall lay their shields, their naked swords, their gorgets, and other arms on the ground and swear to everything contained in this parchment; to wit, that Igor, every Boyar, and all the Russians will uphold it for ever. But if any man, be he prince or Russian subject, baptised or unbaptised, act contrary to the tenor of this document, let him die deservedly by his own sword, and let him be accused by God and by Perun, since he breaketh his oath. May the great Prince Igor deign to preserve his sincere love for us, and not weaken it, so long as the sun shineth and the world remaineth in this and all future time." On his return home, Igor was murdered by the Drevlanes,

The Dreadful Fate of Prince Igor

from whom he wished to exact tribute; according to Leo the Deacon he was bound to two saplings, which were bent to the ground, and was torn in two, after the manner of Sinnis in the Greek legend of Theseus.

Since Igor's son Sviatoslav was a minor, his widow Olga held the reins of government. She first wreaked vengeance on the Drevlanes. While besieging their town, Korosten, she promised to make

a peace with them in return for a tribute of three pigeons and three sparrows from every house. She then ordered balls of lighted tow to be fastened on the birds, which were let loose and set fire to the houses and outhouses of the Drevlanes. The Chronicle styles Olga the wisest of women. She was the first to accept Christianity; in 957 she went with a large retinue to Constantinople, and under the sponsorship of the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenetus and the Empress Helena, daughter of Romanus Lacapenus, received baptism and the name of Helena from the patriarch Theophylactus. She endeavoured to win her son over to the new doctrine; "My družina [body-guard, hussar] would despise me," he is said to have replied.

In 964 Sviatoslav himself, the greatest hero of old Russia, took over the government, although his mother (who died in 970) still administered home affairs, since he was seldom in the country. He wished to complete the task which Oleg and Igor began. He turned his attention first against the still unconquered peoples on the Oka and Volga, marched against the Wiatici and then against the Khazars, whose town Belaweza (Belaja Vesh or Sarkel) he captured; after subjugating the Jases (old Russian for Alanes, or in Georgian Owsî = Ossetes) and the Kasoges (Tcherkesses) he returned to Kiev. After the year 966 the Wiatici paid tribute to Sviatoslav; shortly afterwards (968-969) the Ros (apparently Baltic Vikings independent of Sviatoslav) laid waste Bulgaria as well as the Khazar towns Itil, Khazaran, and Samandar. These blows were so crushing that during the next fifty years we hear nothing more of the Khazars.

Shortly before these events Sviatoslav, acceding to the request of the Emperor Nicephorus Phocas, backed up by a payment of fifteen hundredweight of gold (180,000 Byzantine gold pieces), had undertaken a campaign against the Danubian Bulgars; they were to be attacked simultaneously from north and south. In the summer of 968 Sviatoslav crossed the Danube, defeated the Bulgars, captured numerous places, and took up his abode in Perejaslavetz. Sviatoslav was already planning to establish himself firmly in Bulgaria, since Peter, the Bulgarian ruler, died at the end of January, 969, when tidings came from Russia that the wild

Pechenegs were besieging Kiev. They were induced temporarily to withdraw by the ruse of a false report that Sviatoslav was advancing with all speed against them; but the people of Kiev accused Sviatoslav of indifference. He therefore retraced his steps as quickly as possible, defeated the Pechenegs, and restored peace.

But his heart was still fixed on Bulgaria, since Perejaslavetz on the Danube was the centre of his country, and a place where all good things were collected together: "from the Greeks gold and precious stuffs, wine and fruits; from the Bohemians and Hungarians silver and horses; from Russia furs, wax, honey and slaves." In the end, Sviatoslav divided his empire among his three sons and marched towards the south-west.

John Tzimisces had now come to the throne of the Byzantine Empire in the place of the murdered Nicephorus Phocas. His predecessor had concluded peace with Bulgaria so soon as he learnt the real plans of Sviatoslav, and Tzimisces now made a similar attempt, but twice without success. There remained therefore

**Russian Women
Fight
Against Greeks**

only the arbitrament of the sword. Perejaslavetz and Silistria, to which towns the Russians had withdrawn, were captured by the Greeks, in spite of a most gallant resistance; the Russian women themselves fought hand-to-hand in the *melée*.

The Russians were seen during the night after a battle coming out of the town by moonlight to burn their dead. They sacrificed the prisoners of war over their ashes, and drowned fowls and little children in the Danube. The emperor proposed to Sviatoslav to decide the victory by single combat. Sviatoslav declined, and was the more bent on a last passage of arms. But when this also turned out disastrously to him, owing to the superiority of the Greek forces, he made overtures for peace (971). The terms were as follows: The emperor promised to provide provisions for the army of Sviatoslav, which withdrew with the honours of war, and not to harass them with the Greek fire during the retreat; he also confirmed the old trading privileges of the Russian merchants.

A meeting of Sviatoslav and Tzimisces took place on the right bank of the Danube to ratify the settlement. Leo the Deacon has left us a description of his person.

Sviatoslav was of middle height, with blue eyes and thick eyebrows; his nose was flattish, his mouth hidden by a heavy moustache; his beard was scanty, and his head close shorn except for one lock hanging down on each side (a sign of his high birth); his neck rose like a column from his shoulders, and his limbs were well proportioned. His general aspect was gloomy and savage.

**End of
Russia's
Pagan Age** A gold ring, set with a ruby between two pearls, hung from one ear; his white tunic was only distinguished from those of his warriors by its cleanliness.

Sviatoslav now set out on his homeward journey. But the Pechenegs were already waiting on the Dnieper. The Greek chroniclers relate that Tzimisces had requested the Pechenegs to allow the Russian army to pass through without hindrance; but he would probably have done the exact opposite. With a wearied and exhausted army, whose ranks were being thinned by hunger, Sviatoslav went slowly homewards. He was slain by Kuria, the prince of the Pechenegs (973), who had his skull made into a drinking-vessel. Part only of Sviatoslav's army succeeded in making their way to Kiev. This was the end of the greatest hero of Old Russia. A soldier rather than a general or statesman, he was worshipped by his followers. He and Oleg strengthened and consolidated the Old Russian state. The Pagan age of Russia ends with Sviatoslav.

Sviatoslav's three sons were still minors when he divided his empire among them, and each of them was placed under a guardian. Jarapolk was sovereign in Kiev, Oleg in the country of the Drevlanes, Vladimir in Novgorod. Quarrels soon broke out; Oleg fell in battle; Vladimir fled to Scandinavia; Jarapolk thus remained sole ruler. But Vladimir came back with numerous Varagian mercenaries, defeated Jarapolk and besieged him in Rodna. When Jarapolk surrendered, at the demand of his brother, and was on the way to Vladimir, he was murdered by two Varagians at the door of the presence-chamber.

**The Hero
Vladimir
on the Throne** Vladimir thus assumed the government in 977. He, too, was a hero, fought many wars, and conquered numerous tribes. His importance, however, does not lie in this, but in the Christianising of the Russians, which was completed by him.

Merchants had long since brought the Christian doctrines from Byzantium to Russia ; several churches already existed in Kiev and elsewhere, and the Christian faith in Russia was free and unmolested. When Olga received baptism, in 957, there was already a considerable Christian community in Kiev. Tradition relates

**Vladimir
Adopts the
Greek Faith**

that the Jews, the Mohammedans, the Romans, and the Byzantines had tried to win Vladimir over to their faith. He is said to have sent, by the advice of his Boyars and city elders, envoys into every country, who were to report from their own experience on the value of the different religions. Ten men thus started out, first to the Bulgarians, then to the Germans, lastly to Byzantium. The service in the splendid church of St. Sophia at Byzantium made the best impression on them. This decided the adoption of the Greek faith. Vladimir had indeed no other choice. Unless he made some violent breach with the past, he was bound to establish the Byzantine religion, which was already widely spread in the country, as the national religion.

The decision was taken, as had been the case with the Franks or the Bulgarians, during a campaign. Vladimir, as an ally of the emperor, vowed to become a Christian if he should take Kherson. Christians were already strongly represented in his army. When, then, the town surrendered, he sent to the Emperors Basil II. and Constantine VIII., and asked the hand of their sister Anna. His request was granted on the condition that he would consent to be baptised. Vladimir is said to have attributed the defeats of his great father to the mighty God of the Christians, just as the Byzantines thanked at one time St. Demetrius, at another St. Theodorus Stratilates, for their victories. Vladimir now, therefore, put the Christian God to the proof before

**The Christian
God Put
to the Test**

Kherson, just as Constantine and Clovis had done in similar crises, and since the result was favourable, he decided to adopt the Christian doctrine. He was, therefore, baptised in 988 in Kherson. The Byzantines conferred on him new royal insignia and the title of *Basileus*, which he at once inscribed on his gold and silver coins. He returned to Kiev, after founding another church in Kherson. The Russian chronicle tells us what a

marvellous change was then accomplished in the character of Vladimir. Formerly a bloodthirsty barbarian, he had once wished to revive the service of the old gods to whom he owed his victory over Jarapolk. He commanded a Perun of wood with a silver head and golden beard to be erected on a hill in the vicinity of his palace at Kiev, and then images of Chors, Dashbog, Stribog, Simargla and Mokosh. Two Christian Varagians were sacrificed to Perun, since the father refused to surrender to the pagan priests his son, on whom the sacrificial lot had fallen. Vladimir had been an unbridled voluptuary. Besides five lawful wives, he had three hundred concubines in Wyszgorod, 300 in Belgorod, and 200 in the village of Berestow near Kiev.

But after the adoption of Christianity he became a changed man. The idols were cast down, and, amid the tears of their worshippers, were partly hacked to pieces, partly burnt. He ordered the Perun, which was most highly revered, to be fastened to the tail of a horse ; twelve men then belaboured it with sticks and hurled it

**Vladimir
Destroys
His Idols**

into the river. The spot is even now pointed out where the "downfall of the devil" was consummated. Men were posted along the shore to push back into the water the stranded god and to keep off the wailing pagans.

Vladimir then issued a proclamation that any man, whether rich or poor, who did not come to the river bank on the next morning would be considered his enemy. The next day he went to the Dnieper accompanied by the priests. The people stepped into the water and were baptised in crowds. Many followers of the old gods escaped into the steppes or the woods ; centuries elapsed before Russia was entirely Christian. Under the direction of the Greeks he started a school at Kiev. Even this encountered difficulties ; Vladimir, indeed, was compelled to send many children away from school back to their homes, because their parents regarded writing as a dangerous form of witchcraft.

Kiev, where there was already a bishopric, was now made the see of a metropolitan, and several new bishoprics were founded. The first metropolitan, Michael, came from Constantinople ; even in later times the bishops and metropolitans were mostly Greeks, seventeen out of twenty-three, down to the Mongol invasion



THE CHURCH OF ST. SOPHIA, BUILT IN 1037



VIEWS OF THE CHURCHES OF ST. ANDREW AND ST. VLADIMIR



THE BEAUTIFUL MONASTERY OF ST. MICHAEL

THE ANCIENT AND ROYAL CITY OF KIEV: "THE RIVAL OF CONSTANTINOPLE"

of 1240. The first priests are said to have been Bulgarians. It was not until later that the schools provided for their own rising generation.

Vladimir was completely changed. He remained loyal to his Greek wife, distributed his income to the churches and the poor, and no longer took pleasure in wars.

A Great Step in Russian History In contrast to his previous severity the prince was now mild; he was reluctant, from fear of sin, to enforce death penalties, and, since brigandage was largely on the increase, had to be urged by the bishops to reintroduce the old laws. In all probability, he, like the Emperor Otto III. and Duke Boleslav I. Chabis, had been influenced by the idea of the millennium, and believed that the end of the world would come in the year 1000. He was passionately fond of relics, and came back from Kherson with a rich store of them. He is worshipped in the Russian Church as a saint, and was named Isapostolos, or the Apostle-like.

Although Christianity was only superficially grafted upon national life and was so adapted to Pagan customs and ideas that it was closely interwoven with the old popular religion, nevertheless the conversion was decisive for Russia. By the adoption of the Greek faith it entered into the communion of the Greek Church and into the intellectual heritage of the Greek world, and by so doing was distinctly opposed to the Roman Church and Western civilisation. This step decided the place of Russia in the history of the world. Henceforward Russia shares the fortunes of the Oriental Church, and partly those of the Byzantine Empire. Byzantium had gained more by the conversion of Russia than it could have ever won by force of arms; Russia became in culture and religion a colony of Byzantium without thereby losing political independence. We must not overlook the fact that Byzantium then was the foremost

What Russia Gained from Byzantium

civilised nation, from which all Western Europe had much to learn. Byzantine Christianity brought inestimable advantages to the Russian people—a language for church services, which was understood by all and enriched the vernacular with a host of new words; and an independent church, which promoted culture and at the same time was considered politically as a common focus for all parts of Russia.

Priests and bishops brought books from New Byzantium and disseminated the art of writing. These were followed by architects, builders, scholars, artists and teachers. Splendid edifices rapidly arose in Russia. Kiev with its countless churches was soon able to vie with Byzantium. Vladimir founded a school for the training of the priests. Monasteries were built, which carried culture into distant countries. It was the national church which helped the Russians to impress a Slavonic character on alien races.

The union with Byzantium had, it is true, some disadvantages; but these were not apparent for centuries. After the thirteenth century Byzantine culture retrograded, and Russia suffered the same fate as her instructress. The hatred of the West, which Russia inherited from Byzantium, was transformed, at a period when the Western civilisation stood high, into a hatred of culture. Russia was thus condemned to a sort of stagnation. But it can hardly be asserted with justice that Russia suffered any detriment because in days of danger it could not reckon on support from Rome. It is true that Rome was for many centuries the foremost power, but was she able to save Palestine?

The Fate of Eastern Europe

Russia shared the fate of Byzantium, because that was the fate of all Eastern Europe, which, lying on the frontier of Asia, suffered much from Asiatic hordes. Russia and Byzantium were like breakwaters erected against the waves of Asiatic immigration. That was the drawback of the geographical position. Even the line of states which lay further back, Poland and Hungary, had been partly drawn into the same vortex. Only the states westward of this dividing wall were able to develop their civilisation unhindered.

Since Russia entered fully into the field of Greek thought, it adopted those peculiar conditions which resulted as a consequence of the relations of Church to State in Byzantium. Rome aimed at ecclesiastical absolutism and world-sovereignty. The papacy was not content with a position subordinate to, or even parallel with, the state, but insisted that the spiritual power ranked above the secular. This claim kindled in the West the struggle between the secular power and the Church, the struggle between Papacy and Empire. No such movement disturbed

the East. There the Church continued in that subordination to the state which had existed from the beginning. Hence the omnipotence of the State in Russia, although the Church at all times exercised great influence there. The sovereign could appoint or depose the bishops. Even the ecclesiastical dependence on Byzantium was rather a matter of tolerance and custom than an established right. If the sovereign did not find it agreeable to receive a bishop sent from Byzantium, he substituted another.

The inner change which was worked in Vladimir was in one respect disadvantageous for the empire; there was a loss of energy. In the year 992 Vladimir came into conflict with the Pechenegs on the southern frontier near Perejaslav. A single combat was to decide the day. After a fierce struggle a young Russian succeeded in throttling with his own hands the giant champion of the Pechenegs. In order to protect the country against further attacks, Vladimir established a line of defence. There are indications that he entered into alliances with

**Vladimir
in Alliance
with Rome**

the West, above all with Rome, Germany, Poland and Bohemia. His son Sviatopolk married the daughter of Boleslav I. of Poland. Possibly there is some connection between this and the fact that Vladimir in 981 took possession of the Czerwenish towns of Halicz and Przemyśl—the later Red Russia—and thus pushed the western frontier of Russia as far as the Carpathians.

In the year 1000, Bruno of Querfurt, styled the Archbishop of the Heathen, came to him, being desirous to preach the Gospel to the wild Pechenegs. Vladimir employed him to negotiate a peace with the Pechenegs, and accompanied him to the frontier. The report which Bruno furnished in 1008 to the Emperor Henry II. gives us a good picture of Vladimir's character. He wrote: "After I had spent a full year among the Hungarians to no purpose, I went amongst the most terrible of all heathen, the Pechenegs. The lord of the Russians (Vladimir), ruler of a wide territory and great riches, detained me for a month, tried to deter me from my purpose, and was solicitous about me, as if I was one who wantonly desired to rush upon destruction. . . . But since he could not move me from my purpose, and since, besides that, a vision concerning

my unworthy self frightened him, he accompanied me with his army for two days to the furthest boundary of his kingdom, which he had surrounded with an exceedingly strong and long palisade. He dismounted; I and my companions went ahead, while he followed with the chief men of his army. Thus we passed

**Mission to
the Wild
Pechenegs**

through the gate. He took his station on one hill, we on another. I myself carried the cross, which I embraced with my arms, and sang the well-known verse, 'Peter, if thou lovest Me, feed My sheep.'

"When the antiphone was finished, the prince sent one of his nobles to us with the following message: 'I have escorted thee to the spot where my land ends and that of the enemy begins. I beseech thee in God's name not to grieve me by forfeiting thy young life; I know that to-morrow before the third hour thou wilt have to taste the bitterness of death without cause and without gain.'

I sent the following answer back to him: 'May God open paradise to thee, as thou hast opened to us the way to the heathen!' We then started, and went two days, and no one did us any harm. On the third day—it was a Friday—we were thrice, at daybreak, noon, and at the ninth hour, brought to execution with bowed neck, and yet each time came out from among the army of the enemy unscathed. On Sunday we reached a large tribe, and a respite was accorded to us until special messengers had summoned the whole tribe to a council. At the ninth hour of the next Sunday we were haled to the meeting. . . . Then a vast multitude rushed upon us . . . and raised a terrible outcry. With a thousand axes and swords they threatened to hew us to pieces. . . . The elders at length tore us forcibly from their hands. They listened to us, and recognised in their wisdom that we had come to them with good intentions. So

**Converts
to
Christianity**

we stayed for five months with that people, and travelled through three of their districts; we did not reach the fourth, but envoys from their nobles came to us. When some thirty souls had been won for Christianity, we concluded for the acceptance of the king a peace such as they thought no one save we would have been able to conclude. 'This peace,' they said, 'is concluded through thee. If, as thou promisest, it is lasting, we are willing

all to become Christians; but if the prince does not loyally adhere to it, we must then think about war, not Christianity.' With this object I went back again to the prince of the Russians, who for God's sake was contented therewith, and gave his son as hostage. We, however, consecrated one of our number to be bishop,

Vladimir and placed him, together with
Among his son, in the middle of the
the Saints land. Thus Christian order now prevails among the most cruel and wicked nation of heathens that dwells on the face of the globe." This important letter, which is also the only contemporary account of Vladimir, unfortunately breaks off here. St. Bruno was probably master of some one Slavonic language.

According to the later chroniclers, Vladimir was much beloved by his people. The tradition records with especial pleasure how every week he banqueted with his Druzina and the elders of the city of Kiev. He is celebrated in historical ballad as a sun-god, and called the beautiful red sun of Russa (*krasnoje solnyszko*). The Church reckoned him amongst her saints.

Vladimir died in 1015. Some considerable time probably before his death he had divided his empire among his sons after the following method: Sviatopolk received Turow; Isjaslav, Polock; Boris, Rostow; Gleb, Murom; Sviatoslav, the country of the Drevlanes; Wsevolod, Volhynia; Mstislav, Tmutorokan. Whether or how he disposed of Kiev we are not told. In any case, the quarrel about it broke out immediately after his death. The Druzina had wished for one of the sons of the Greek princess Anna. But Boris, like his brother Gleb, was absent, and the power was seized by Sviatopolk, the son-in-law of Boleslav of Poland, who happened to be on the spot, although an attempt was made to keep secret the death of the father until the arrival of Boris. The latter himself resigned the sovereignty in favour of his elder brother, but nevertheless was assassinated together with Gleb and Sviatoslav. Boris and Gleb were worshipped as holy martyrs, and many churches bear their names.

The other brothers were now seized with panic. Jaroslav of Novgorod marched at once against Sviatopolk,

defeated the "godless" sinner at Lubetch and forced him to fly to Poland. Jaroslav then remained in Kiev; for Sviatopolk, although reinstated in 1017 by Boleslav of Poland—who took this opportunity to conquer Przemyśl in 1018—could not maintain his position. Jaroslav had yet another war to face with Mstislav of Tmutorokan. With the help of the Kasoges, Khazars and Seweranes Mstislav insisted upon a new partition of the empire in 1023; he received the whole country east of the Dnieper, with a residence in Tchernigov. Jaroslav's rule was important for the development of Russia. We notice especially a coolness in the relations with the Varangians, who began to be troublesome and, indeed, dangerous to him. Between them and the Novgorodians there were frequent and sanguinary riots. Jaroslav supported the latter, and sent the Varangians out of the land, as Vladimir had tried to do in 980. Thus the Varagian age of Russia ends with Jaroslav.

Russia already appears as a large Slavonic commonwealth, with a policy of its own

Kiev the and a consciousness of nation-
Admiration ality. And, as if the wars
of the West with Byzantium had formerly been due merely to Varagian influences, the last occasion when Russia and the empire came into collision occurred under Jaroslav. The *casus belli* was a quarrel between Russian merchants and Byzantines. The punitive expedition with which Jaroslav entrusted his son Vladimir in 1043 ended disastrously, once more in consequence of the devastating effect of the Greek fire. Part only of the Russian army was able to rally and inflict a defeat on the pursuing Greeks.

Jaroslav, though no hero in the style of Sviatoslav, still knew how to handle the sword. He struck the Pechenegs such a blow that they no longer ventured to attack Russia; their name soon disappeared. Their rôle was taken over, however, by another wild people, the Polowzes, whom we already know as Kumanes. In the west, also, Jaroslav fought with Lithuanians, Jatvinges, and Masovians, and helped his son-in-law Casimir of Poland to win back the empire.

Kiev reached the zenith of its grandeur under Jaroslav and excited the admiration of the West; among its churches, which were said to number 400, that of St. Sophia with its splendid mosaics was

THE BEGINNING OF THE RUSSIAN NATION

conspicuous. The city with its eight markets was the rendezvous of merchants from Byzantium, Germany, Scandinavia, Hungary and Holland; flotillas of merchantmen furrowed the waters of the Dnieper.

Jaroslav founded monasteries, for instance, the Crypt Monastery at Kiev, which was destined to become a seminary of culture for Russia. Himself acquainted with writing, he took an interest in schools, and founded one in his beloved Novgorod for 300 boys. He had not artists enough to decorate all the churches, nor priests enough to provide for divine service. He

Jaroslav enjoyed a high reputation among his contemporaries. He formed connections by marriage with the royal houses of Norway, Poland, Hungary and France, and was in request as an ally. The Russian people called him the Wise; the Scandinavian sagas have much to tell of him. If, however, the empire was to be preserved in its old grandeur the succession must be fixed in some way. In old times, when the state was governed in patriarchal style and the sovereign held a paternal authority, when the royal treasury was also the national treasury and the offices at the royal court were also



THE GRAND DUKE VLADIMIR MONOMACH

His government lasted from 1114 till 1125, and was marked by vigour and justice.

summoned Greek choristers from Byzantium to the capital, who were to instruct the Russian clergy. Adam of Bremen was justified, therefore, in calling Kiev the rival of Constantinople and the fairest ornament of Greece. Since Russia had hitherto no written laws, Jaroslav ordered the customary law to be noted down. This simple code contains little beyond a scale of penalties for various crimes, and a fixed table of fines; it does not mention death sentences or corporal punishments. Nevertheless, it was a promising preliminary step. The first ecclesiastical laws for Russia were also put into writing under Jaroslav.

state offices—when, that is, the empire was considered the private property of the monarch, family law was identical with public law, and the sovereign had the control of the kingdom as much as of his own goods and chattels. And just as, according to the civil law of the time, every child had a claim to a part of the paternal or family property, so every member of the reigning house had a claim to a share of the kingdom.

Since, then, according to Germano-Slavonic custom, the eldest of the tribe or of the family administered affairs within the family circle, so in the empire the

younger members were pledged to obey the eldest. This was the so-called "right of seniority." Russia had long been ruled on this principle. The custom had grown up there since the days of Olga that the eldest should have his home in Kiev, while the younger sons lived elsewhere, and were in some sense his subjects. Sviato-

**Jaroslav
Prepares
for Death** slav had divided the kingdom among his sons on this principle, only reserving for himself the title of grand duke.

According to the Russian Chronicle, Jaroslav, foreseeing his death, made the following arrangements: "Isjaslav, your eldest brother, will represent me and reign in Kiev. Subject yourselves to him as you have subjected yourselves to your father. I give to Sviatoslav, Tchernigov, to Wsewolod, Perejaslav, to Wjatshelev, Smolensk. Igor, the youngest, receives Vladimir with Volhynia. Let each be content with his share; if not, then shall the elder brother sit in justice over you as lord. He will defend the oppressed and punish the guilty." By this arrangement Jaroslav had merely acted according to the ancient custom. How far the privileges went which customary law gave to the "eldest" is shown by the expression current at that time; the younger rode at the rein of the elder; he had him as master, stood at his orders, and looked up to him. The grand duke, whose seat was in Kiev, was lord over all Russia; he disposed of vacant principalities, and was the supreme judge and commander-in-chief.

The innovation introduced by Jaroslav probably consisted only in clearly defining the order in which the younger princes should be promoted after the death of the grand duke. The territories, which he assigned to his sons according to their respective age and rank, formed the following scale: Kiev I., Tchernigov II., Perejaslav III., Smolensk IV., Vladimir V. The royal throne was

**The Stormy
Path to
the Throne** only to be reached by proceeding from V. to I. If a junior prince died before the elder, and therefore without having reached Kiev, his sons also remained excluded from the grand ducal title. Thus the son of Vladimir of Novgorod, Rotislav, was forced to abandon any prospect of reaching Kiev. The princes who were thus from the first precluded from advancing, since their fathers had not been grand dukes, were

called Isgoji. But the weakness of the law lay in this very point; for those who were set aside felt the injustice of it, and had recourse to arms. Parties were formed which were bitter foes to each other.

The position of the grand duke at the same time was not strong enough to ensure order. His power rested on the idea of a paternal authority which was deficient in any true basis of power; he had, in fact, only obtained one share, like the others. If he wished to enforce the right of seniority, he was compelled to look out for alliances. And since self-interest usually outweighs patriotism, Russia was plunged into long years of civil war through the increasing numbers of the royal house. Subsequently many petty principalities, which were unceasingly at war with each other, sprang up side by side in Russia, since the legal arrangement was broken down by unforeseen contingencies. The root of the evil is to be found in that defective legislation and in the large increase of the Rurikoviches.

Thus the heroic age ended with Jaroslav. Russia, parcelled out into numerous provinces, its strength sapped by prolonged civil wars, soon sank from the pinnacle which it had reached in its days of prosperity. Perhaps for this reason tradition has shed a flood of glory round the last prince and despot of the old era.

**Russia's
Heroic Age
at an End** The very first successor of Jaroslav, the Grand Duke Isjaslav, whom his father had placed on the throne at Kiev during his lifetime, could not maintain his position. The people of Kiev banished him and raised to the throne a prince who stood outside the prescribed order of succession. A hot dispute soon broke out which was destined to last for centuries. Not a single Russian prince was ashamed to invoke, in case of need, the help of Poles, Germans, Lithuanians, Hungarians, or even Polovzes. The first appeal for help was to the Polish duke Boleslav II. the Bold, who conquered Kiev in 1069, as Boleslav I. had once done, and for the first time sacked the city. Soon, however, the threatened Isjaslav was compelled once more to give way, and his renewed appeals to the Poles for help were futile. Then in 1075 he made overtures to the Emperor Henry IV.; but the embassy of the latter failed to obtain any results in Kiev. Isjaslav, in order to leave no stone unturned, actually sent his son,

Jaropolk, to Rome to Pope Gregory VII. (a course which was followed later by his second son, Sviatopolk, grand duke from 1093 to 1114).

If we reflect that the Investiture struggle was then at its height, and that the rift between Rome and the Greek Church was now too wide to be bridged, we must from the Russian standpoint condemn the conduct of Isjaslav in offering for sale in every market the honour of his country. He had not been able to induce Little Poland or Germany to lend him any help without some return, and he now went to Rome and professed himself to be a vassal of the papal chair. The Pope in gratitude nominated his son Jaropolk to be his successor. Had that nomination been accepted, a hereditary monarchy would at one stroke have been created in Russia, certainly to the country's advantage. But Isjaslav never came to the throne.

Hitherto there had not been wanting a supply of able princes and heroes of the old stamp; but they destroyed each other. Everyone knew that this meant the ruin of Russia; but no one was willing or able to prevent it. Vladimir Monomach, the son of that Wsewold to whom, according to the distribution made by Jaroslav, the district of Perejaslav was assigned, was a man of gentle character, religious and just, but at the same time brave and shrewd. He always endeavoured to settle disputes by pacific methods, and pointed out the great ravages caused by the Polovzes. The princes finally concluded a peaceful alliance, when they met in 1097 at Lubetch by Tchernigov on the Dnieper. The source of the evil was seen to lie in the proviso that the princes, since they moved from one country to another, gradually approaching Kiev, never felt at home anywhere, but neglected their principalities. It was, therefore, decided that every Rurikovich should continue to hold his father's share. All kissed the cross of peace, and promised to defend the country, one and all, against the Polovzes.

But the rule of succession, which had become in Lubetch the law of the land, did not put an end to the civil wars. David of Volhynia, the son of Igor and grandson of Jaroslav, was at enmity with Volodar of Terebowla and Vassilko of Przemyśl, the sons of Rotislav. The princes had hardly separated when the Grand Duke Sviatopolk, in consequence of the hints of

David, enticed Vassilko to Kiev, and then surrendered him to David, who put out his eyes. The princes once more assembled in 1100 at Uwjatyci on the Dnieper, and concluded a new peace; the chief agent this time, also, was Vladimir Monomach. He was Grand Duke from 1114 to 1125, and conducted the government with vigour and justice.

**Monomach's
Letter
of Counsel**

A letter which Vladimir wrote to Oleg of Tchernigov is still extant, as also his will, some of the chief sentences of which deserve to be quoted. "Since my end is near, I thank the All Highest that he has prolonged my days. . . . Praise the Lord, dear children, and love also your fellow-men. Neither fasting, nor solitude, nor monasticism will save you, but good deeds alone. . . . Do not always have the name of God on your lips; but if you have strengthened an oath by kissing the cross, beware of breaking it. . . . Look diligently yourselves after everything in your households, and do not trust to retainers and servants, or the guests will speak evil of your house. Be strenuous in war, setting a model to your voivodes. . . . When you travel through your country, suffer not your vassals to molest the people, but where you halt, give your meat and drink to your hosts. Above all, honour your guests, noble and lowly, merchants and ambassadors; if ye cannot give them presents, make them content at least with food and drink. For guests spread good and evil report of us in foreign lands. . . . Love your wives, but be not governed by them. . . . Keep in mind the good which ye hear, and learn that which ye do not know. My father could speak in five languages. . . . Man ought always to be occupied. When you are journeying on horseback, and have no business to transact, do not give way to idle thoughts, but repeat some prayer which you have learnt; if no other occurs to you, then the shortest and best, 'Lord have mercy upon me.' Never go to sleep without having bowed your head to the earth; but if you feel ill, bow yourselves thrice to the earth. Let the sun never find you in bed! Go early into the church to offer your matins to God; my father did so, and so did all good men. . . . After doing that they sat in council with the Druzina, or administered justice or rode to the chase. But at noon

they lay down to sleep; for God hath fixed noontide as a time of rest not only for men, but also for four-footed creatures and for birds. Thus, too, hath your father lived. I have always done personally that which I might have employed my servants to do. . . . I myself exercised supervision over the church and

The Fighting Record of Monomach divine worship, over the household, the tables, the chase, the hawks and the falcons. I have fought in eighty-three campaigns altogether, not reckoning the unimportant ones. I concluded nineteen treaties of peace with the Polovzes. I took prisoners more than a hundred of their noblest princes and afterwards released them; more than two hundred I executed and drowned in the rivers. Who has travelled quicker than I? If I started in the morning from Tchernigov, I was in Kiev before vespers. . . . I loved the chase, and your uncle and I have often captured wild beasts together. How often have I been brought to the ground . . . but the Lord hath preserved me. Therefore, dear children, fear neither death nor battle nor wild beasts. Be men, whatever be the destiny that God intends for you! If divine providence has destined death for us, neither father nor mother nor brother can save us. Let the hope of man be in the protection of God alone." When Vladimir Monomach died, in 1125, "all the people wept," said his contemporary Nestor.

The number of the princes fighting for the possession of Kiev grew more and more, and the position of Russia became more and more desperate. South Russia in particular could never regain tranquillity and defend itself against the wild dwellers in the steppe. It was a fortunate circumstance indeed that inveterate feuds prevailed among these latter. The western tribes, the Torkes, Berendejans, and Pechenegs, which were called collectively Chornyje Klobuki (Black Caps), were mortal enemies of the Polovzes, and therefore sided with Russia and were settled in the country. They were soon assimilated with the Russian people, and thus brought a peculiar strain into the national characteristics of South Russia. These various nations of the steppe fought as allies of one Russian prince against others, until they all became Slavs. But as late as the sixteenth century

a tribe in the district of Skvirsh near Kiev called itself "Polovces."

The end of all this was the political and economic collapse of South Russia. A consequence of the same causes was that the princes who were excluded from the contest for Kiev shook themselves free from the supremacy of the grand duke there, and that totally independent principalities were formed. This was the case with Polock, Novgorod, Rostov, Turov, Pskov, Wjatka, and in the west with Halicz.

A powerful principality developed in the south-west of Russia, in the Dniester district. Vladimir, who had been entrusted by Jaroslav the Wise with the conduct of the campaign against Byzantium in 1043, and as prince of Novgorod had predeceased his father in 1052, had left a son, Rotislav. The latter, as the "Isgoj" [see above] having no claim to the throne of the grand duke, had to be content with Rostov. When, then, one of his uncles, Vjatcheslav of Smolensk, died, and the youngest uncle, Igor, advanced from Volhynia to Smolensk, Rotislav obtained Volhynia, while Rostov was defeated at Perejaslav. But

Poison Ends Rotislav's Adventures when Igor also died at Smolensk in 1060, and Rotislav indulged in hopes of advancing to Smolensk, and later eventually to Kiev, the uncles did not wish to make this fresh concession to him. The adventurous prince, therefore, went in 1064 with his Druzina in an oblique line from the extreme west of Russia to the farthest eastern boundary, to Tmutorokan, and drove out the prince Gleb, the son of his uncle Sviatoslav of Tchernigov. As the nearest neighbour of the Byzantines, he aroused their alarm; a Katapan who was sent to him won his confidence and poisoned him in 1066.

Rurik, Volodar, and Vassilko, the sons of Rotislav, inherited a part of the Volhynian principality, Przemysl and Terebowla; these "Chervenian towns," which had been conquered by Vladimir the Great in 981, and taken from him by Boleslav of Poland in 1018, had been won back by Jaroslav in 1031, at the time of the Polish disturbances. The Diet of Princes at Lubetch recognised their right to the towns. The efforts of the Igorid, David of Volhynia, to wrest this province from the Rotislaviches were unsuccessful. New bishoprics were formed here in the twelfth century, as, for example, in Przemysl (1120) and Halicz (about 1157).

Vladimirko, the son of Volodar, after the death of his father, his uncles, and his brother Rotislav of Przemyśl, united the whole country under his sceptre and made Halicz on the Dniester his capital. When he died in 1153 he left to his only son Jaroslav Osmomysl, who reigned until 1187, a principality stretching from the River San almost to the mouth of the Dniester. The Chronicle extols the wisdom and learning of this prince, who was a patron of culture and possessed a remarkable library. The principality of Halicz (Galicia) threatened to eclipse Kiev.

It fell to the lot of this principality, from its prominent position on the western frontier of Russia, to repel the attacks of the Hungarians under Bela III. and of the Poles, who were then torn by internal feuds. But under Vladimir, son of Osmomysl (about 1200), Roman of Volhynia, having been called in by Galician Boyars, won the country over to his side, and by this union of Volhynia with Halicz founded a dominion which was perhaps the most powerful among all the Russian

**Undisputed
Monarch of
All Russia**

states and larger than the existing Polish Empire. Roman had the throne of Kiev at his disposal, and fought with Poles, Lithuanians, and Hungarians. The Volhynian Chronicler calls him the undisputed monarch of all Russia. The expelled Vladimir sought refuge with the German Emperor. Innocent III., to whose ears the fame of Roman had come, sent an embassy to him, offering him the royal crown, and urged him to adopt Catholicism; he received, however, an unfavourable answer. The effect of the proximity of Hungary and Poland was that the Druzina of the prince, the nobility, was more prominent here than in other parts of Russia and influenced the destiny of the country. This tendency was suppressed by Roman. He is said to have ordered refractory Boyars to be quartered or buried alive. "In order to eat a honeycomb peacefully, the bees must be killed," was his favourite saying.

When Roman fell in 1205, at the battle of Zavichost, leaving behind him two infant sons, Daniel and Vassilko, interminable wars for the possession of the country broke out, and princes were tortured and hanged. Poles and Hungarians took advantage of these disturbances to seize the country. Koloman, a

son of the Hungarian king Andreas II., having married the Polish princess Salome, was placed on the throne of Halicz. Daniel had reconquered it in 1229 by dint of great efforts, and did not succeed in winning back his whole inheritance until 1239. He then chose Cholm for his residence. The estrangement of the north-west was fraught

with disastrous consequences for Russia. The princes of Polock in the region watered by the Niemen and the Dwina were too weak to protect themselves, first from the Swedes and Germans, and then from the Lithuanians. It was the weakening of this region which rendered the rise of a strong Lithuanian state possible.

Novgorod also aimed at independence, but had to suffer much from the wars about Kiev. The ruling body there was the assembly of citizens (*wece*), not prince or Boyars. Novgorod was an important industrial centre and greatly influenced the history of the northern Slavs and Finns. It was in fact the cradle of Russian history. The Novgorodians were once the first and only people to resist the Varangians, whom they ultimately drove out of Russia. When Jaroslav the Wise, having been defeated by his brother Sviatopolk and the Poles, came to Novgorod and wished to cross the sea, the people of Novgorod broke up his boats, voluntarily laid a tax on themselves for war purposes, and forced him once more to resume hostilities with Sviatopolk.

Being victorious at their head, he held Novgorod in high honour, and is said to have granted a charter of privileges to the city in 1019. The people of Novgorod also always held his memory sacred. But in that busy trading town, with its hundred thousand or more inhabitants, no prince was able to exercise absolute authority, nor could any dynasty find a firm footing. The prince was obliged to take an oath that he would respect their rights and privileges. He could not pronounce any judicial sentence without the assistance of the municipal "Possadnik,"

**Princely Power
Restricted
in Novgorod**

and, above all, he could not bring a disputed cause before a foreign court. He could neither obtain any existing villages nor build any new ones within the municipal district. His revenue was accurately fixed.

The prince had, it is true, the right to summon the popular assemblies, which met in "the court of Jaroslav" at the

sound of the tocsin. But they were more powerful than he was ; for with his small Druzina, which neither belonged to the body of citizens nor could live in the centre of the district, he was totally unable to keep the great city in check. If the prince was guilty of any misconduct, he was impeached. If he did not give satisfaction "they said farewell to him and showed him his way." When Prince Vsevolod-Gabriel, who exchanged Novgorod with Perejaslav, came back in 1132, the Wece said to him : "Thou hast forgotten thy oath to die with us, and hast sought a new principedom for thyself ; go hence whither thou wilt." The popular assembly also

Far East. Independent Druzhines travelled in search of adventure, subjugated countries, and founded colonies, as, for instance, the subsequently important Free State of Vjatka, which, like Pskov also, was governed by its assembly of citizens. The Novgorodians were esteemed good seamen ; their merchants formed a guild of their own. Novgorod played the principal part in Slavonicising the north of Eastern Europe.

The congress of princes at Lubetch, which settled the hereditary provinces to be held by the princes, had assigned the Finnish territory round Rostov to the family of Monomach. Monomach founded



MARKET DAY IN THE OLD TOWN OF HALICZ ON THE DNIESTER

summoned new princes. The princes, for this reason, were reluctant to go to Novgorod. When an archbishopric was founded there in the twelfth century, the archbishop himself was chosen by the popular assembly, which naturally deposed him if there was anything against him. The Wece decided even matters of faith.

The town, therefore, proudly styled itself "sovereign, mighty Novgorod." It was full of churches and monasteries founded by private individuals. Since the soil was sandy, the town was forced to expand, colonise, and trade far and wide, especially with Northern Europe and even with the

there on the Kliasma a town which bore his name, Vladimir. The son of Monomach, George Dolgoruki, was the first independent prince of Rostov. He soon attained his object of becoming Grand Duke in Kiev ; yet he cared more for his inheritance in the north, for Vladimir and Susdal. He removed thither the discontented population from the south ; he founded towns there, and, according to tradition, Moscow also, which is mentioned for the first time in 1147. His son Andrew Bogolubski, who became ruler in 1157, took no further interest in the south, since Kiev, he thought, had no future ; its title



HOLY MONASTERY OF THE ANNUNCIATION AND THE SIBERIAN WHARVES



THE TOWN UNDER WATER AS A RESULT OF FLOODS



NOVGOROD'S FAMOUS FAIR-CITY AS SEEN FROM THE WATER

VIEWS IN THE RUSSIAN CITY OF NIJNI NOVGOROD

of grand duke had been passed on from hand to hand eighteen times since 1125!

In the year 1169 he organised an alliance of eleven princes, at whose head he placed his son Mstislav. The latter took Kiev by storm after three days' siege and allowed it to be sacked mercilessly. A great impression was made on the whole country when the city, which was sacred in the eyes of every Russian, the mother of all Russian towns and the goal of the ambition of their princes, was captured by her own sons; many believed that the end of Russia had come.

Vanished Glory of Kiev

The glory and importance of Kiev were ended. Andrew assumed, it is true, the grand ducal title, but sent to Kiev his brother Gleb, who also bore the title of grand duke. Other heads of the princely families—those of Halicz, Smolensk, Tchernigov—equally assumed the title of grand duke. There was, however, no doubt that the Grand Duke of Susdal-Vladimir, the conqueror of Kiev, was the true master of Russia; Vladimir on the Kliasma was destined to become the centre of the empire.

George Dolgoruki and Andrew Bogolubski had a clear insight into the heart of the matter. They wished to found a strong princely power independent of the Boyars (Druzina) and the municipality, which in later years had often disposed of the crown in the south. Father and son, therefore, showed no mercy towards the Boyars. In the north there were mostly newcomers and colonists, who were bound from the outset to adapt themselves to the new conditions. The towns, too, were new, unimportant settlements, which became exactly what their founders wished them to become. Andrew had for this reason chosen as his residence in the district of Susdal neither Rostov nor Susdal with their old citizen assemblies, but the insignificant market town of Vladimir. An absolute monarchy was able to develop there which was capable of rescuing Russia from destruction. Andrew, it is true, was murdered by his Boyars in 1175; but his

successors resolutely carried out the policy of treating the Druzina merely as subjects.

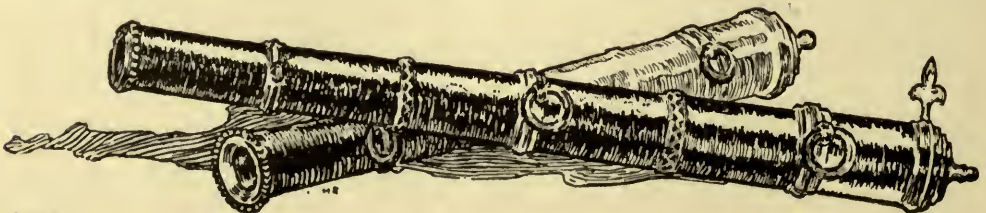
During the calamitous civil wars the consciousness of a common Russian mother country was kept alive less by the blood relationship of the reigning princes than by the Church. In the later period the glory of Kiev also was mainly based on the fact that the oldest churches were there, especially the famous subterranean monastery, where the bones of the saints reposed, and that the supreme metropolitan resided there. If, then, Vladimir on the Kliasma was to be a serious rival of Kiev, it must receive an archbishop and magnificent churches. The princes provided both these essentials. Vladimir soon possessed a golden gate, like that of Kiev, a tithe church, several monasteries, and beautiful buildings. At the sack of Kiev valuable images, church ornaments, books and bells had been carried off to Vladimir.

But the petition to the Patriarch of Constantinople to found an archbishopric in Susdal met with no immediate success. Otherwise the power of Susdal grew stronger from year to year. Vsevolod the Great, brother of Andrew, was feared throughout Russia. But quarrels again arose among his sons, until Constantine defeated the others. After his death, in 1217, his brother George II. became Grand Duke of Vladimir. He conquered the

The Founding of Nijni Novgorod

country of the Mordvins and founded in 1221 Nijni Novgorod, from 1350 to 1390 residence of the princes of Susdal, at the point where the Oka flows into the Volga.

In 1200 three forces in Russia were struggling for victory—the princes, the nobles, and the popular assembly (*wece*). The Boyars were victorious in Halicz, the citizens in Novgorod, Pskov, and Vjatka, and the princes in Susdal; in Kiev alone the three institutions existed side by side, collectively powerless. As an inevitable consequence, instead of only one, several political centres were formed side by side in Russia.





RUSSIA UNDER THE MONGOLS

THE DEGENERATING INFLUENCE OF THE TARTAR YOKE

RUSSIA had already been weakened by internal feuds, and now the greatest calamity that had ever befallen it burst on the country. In the year 1222 the Mongols appeared in the south, and first struck a blow at the Alans, who lived to the north of the Caucasus. Terrible tidings heralded their approach. Genghis Khan had united the Mongol tribes, had conquered and plundered Northern China, Kharismia, Bokhara, Samarkand, and Northern India, and was now filled with the idea of subduing Europe. He styled himself the Scourge of God, and the Asiatics, with their inborn fatalism, seldom dared to offer resistance.

The Alans allied themselves with the Polovzes; but the Mongols brought the Polovzes over to their side by bribes, and subjugated the Alans, and after that the faithless Polovzes. The latter appeared as fugitives in Russia. The princes of Southern Russia united their forces, and the Polovzes joined them, their khan, Basti, having accepted Christianity. They determined to anticipate the enemy and attack him in the steppe. Tartar envoys then appeared in their camp, ostensibly on account of the detested Polovzes. The Russians, in their infatuation, rejected the offer of peace and put the envoys to death; they had collected more than 80,000 men. A decisive battle was fought on June 16th, 1223, on the banks of the small river Kalka, which flows into the Sea of Azov.

Mongols' Gruesome Banquet The Polovzes fled at the very outset, and thus forced the Russians into a retreat which degenerated into a disastrous rout. Mstislav of Kiev defended himself for three days longer in his fortified camp, but finally, from over-confidence, fell into the hands of the Tartars; six princes and seventy Boyars were left on the field of battle. Mstislav and his two sons-in-law were suffocated under planks, and the Mongols celebrated the victory by a

banquet over their dead bodies. Hardly a tenth part of the army succeeded in escaping. "A vast host pressed on its heels, plundering, murdering, and sacking the towns," so the Arab Ibn al-Athir records; "many Russian merchants banded together, packed up their valuables, and sailed in many ships to Moham-medan countries." Genghis Khan suddenly turned back to Asia; Russia was saved. The great conqueror died in 1227, and was succeeded by his third son Ogdai. A resolution was passed by the general assembly of the empire at Karakorum in 1235 that Russia and Europe generally should be conquered, and the supreme command was given to Batu, a grandson of Genghis Khan. A Mongol army of 500,000 men, nominally, appeared in Russia in the year 1237. The Bulgarians on the Volga offered a feeble resistance, and their capital, Bulgar, was destroyed. The Mordvins, who were of Finnish stock, joined the Tartars and became their scouts. The enemy were soon before the gates of Riasan; by the help of powerful siege-engines they took the town after five days' storming, on December 21st, and a terrible massacre ensued. The Grand Duke of Vladimir had gone northwards before the battle, but was soon overtaken and killed; Vladimir, which was defended by his sons Vsevolod and Mstislav, had already fallen on February 14th, 1238.

The whole principality of Susdal was plundered, and Kolomna, Moscow, Volo Kolamsk, Tver and Torchok were reduced to ashes. Batu was now close to Novgorod when a thaw prevented any further advance of the Mongols. On their way back they captured Kose-lok after a gallant resistance of seven weeks. In the winter of 1239 Batu marched against South Russia; the task of conquest was rendered easier for him

by the persistent feuds of the Russian princes. Daniel of Halicz seized Kiev, which he ordered his Boyar Dmitri to defend, but the latter's stubborn courage was ineffectual against the superior force. Kiev fell on December 6th, 1240, and was ruthlessly sacked; even the tombs were not spared. Batu spared the life of the brave

**Russia in
the Hands of
the Tartars**

Dmitri, an unprecedented act of grace, and kept him by his side as a military adviser. He then conquered Halicz; Novgorod alone still held out. In the higher arts of war the Russians were inferior to the Mongols, who were always mounted; the latter even employed a sort of Greek fire. Poland, Hungary, and other neighbouring kingdoms were filled with Russian fugitives. Counter measures were discussed everywhere, in Rome, Hungary, Bohemia and Germany. Men's thoughts turned to Gog and Magog, the mythical destroyers, whose appearance would signify the end of the world. Louis IX. of France made ready for a crusade.

The Tartar storm then raged over Poland, Moravia and Dalmatia. Suddenly the Asiatic tide ebbed. Russia alone remained Tartar. The fugitive princes returned, but as Tartar vassals. Attempts were begun to make the pillaged towns once more habitable, and the ruins were partially rebuilt. But the country was depopulated; men were required and they were chiefly taken from the more densely populated west. From this time dates the movement of German colonists towards the east.

Batu had long since established on the Volga an empire, almost independent of the Great Khan, called Kiptchak, or the Golden Horde, with Sarai as capital, and was now occupied with its organisation. The national code was the Yasa or customary law drawn up by Genghis Khan, which recognised only the penalty of death and corporal punishment. The oath of loyalty was taken bareheaded, kneeling and with loosened girdle.

**The Grandeur
of the
Khan Batu**

A strict ceremonial distinguished the khan from the people. Before any man approached him, he had to pass between two fires, since poison or other dangerous things, which he might have on his person, would thus, it was supposed, be rendered harmless. No one might speak with the khan except when kneeling,

and frequently a veil was thrown over the visitor that he might not look on the face of the khan.

John de Plano Carpini, who was received in audience by Batu as ambassador of Pope Innocent IV., records: "Batu keeps a splendid court; his army numbers 600,000 men. His brothers, sons, and grandees sit below him on a bench in the middle, all others on the bare ground—men on the right, women on the left. . . . We, too, when we had delivered our message, seated ourselves on the left, as all ambassadors do; but we were placed on the right. . . . Batu never drinks in the presence of people without singing and zither-playing. When he rides, an umbrella is held over his head, as is the custom of all Tartar princes and their wives."

The residence of the khan was called Orda, hence "horde." The nation was divided on a military system into groups of tens, hundreds and thousands. A tuman, or body of ten thousand, constituted a separate province. The subject peoples had only to pay taxes, and were not under any other obligation. The

**Russian
Princes Under
Subjection**

receiver-general of taxes was called baskak (later, equivalent to extortioner or oppressor). Plano Carpini tells us that one such baskak carried off one son out of every family which had three; the same thing occurred with the unmarried men, women and all beggars. A list was made of the remaining inhabitants, and a tax levied on every human being, new-born babes of a day old included; from each a black or white bearskin, a black beaver, a sable, a marten, and a black fox. Those who could not pay were carried off into slavery.

The Russian princes were required to make personal suit to the khan that he would confirm their rank. Thus Batu summoned the Grand Duke Jaroslav of Vladimir, who had succeeded his brother George II., to appear before him at Sarai with all his family. Jaroslav was further forced to go to the Great Khan at Karakorum; there he met Plano Carpini. Jaroslav died in the desert on his way home, either from exhaustion or from poison, which he is supposed to have drunk at the court of the Great Khan (1246). The adventurous Minorite saw in the Kirghiz steppes the dried bones of the Boyars of the grand duke, who had perished of thirst in the desert. It was



GENERAL VIEW OF MOSCOW, LOOKING NORTH



THE KREMLIN—MOSCOW'S ACROPOLIS—SURROUNDED BY ITS GREAT WALL



THE CITY AS SEEN FROM THE KREMLIN

SCENES IN MOSCOW, THE ANCIENT CAPITAL OF RUSSIA

necessary, in order to be successful, to spend large sums on "presents" to Tartar princes, favourites and women. The unhappy Russian princes had also to face the machinations of their own people.

Daniel of Halicz, far from paying any tribute, fortified his towns and sought an alliance with the Pope after 1246.

Severe Measures of the Great Khan

But in 1250 a message came from the khan, that he was to give up Halicz. Being inadequately prepared for resistance, he went thither and humbled himself by drinking the black mare's milk (kumiss) and prostrating himself before the "great princess." He was dismissed after twenty-five days, and received Halicz back again as a fief. He nevertheless renewed his negotiations with Innocent IV., and promised to subordinate his Church to him; he received papal legates, by whom he was crowned king in 1254. But as the crusade was preached in vain, he once more broke off his relations with Rome. He was then compelled at the command of the Great Khan to raze his fortresses, and from dire necessity he bore the Tartar yoke until his death, which occurred at Cholm in 1266.

Alexander, son of Jaroslav, who had driven out the Germans, and in 1240 had conquered the Swedes on the Neva (hence the honourable title of Newskij) was then established in Novgorod. Innocent IV. sent two cardinals in 1251 to win him over to the Roman Church, but in vain. Alexander, on the other hand, went in 1254 to Sarai, accompanied by his brother Andrew, and thence to Karakorum; the journey lasted three full years. He must have obtained an overpowering impression of the Mongol power; henceforward he remained loyal to the Tartars, and even fought with his own brother Andrew on their behalf. Only a united Russia could have resisted. Batu Khan died in 1256. His son

The Hated Baskaks in Novgorod

Sertak, who was devoted to Christianity, soon followed him to the grave, probably owing to poison, and Batu's brother Berkai (or Bereke) now mounted the throne (1257). He instituted a general census and taxation throughout Russia. The hated Baskaks now appeared for the first time in Novgorod. The popular assembly was convened. The Possadnik addressed the meeting, but when he counselled submission, the people killed him.

Alexander's own son reproached his father for imposing servitude on free men. It was with the greatest difficulty that the prince induced the defiant population to allow themselves finally to be registered. In the year 1262 the towns of Vladimir, Susdal, and Rostov revolted against the Baskaks. Alexander hurried with presents to the khan, but was nevertheless detained for a year. He died on the journey home on November 14th, 1263, in consequence of his privations.

A change was then produced in the life of the Tartar people. They could not permanently disregard the influence of a higher culture. Rome made great efforts to win them by missions, especially since the Mongol world, by the destruction of Bagdad in 1258, had proclaimed itself hostile to Islam. The two recently founded orders of Franciscans and Dominicans gained a name in the Church history of the East, and undertook in particular the task of converting the Tartars. John de Plano Carpini the Minorite was not the last who sought to win the Tartar khan for the Roman faith.

The Greek Church also was not without influence. Some great khans were superficially followers of Christianity.

Kuyuk (1246-1248) had a Christian chapel near his palace; Kublai (1260-1294) regularly attended the celebration of the feast of Easter. A Greek bishopric was founded in Sarai itself. The Mongol rulers were thoroughly tolerant. Plano Carpini saw, in the camp of the Great Khan, Christians, Greek priests, and a Christian church. The Franciscan William of Rubruquis describes how Mangu Khan in 1254 arranged a discussion between the representatives of various beliefs; Christians, Mohammedans, and heathen performed their acts of worship in his presence. Priests and monks were exempt from the poll-tax; the jurisdiction of the Greek Church was confirmed; sacrilege was punishable with death. The monasteries within the dominions of the formerly abused Mongols increased in numbers and wealth.

An event of great significance then occurred; Berkai Khan turned his attention to Islam. The religious fanaticism of the Moslems then invaded Sarai, and prevented the fusion of the nations. It was one of the serious results of the miserable Fourth Crusade, which, by the



RUSSIAN SOVEREIGNS FROM 1281 TILL 1533

From a series of historic medals.

capture of Constantinople (1203) under conditions of revolting cruelty and by the partition of the empire, had crippled the power of the Greek Church and of Greek culture without aiding the West, that Mohammedanism was able to achieve so important a victory. A Byzantium of undiminished power would have all the more

The Mongols Adopt the Faith of Islam

certainly won the Tartars for the Orthodox faith, since the Greek form of worship impressed the Asiatics, and since their army, to the extent, perhaps, of three-fifths, consisted of Oriental Christians, owing to the thousands of prisoners made yearly. But a destroyed Byzantium commanded as little respect from the Tartars as the mutual hatred of the two "Christian" beliefs. The Mongols, therefore, adopted Islam, which from racial considerations at least appealed more closely to them and seemed to be politically more advantageous. The gulf between Europe and Russia was widened by the Mohammedan Tartars. Russia had now for the first time become a province of Asia in the true sense of the word.

The three centuries which Russia had spent under the Tartar yoke had determined its place in civilisation and its development. Hitherto it had stood, if not higher, at any rate not lower than many a Western state. But now its culture was so sapped and had sunk so low that, even at the present day, it has not completely recovered from the blow. The political situation, it is true, remained much in the same position; some princes were confirmed in their dominions, and self-government conceded to them.

But the excessive drain on the finances weighed so heavily on the country that it infallibly took from the people any desire to work. The humiliating treatment and the feeling of absolute impotence as regards the Great Khan could not but corrupt the ideas of the people,

Russia's National Pride Destroyed

destroy their national pride, and sap their moral fibre. This is noticeable even in the chroniclers of the Tartar age. When in the fifteenth century one prince put out the eyes of another, the Chronicle did not utter a word of blame, as it did when Vassilko was blinded. The Russian people had thus become accustomed to scenes of horror. And these outrages were a heavier burden and lasted longer than the economic downfall.

Even after half a century the widely spread influence of the Asiatic school could be felt. The son of Daniel of Halicz already kept a Tartar body-guard; the insubordination of the nobles cannot alone excuse this procedure. That same proud city of Novgorod, which had only submitted to the Baskaks with extreme reluctance, rejected Prince Michael in 1304 with the words: "We elected thee, indeed, but only on the condition that thou showest us the Jarlyk" (the warrant from the khan). Mongols were called in by Russian princes just as Pechenegs and Polovzes had been—to help them against their own people. Russians took part in the campaigns of the Tartars, who honourably gave them a share of the spoils.

The relations between Mongols and Russians rapidly became so much closer, that in the first half of the fourteenth century Tartar princes and nobles settled in Moscow. Many distinguished Russian families are of Tartar descent; but, on the other hand, we must not overlook the fact that the later Tartar immigrants were mostly descendants of Russian prisoners, so that

The Germs of Russia's Unification

we ought rather to speak of Slavonic blood among the Tartars than vice versâ. Russia would almost have got over the depression had not, from time to time, fresh outbursts of savage barbarism inflicted new wounds on the country. The keen wish for liberty was thus kept alive. Russia obtained some partial successes politically. Hostilities between Russian princes were forbidden, since no one dared to wage war without the consent of the khan. A still more important point was that the grand duke, as vassal of the dreaded Mongol, enjoyed elsewhere a greater reputation than had ever been the case. We may see in this fact the germs of the subsequent unification of Russia.

Under the Tartar supremacy the place of Vladimir (in the principality of Susdal) as the residence of the grand duke and the capital of Russia, was taken by Moscow, which lay to the west of it on the small river Moskva. The grand dukes, as Nikolai M. Karamsin justly observes, while assuming the modest title of servants of the khan, became gradually powerful monarchs. By this policy the way was paved for the rise of despotic power in Russia, and the princely house, in Moscow as formerly in Vladimir, had a definite aim before its eyes. They were responsible



The Soukareff Tower



Uspenskiy Cathedral, where tsars are crowned



The Cathedral of St. Basil, built in 1554



The House of the Romanovs



The Convent of Novo-Dievitchy, founded in 1521

HISTORIC PALACES AND CHURCHES OF MOSCOW

to the khan for the maintenance of public order in Russia, assumed, as general agents of the khan, the collection of taxes throughout Russia in order to be spared the torment of Tartar tax-gatherers, and thus were able to act unscrupulously towards their own subjects and other princes, and showed no mercy, since they received none themselves in Sarai. The other independent princes lost in prestige, and no less so the popular assemblies and the nobility. Everyone from fear of the Mongol bowed before the grand dukes of Moscow. They drew from the farming of the revenue not merely financial but also political strength. The Tartar tribute was exacted by Moscow even when it was not necessary to pay it to the Tartars, and the people paid it without murmuring. Thanks to this circumstance, Moscow had always large sums of money at its disposal, and Russia in this way grew accustomed by the fourteenth century to see in it the capital of the country.

These princes of Moscow of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries were unpleasing figures, harsh, selfish, and shrinking from no steps which led to power. It is a repugnant task in these modern times to read the accounts of the degradation and meanness of most of them in their dealings with the Mongols. But it was a political necessity. Lithuania and afterwards Poland were willing to form leagues with the Tartars against Russia, and actually did so. Only such unscrupulous, unfeeling, but diplomatic rulers as the Muscovites were, could have saved Russia in its helpless and desperate plight from the Mongols and other neighbouring nations.

The first known prince of Moscow was Michael the Bold (after 1248), younger brother of Alexander Nevski. The true founder of the principedom was Nevski's son, Daniel (1263-1303), who had received Moscow as an appanage. He increased his territory, founded convents, encouraged trade, and made a good waterway on the Moskva. When he died in 1303 he left to his sons George, Danilovitch (1303-1325), and Ivan (1328-1341) a compact territory, which they still further enlarged. George was the first who, after the death of the Grand Duke Andrew Alexandrovitch of Vladimir, came forward in 1304 as a

claimant of the grand ducal title; but his second uncle, Michael of Tver, had, as the eldest of the family, a better claim to it. Both went to their over-lord at Sarai, and tried to defeat each other by bribery and intrigues.

A civil war thus broke out between Moscow and Tver, which lasted almost thirty years, revealed startling depths of baseness, and cost the life of several princes. Moscow eventually won. George, who married in 1315 Kontchaka, the favourite sister of Uzbek Khan, became grand duke. Ivan I., surnamed Kalita, from the purse which he wore in order to distribute alms, knew how to win over the Church, and to induce the Metropolitan Peter of Vladimir to settle at Moscow; Theognost, Peter's successor, also resided in Moscow, which ranked as the capital after 1328.

No Russian prince made so many journeys to the Horde as Kalita. He so completely won over the Mongols that they entrusted him with the government of the affairs of his kingdom, and even placed an army at his disposal. Peace reigned for years in Russia. The amalgamation of the two nations made rapid

strides. This wise policy was the more profitable since the mighty Uzbek (1312-1340) then sat on the throne of Kiptchak. Kalita was himself a merchant prince and in favour of Uzbek, and the wide expanse of the Mongol Empire helped the Russian trade. Ivan took upon himself the duty of levying the tribute from Russia.

The same policy was followed by his sons Simeon the Proud (1341-1353) and Ivan II. (1353-1359). Simeon even ventured to assume the title "Grand Duke of all Russia." Other times had come. The grand duke had formerly been to all other princes "father" or "elder brother," now he was for all his relations "lord" (gospodin). All had to feel the weight of his hand. When Novgorod, which had become a dependency of Moscow, tried to gain freedom, it was punished with severity, and the obligation imposed on it that in the future the municipal officials should kneel barefooted before the assembly of the princes and entreat their mercy. We notice here the influence of Mongolian customs. But the necessity for this severity is shown by the reign of Simeon's brother Ivan II., whose weakness

Moscow Rises in Wealth and Prestige

The First Prince of Moscow

rendered insecure all the successes that had been achieved.

The position of Russia had meantime improved. While the Muscovite princes slowly united the Russian countries in their hands, the Mongol state began to break up. Some parts of the vast empire made themselves independent of Sarai under khans of their own, the same process which had formerly ruined Russia. The son of Ivan II., Dmitri Ivanovitch (1362-1389), was soon strong enough to defy the will of the Tartars and to govern in Russia as he thought best; in 1376 he actually made two petty Tartar princes his tributaries. When in the same year he conquered a governor of the able Manaj Khan, he exclaimed: "God is with us; their day is over!" But that was premature. Manaj collected an immense army, and at the same time concluded a treaty with the Lithuanian prince, Jagiello. Dmitri also rallied many princes round him, and strengthened himself by prayer in the Church of the Assumption, before he rode to the battlefield. All felt keenly that a religious war impended. Manaj

**First Blow
to the
Mongol Yoke**

is said to have threatened to destroy all the churches and bring over Russia to Islam. The battle took place on September 8th, 1380, on the plain of Kulikovo (at the confluence of the Neprædva and the Don), and was decided in favour of Russia. Fifteen Russian princes were left on the field. Dmitri received the surname of Donskoj, the Victor of the Don. On that very day Jagiello of Lithuania had been only a few miles away from the Tartars; his junction with Manaj would certainly have changed the result. The rejoicings at this first great victory were immense; Moscow, the new capital of Russia, thus received its baptism of war. Even if the Tartar yoke was still far from being shaken off, it was yet seen that the Russians in their long servitude had not forgotten how to draw the sword for freedom and honour. They had now learnt that the Mongols were not invincible; and their courage and character were increased.

Not the less important for the unification of Russia was the enactment of Dmitri, by which primogeniture became the law of the land. The eldest son of the grand duke, not the eldest of the stock, was henceforward to succeed his father. By this law, of which we have

no details, the family disputes of the ruling house were not indeed completely ended, but, happily for Russia, were restricted. The son of Donskoj, Vasilij I. Dmitrijevitich (1389-1425), now succeeded in accordance with this law of succession. Under Vasilij's successor, Vasilij II. Vasilijevitch (1425-1462), a dispute once more broke out between the supporters of the old rule of "Seniority" and the new rule of "Primogeniture." George

**Great Prize
in the Contest
of Humility**

Dmitrijevitich was opposed to the grandson of Dmitri Donskoj, the uncle to the nephew. The ambassador sent from Moscow saved the cause of his master at Sarai by a speech which throws a flood of light upon the situation. "All powerful Tsar," so Vsevoloshkij in 1431 addressed Ulugh Mahmet, "allow me to speak, who am the Grand Duke's slave. My master, the Grand Duke, solicits the throne of the Grand Duchy, which is entirely thy property, without any other claim thereto but through thy good will, thy consent, and thy warrant. Thou disposest of it as thou thinkest fit. The prince George Dmitrijevitich, his uncle, on the other hand, claims the Grand Duchy according to the enactment and last will of his father, but not as a favour of thy omnipotence."

The speech did its work; the khan commanded that George should henceforward lead his nephew's horse by the bridle. "Thus the prize in this contest of humility was assigned to the prince of Moscow." At Vasilij's coronation (such ceremonies have always taken place at Moscow since that day) a Mongolian Baskak was present. Vladimir, the old capital, now lost the last trace of its glory. The war between uncle and nephew was continued in spite of the decision of the khan. It was then seen how dependent the people were on their prince. When Vasilij, ousted by his uncle,

**Departed
Glory of
Vladimir**

had Kostroma assigned him as residence; the Muscovites left their city in crowds and joined him at Kostroma; the uncle, who could not maintain his position in Moscow, now voluntarily withdrew. And when Vasilij II. entered Moscow for a second time, the people thronged round him "like bees round their queen," says a chronicler. He died, blinded in 1446 by a son of George (hence called Temnyi), on March 17th, 1462.



THE RULERS OF RUSSIA FROM 1584 TILL 1762

From a series of historic medals.



THE MONARCHS OF MOSCOW AND THE DAWN OF BETTER DAYS FOR RUSSIA

THE fall of the Tartar power rendered the consolidation of Russia possible. The unerring persistent policy of the Muscovite princes was destined to bear good fruit. Their aim was to shake off the Tartar yoke and to "join" all countries formerly Russian—that is to say, to reunite them in one empire. Ivan III. (1462-1505), who now mounted the throne as "sole monarch," his son Vasilij III. (1505-1533), and his grandson Ivan IV. (1533-1584), surnamed the Terrible, effected this junction of Russia, although they were the reverse of heroic soldiers.

Ivan III., the most important among them, was the model of a Soudanian and Muscovite ruler, a cold, heartless and calculating statesman. His policy was markedly influenced by his second marriage with Sophia (Zoë), a niece of the last Byzantine emperor, who had been educated in Rome at the papal court. Cardinal Bessarion (the humanist and advocate of the union of the Churches), had first prompted that alliance. The proposal in question reached the grand duke, then twenty years old, in 1469, and had been received by the Boyars with enthusiasm. In the year 1472 Sophia entered Moscow accompanied by many of her countrymen and by the papal legate Antonio, and her arrival brought a new spirit into the Russian court. She it was who realised the humiliation of the Mongol yoke. Moscow regarded itself now as the heir of

**The Pope's
Bid
for Russia**

Byzantium, and Ivan adopted the double-headed Byzantine eagle as the new arms of Russia. The outlook of Russian policy widened; henceforward Russia was regarded as the representative and seat of orthodoxy. Moscow took up the cause of the Greek Christians in the East and actually waged war in the name of this idea, which was translated into deeds against the Ottomans in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The

Pope, indeed, when he sent the fair daughter of the Palæologi to Russia, was intent on the plan of winning the whole of Russia for Rome; but the cunning of the Russian sovereign frustrated such intentions. Ivan derived all possible advantages from that alliance without conferring the slightest benefits in return.

**Cruelties
of Ivan "The
Awful"**

The entry of the Roman legate into Moscow was a humiliation for Rome; he was forced to put aside the silver crucifix, which he wished to be borne in front of him, and to face an argument with a learned Russian monk, which only caused him annoyance. Even the young Greek princess, once arrived on Russian soil, seemed to have forgotten her Roman education and her papal benefactor.

It was Sophia also who taught her husband "the secret of despotism." Ivan came forward now in a quite different character from the earlier grand dukes. He stood before the eyes of the Russians like an avenging deity, and was called not only the "Great" but the "Awful" (gnosnyi; the surname of "Terrible" suits Ivan IV. better). He inflicted death penalties and martyrdoms lavishly. When he slept after meals, the Boyars anxiously kept watch by him; women fainted at his gaze. He treated foreign potentates with almost Oriental presumption. When the Mongol Khan Ahmed sent envoys with his portrait, in order to demand the tribute, he stamped on the portrait, and ordered all the envoys to be killed except one who was to carry the tidings to Astrakhan. He communicated with the Mongol envoys only through officials of the second rank.

In a word, the bearing of the grand duke testified to unbounded pride of sovereignty. He governed without the Boyars; when one of them complained that the grand duke decided every point alone, he was beheaded. Herberstein asserts that no monarch in Europe was so

implicitly obeyed by his subjects as the Grand Duke of Russia. This self-consciousness of the Russian court often, indeed, amounted to an absurdity, and barbarous customs considerably detracted from the magnificence which was displayed at the reception of foreign embassies. Ivan carried on the work of uniting Russia

Grand Duke Ambitious for Power in the most unscrupulous manner. He began by entering into a series of contracts with his relations, in order to secure the supremacy to himself. He then put an end to the more or less independent petty principalities and lordships which existed round Moscow. Thus, in the first years of his reign, Tver, Vereja, Rjasan, and then Bjelosersk, Rostow, Jaroslav, were placed under the immediate government of Moscow.

The union of Novgorod with Moscow cost much bloodshed. This once powerful free city on the Ilmen, the cradle of the Russian state, brought on its own fall by internal factions. The princes of Moscow had long been indignant that Novgorod barred their access to the sea, and also entertained the suspicion that it might join their enemies, Lithuania or Poland. Its freedom must, therefore, be crushed; it was not enough that, having long recognised the suzerainty of the lords of Moscow, it paid them tribute without difficulty; its self-government was to be taken away.

Ivan understood how to form a political party out of the supporters of the Greek faith in Novgorod, and to play them off against the others, who were devoted to the Catholic cause, and therefore to Poland. The Lithuano-Polish party was led by the Borecki family, whose head was Marfa, the energetic widow of a former Possadnik. Ivan waited until Novgorod was guilty of a breach of faith by opening negotiations with Poland, in order to seek protection

Novgorod Falls Before Muscovite Army there against the attacks of Russia. The Muscovite army then entered the territory of Novgorod and defeated the untrained Novgorodian troops, who had been collected with great difficulty, in 1471 at the river Schelona.

The Novgorodians submitted, recognised Ivan as sovereign, and actually accepted the jurisdiction of the courts of Moscow. But in 1478 Ivan took from them the rest of their self-government, deported the

most famous families into the interior of Russia, sent his governors to Novgorod, and brought to Moscow the bell which for centuries had summoned the people to the popular assembly. The fall of Novgorod has often been sung by the poets and made the subject of drama, Marfa Borecki being celebrated as the heroine. But no one will deny that the republic outlived its day, that it never properly fulfilled its duty as a middleman between the merchants of the East and West, and that it now really stood in the way of the union of Russian countries. The capture of Novgorod and its environs gave Moscow an overwhelming superiority over the other principalities.

Besides this, Ivan conquered Perm, "the land of silver beyond the Kama." The second free city, Viatka, was conquered in 1489; an advance was made to the Petchora, the Ural was crossed, and the country of the Voguls and Ugrians made tributary. Russia thus expanded as far as the Arctic Ocean, and for the first time set foot in Asia. Vasilij III. then subjugated the free state of Pskov, where

Ivan's Series of Conquests the dissensions of the citizens had opened the ground for him; many families were sent thence to other towns.

"Alas, glorious and mighty Pskov, wherefore this despair and these tears?" exclaims the poetical chronicler. "How shall I not despair?" answered Pskov. "An eagle with the claws of a lion has swooped down on me. . . . Our land is wasted, our city ruined, our marts are destroyed, our brethren led away whither neither our fathers nor grandfathers dwelt." But subordination to Moscow was for Pskov an historical necessity if the unification of Russia was to progress. When Vasilij had banished the princes of Rjasan and Novgorod Severskij and united their lands with Moscow, the union of European Russia under the leadership of Moscow would appear almost finished. Russia already directed her eyes toward newly discovered Asiatic districts, where the Arctic Ocean formed the frontier. Only the Lithuanians and the Tartars were still left to be conquered.

Ivan III. had the good fortune to shake off the Tartar yoke. There were then several Tartar kingdoms—Kasan, Astrakhan (Sarai), the Nogai Horde, the province of the Crimea, and numerous smaller independent hordes—who all fought with

each other, and thus lightened the task of the grand duke. In the year 1480 Ivan advanced with a strong army against the great horde of Sarai, but could not make up his mind to strike; for months the two armies stood opposite each other in inaction, until at last the Tartars withdrew. It was not therefore a great victory; Russia had only ceased to pay tribute. Once again, in the year 1521, the Tartars of the Crimean horde united with their tribesmen beyond the Volga in the Nogai steppe and in Kasan, to attack Moscow. The town was so suddenly invested on all sides that the Grand Duke Vasilij hardly made good his escape. The citizens in their first panic promised to pay again the old tribute. Then discord broke out among the Tartars; they withdrew.

From that time the Tartar danger was as good as ended. But another Mohammedan power, Turkey, threatened Russia from the south; in 1475 Mohammed II. brought the Crimea under his suzerainty. At the same time a growing danger arose in the union of Poland with Lithuania. How could Russia have withstood this powerful neighbour if she had been still politically divided, and dependent on Tartar hordes? It was the merit of the grand dukes of Moscow that a liberated and united Russia could not only defend itself, but could also advance victoriously against the menacing foe.

The prestige of Moscow grew not only in all Russian districts, but also in foreign countries. The courts of Western Europe sought to win the alliance of the grand duke. Apart from their relations to Rome, Lithuania and Poland, Ivan III. and his son Vasilij received envoys from Venice, Hungary, the Emperor Frederic III. and his son Maximilian, Sweden and Denmark. From the East came envoys from Turkey, Georgia and Persia. Russia now found the leisure and also experienced the desire to devote time to the work

Advance of Russian Prestige

of civilisation. Just as when formerly the Grand Duke Vladimir married the Greek princess, Anna, the art and religion of Byzantium were transplanted with her to Russia, so the second wife of Ivan and her Greek suite now called a new age of culture into life. Byzantine scholars brought Greek books with them, which formed the nucleus of the later libraries of Moscow. Ivan III. himself took pleasure in distinguished foreigners.

Artists and scholars from Western Europe found a brilliant reception at Ivan's court. In Aristotele Fioraventi of Bologna he acquired a distinguished architect, artilleryman, and tutor for his children. Pietro

Antonio built a palace for him. Monks from the famous monastery of Athos came to Russia; amongst them a learned Greek, Maxim by name, was conspicuous. He is said to have been astonished to find such a mass of old manuscripts in the Kremlin at Moscow. The monks were entrusted by the grand duke with the translation of Greek books into Slavonic. The grand dukes owed their successes against the Tartars and petty princes partly to the artillery perfected by foreigners. The whole system of warfare was revolutionised. At the same time mineral treasures were exploited. Ivan III. also devoted attention to the judicial

system, which in the Tartar age was often a matter of caprice, and in 1497 caused the common law to be published in the new Russian code Sudebnik.

The question of the succession, that open wound from which Russia so long bled, and to which she formerly owed her subjugation, was at last settled. The testamentary dispositions of Ivan III. showed his opinion on the point. After he had long hesitated whether to nominate as his successor his grandson or his son by his second wife, he decided in favour of his son Vasilij, probably because his mother was a Byzantine. The other sons received small provinces without

Ivan's Wife Introduces Culture



IVAN III. "THE AWFUL"

Cold, heartless and calculating, Ivan III. stood before the Russians like an avenging deity, and lavishly inflicted death penalties and martyrdoms. During his reign, from 1462 till 1505, the prestige of Moscow greatly extended.

monarchical rule; they had neither the right of coinage, nor any higher jurisdiction, and were compelled to recognise the elder brother as their lord. If one of them died without issue, his lands reverted to the grand duke. Thus the first hereditary monarchy was instituted in Russia. An era of renaissance now began for Russia—

The Dawn of a Great Glory a restoration of the political independence and union of the empire, an economic revival, an awakening of the national self-consciousness, a renewal of national culture and literature, the dawn of new and greater glory. Russia, by frequently sending embassies to foreign courts, entered by degrees into the circle of the civilised nations of the West. In short, fortune once more smiled on Russia.

But the goal was still far away, and serious obstacles remained to be overcome. The people were now the greatest obstacle to themselves. In the long period of Tartar rule they had been warped not merely politically but morally. The Russians had emerged from the Asiatic school, in which they had so long been trained, as Asiatics accustomed to murder and cruelty. The Greek Church in Russia had suffered equally; left to itself it inevitably became stagnant. It is easier to improve the national welfare and culture and to gain victories than to change the nature of a whole people; several generations at least are required for that.

The hard fortunes of the country had produced a hard ruling dynasty. The pride and self-consciousness of the sovereign, in whose person the state was bound up, grew with the progress which the union of Russia made under Moscow's supremacy, with the increase of the royal power as compared with the nobility and the popular assembly, and with the growth in the power and prestige of the nation. In Moscow the contest between the power of

Ivan "The Terrible" on the Throne the prince and that of the nobility and the popular assembly, which raged throughout Russia, had been decided in favour of the former. It was a soil on which tyranny might flourish. The Susdalian and Muscovite princes had increased the strictness of their government, and while Ivan III. had already earned the surname of "Awful," this stamp of sovereign reached the climax in Ivan IV. History calls him "The Terrible." A man of unusual gifts

and iron will, but of the worst education imaginable, he is one of the most wonderful phenomena in history, in which he has acquired a dark notoriety. It would be unfair to condemn him at once; he is too important to be measured by conventional standards.

When he was only three years old his father died. The government during his minority was taken over by his mother, Helene Glinska, a Lithuanian, whose family was originally Tartar. A council of Boyars, in which the first place was ceded to her uncle Michael Glinski, was placed at her side. But it was soon apparent that this ambitious woman would not tolerate any other will by the side of hers. Only her favourite, Count Ivan Telepnev Obolenskij, could exercise any influence over her. A reign of bloodshed began. Her brother-in-law George, her uncle Michael, her second brother-in-law Andrew, and others who seemed dangerous to her, died a cruel death, while the affairs of the empire were not maladministered externally. When Helene died suddenly in 1538, and the Boyar council alone under-

Untamed and Plundering Boyars took the conduct of state affairs, two families, the Schujskij and the Bielskij, came forward, disputed for precedence, and fought each other. Once more there were scenes of blood; no quarter was given by either side when it had the upper hand. Russia had now been so long accustomed to self-government that even in the Privy Council a member would wish to have unrestricted liberty of language. The fact that no regard was shown the successor to the crown in the matter, and that he would have been gladly ignored, shows how untamed the powerful Boyars then were. Even in later years Ivan complained that Ivan Schujskij had not greeted him, and in his bedroom had placed his feet on his father's bed, that the treasury of his father and his uncle had been plundered by the Boyars, and that even the royal service of plate had been marked with their names.

Ivan in those days often suffered hunger; even his life was threatened. The Schujskij attacked towns and villages, tormenting and extorting without mercy. They jealously watched that no one else gained influence. One of the privy councillors, Fedor Voronzov, who seemed to rejoice in the favour of the young sovereign, was insulted and cuffed in the presence of the latter; his clothes were

torn, and he would have been killed had not the metropolitan rescued him at Ivan's petition. Prematurely accustomed to barbarity and bloodshed, the twelve-year old boy gloated over the agonies of tortured animals ; when only fifteen years old, he rode through the streets of Moscow with his young companions and cut and slashed all he met.

The Orthodox Greek Church, which might have been expected to exercise a favourable influence on the lawless youth, had sunk into such decay under the Mongol yoke, that it had not the strength to interfere. The clergy were almost as addicted to gaming, drunkenness, and other vices, as the laity ; the darkest superstition prevailed among the common people. Impostors, robbers, and fanatics roamed the land ; murder and brigandage were everyday occurrences. This was the normal condition of the society in which Ivan the Terrible grew up.

At first he submitted, until, in 1543, in blazing fury he had Prince Andrew Schujskij seized in the open street, subjected to gross indignities, and murdered.

From that day, says the **Moscow in Ashes** Chronicle, the Boyars began to fear him. He was then thirteen years old. On February 3rd, 1547, when barely seventeen years old, he married Anastasia, daughter of the chamberlain, Roman Sacharin. It is a proof of his political insight that he assumed the title of tsar, and that he obtained in 1561, personally through the Patriarch of Constantinople, as well as through a council expressly called for the purpose, a confirmation of his descent from the imperial Byzantine house and of his right to the imperial crown.

Fear fell on all pagan countries, says the Chronicle of Novgorod. All the nations of the Orthodox East began to look to the Muscovite tsar as to the head and representative of their Church and their patron. In the year of his coronation three outbreaks of fire (April and June, 1547) reduced the city of Moscow to ashes. The lives of the tsar and the metropolitan were in the greatest danger. The Schujskij princes spread the report that the tsar's grandmother, Anna Glinska, had torn the hearts out of corpses, soaked them in water, sprinkled the streets of Moscow with them, and thus caused the fire. The excited populace murdered the uncle of Ivan, George Glinska, in the church,

marched to Vorobjovo, where the tsar was staying, and demanded with threats the surrender of his grandmother. The mob did not disperse until Ivan, acting on a bold impulse, had the spokesman executed. The occurrence is said to have made a weighty and lasting impression on the tsar. It was then that Ivan drew two men

The Good Influence of Pope Silvester

to his side, the Pope Silvester and a court official, Alexis Adaschev. Silvester governed him completely. Ivan did not venture on a step without Silvester ; he ate, drank, dressed and lived according to Silvester's doctrines. The influence of the two was very beneficial, and not less so that of his wife Anastasia. An honourable atmosphere prevailed in court circles ; in all state business, moral and religious aspects came into the foreground. Synods and imperial assemblies were summoned, in order to discuss important business. It was an inspiring moment when the young tsar, in the year 1549, asked forgiveness from the assembled people for all injustice, and humiliated himself. He showed universal courtesy and commanded men's trust and love. Much good was really done then. In 1556 a new code of civil and canon law appeared, which from its division into one hundred chapters was called Stoglaw. Its sixteenth paragraph contained an enactment for the erection of parochial schools in every town.

At the same time the court of Moscow resolved to carry on war against the Tartars on the Volga, who still harassed Russia. Ivan, at Silvester's advice, though reluctantly, placed himself at the head of the army. Kasan was taken in 1552, not so much by the bravery as by the sheer numerical superiority of the Russians. In the year 1557, Astrakhan, the old Sarai, once so formidable to Russia, also fell. The results of this first conquest at the cost of the Asiatics were far-reaching. Not merely was the power of the Tartars crushed and the whole of the great Volga made a Russian stream, but Russian influence now reached into the Caucasus as far as Persia. Other tribes, such as the Tcheremisses, Mordvins, Tchuvashes, Votiaks, Bashkirs, who had formerly been subject to the ruler of Kasan, now made their submission. The first step towards the conquest of Asia was taken. The Crimean horde alone was left ; but it led a precarious existence and sought the

Power of the Tartars Crushed

alliance of Russia. Ivan returned to Moscow as a hero. His confident attitude towards the Boyars increased. "I fear you no longer," he is said to have exclaimed to a voivode.

He resolved at this period to disseminate the culture of Western Europe in Russia. Hans Slitte, a German from Goslar, who was at Moscow in 1547, was commissioned by him to bring scholars, artists, physicians, printers, artisans, etc., to Russia. And it was only in consequence of the hostile attitude of the Livonians, who saw in this plan a dangerous strengthening of their neighbour, that Slitte failed to bring to Russia the 123 persons whom he had engaged. From this moment the dislike Ivan felt for the Baltic Germans grew the more intense, since the Teutonic Order in Livonia barred his road to the sea. From these reasons the determination to conquer Livonia matured in his mind despite the warnings of Silvester and Adashev.

When in 1553, under Edward VI., a British expedition of three ships was sent to explore the route to China and India by the Arctic Ocean, and one of the ships was cast away at the mouth of the Dwina, Ivan seized the opportunity of opening commercial negotiations with England. He conceded to the English merchants highly advantageous trading privileges, and thus secured to his empire a connection with the West. In the war for Livonia, which broke out between Russia, Poland, and Sweden, Ivan obtained only Dorpat (1558), while Poland held Livonia as a province and the duchy of Courland as a fief. Esthonia fell to Sweden. These events entirely broke off

Russia's Share of the Spoils of War

the friendly relations between Ivan and Adashev and Silvester. The death of his virtuous queen (August 7th, 1560) certainly contributed to this result. The guardianship exercised over him by the two men had at last become intolerable. Silvester had tried to make his master quite dependent on him, and had even taken up a position of hostility to the tsaritsa.

When the first son of the tsar died (June, 1553), Silvester declared to him that it was a punishment inflicted by heaven for his disobedience. But a severe illness of the tsar, about the end of the year 1552-1553, had brought matters to a

Treason Against the Tsar

head. Awaiting his end, Ivan called on the Boyars to do homage to his son Dmitri. But the Boyars refused; Silvester and Adashev sided with the rebels. The noise of the disputants reached the sick chamber of the tsar.

When Ivan, contrary to expectation, recovered, his confidence in his two councillors was gone. Ivan was as yet moderate in his punishments; but little by little the number of executions increased, until his

fury against the Boyars knew no bounds. The fallen ministers had many partisans; and when Ivan later scented treason everywhere, and felt himself insecure in his own court, he was to some extent justified. Lithuania - Poland, the most dangerous enemy of Russia, kept up communications with the malcontents, and the party of the fallen made no disguise of their Polish proclivities. Prince Andrew Kurbskij intentionally brought about a shameful defeat in the Livonian campaign, and fled in 1564 to the Polish camp. Others actually admitted Tartars into the



"THE TERRIBLE" IVAN IV.

It was not without reason that this significant name, "The Terrible," came to be applied to Ivan IV. But he was the first ruler to encourage British merchants to trade in Russia, and was thus nicknamed "The English Tsar."

country. Ivan's anxiety now became a disease; he believed himself to be surrounded by none but traitors.

He at this time received a letter from the fugitive Kurbskij, in which the latter summoned him before a divine tribunal to answer for his cruelties. Ivan sent for the bearer of the letter, drove his iron-shod staff through his foot, leant with all his weight on it, and then had the letter read out. Rarely have more stinging reproaches been hurled in the face of a sovereign. The tsar thought well to answer the letter at length.

Both writings belong to the most remarkable documents of Russian history. Ivan suddenly left Moscow on December



THE METROPOLITAN PHILIP REFUSING TO BLESS IVAN THE TERRIBLE

Both for good and evil, Ivan IV., known as "The Terrible," occupies a prominent place in Russian history. Singling out a series of towns and some streets in Moscow, he declared them to be his own private property. The Metropolitan Philip was bold enough to protest, and refused his blessing to the tsar. Ivan, in hot rage, summoned an ecclesiastical court, and from the steps of the altar, on November 8th, 1568, Philip was dragged off to a convent prison, where he was strangled the following year. Ivan's reign lasted for fifty-one years—from 1533 till 1584.

3rd, 1564, in the company of his family, many Boyars, and an armed force, and went to Alexandrovskaja Sloboda. He took the most revered relics and the state treasure with him. Moscow was wildly excited. A month afterwards two missives from him arrived—one to the metropolitan, in which he said that he could no longer tolerate the illegalities of

**Ivan's
Enemies and
Friends**

the Boyars, especially since the clergy hindered him from punishing them, and that he had resolved to leave the empire and go whither God led him; a second was addressed to the Orthodox citizens of Moscow, in which he assured them that he was not angry with them.

The impression produced by these two letters was overwhelming. The people, filled with the fear of falling again under the rule of the nobles, marched with lamentations and threats through the streets of the city, ready to cut down the tsar's enemies, and requested the metropolitan to propitiate the tsar; whereupon an embassy to the tsar was organised.

Ivan came back on February 2nd, 1565. But a terrible change would seem to have taken place in him. "His mere aspect struck horror; his features were distorted with fury, his sight nearly gone, his hair almost all fallen off. He declared before a great meeting that he needed a body-guard." He then singled out a series of towns and some streets of Moscow, and declared that to be his private property, which was called *Opritschina*, while the rest of Russia as state property was called *Semshchina*, and was left under the management of the council of Boyars. This was the first separation of crown property from national property, and was important in its consequences.

He chose out of his own lands a body-guard of 6,000 men with wives and children, mostly people of low origin, the *Opritsniki*. An axe, a dogshead, and a besom were their badges, signifying that traitors would be beheaded, gnawed to pieces, and swept away. The whole *Semshchina* was assigned to them to plunder, and there was no appeal to justice against them. How they wreaked their fury is shown by the circumstance that even now in Russo-Polish countries a vagabond and robber is called "*opryszok*." Ivan meantime executed the traitors unsparingly, and then retired to Alexandrovo.

**Seven Years
of
Strange Events**

There he indulged in wild excesses, in brutal man-hunts, murdering, and burning. Strangely enough, he combined with all this sincere religious observances, arranging his court as a convent, and forming out of 300 trustworthy myrmidons a monastic brotherhood, of which he was abbot. He performed every duty and himself rang the bell for service. At midnight they assembled in cowls and black gowns, and Ivan struck his forehead so hard upon the floor that his face was covered with bruises.

This state of things lasted until 1572, for seven full years. Ivan was meantime conscious of the disgracefulness of these proceedings, for he endeavoured to disguise to the outside world the existence of the *Opritsniki*, and conducted the affairs of state as before. The Metropolitan Philip finally plucked up courage to ask him to abolish the *Opritschina*. Ivan, however, summoned an ecclesiastical court and impeached the bold petitioner. While Philip was standing in full robes before the altar on November 8th, 1568, a troop of the bodyguard rushed in, tore the vestments from him, and dragged him

**Frightful
Period of
Barbarities**

off to a convent prison, where he was strangled in 1569. The public mourning for the metropolitan reduced Ivan to fury. Hundreds of persons were daily executed, burnt, or tortured to death, and whole communities were annihilated.

Ivan lived under the delusion that for the sake of his own and his family's existence he must exterminate the traitors. In the year 1572, tormented by fear and anxiety, the monarch, who in his soul was intensely unhappy, made his will: "My body is exhausted, my spirit gloomy; the ulcers on my soul and my body are spreading, and no physician is there to heal them. I waited if any would wish to have pity on me, but none came to me. . . . They have returned good with evil, love with hate." These are his words at the opening of this document. We now have an insane person before us. He seems to have been stung by qualms of conscience in his lucid intervals, as is seen from many indications.

A most remarkable and historically unique record of the tsar is left us in the shape of a book of masses for the souls of the deceased drawn up by his own hand, in which he instituted masses for each one of his victims. After several names stands the sinister note, "with his

wife, his children and servants," "with his sons," or "with his daughters." Or we read there "twenty men from Komen-skoje," "eighty-seven from Matvejschevo," "Lord be gracious to the souls of Thy servants, 1,505 persons from Novgorod," and so on. This list alone gives a total of 3,470 victims. There was no one now at court who would have had any influence on Ivan. His second wife, a Tcherkess, who was only baptised just before her marriage, may well have increased Ivan's evil propensities by her barbarous nature.

Thus, then, the torrent, having once left its banks, rushed on, destroying all in its course. Since the time of the Roman Cæsars hardly any sovereign can have proved so clearly as Ivan the Terrible the truth of the doctrine that every human being and all earthly power require some restriction, if they are to remain within the pale of humanity. But the Russian people share the guilt with him; especially are the nobility and clergy to blame, since they did not support the efforts of the monarch in the cause of culture, but by cringing and immorality paved the way for his wicked propensities. The last liberties of the people were destroyed, and the omnipotence of the crown established for all future time.

The foreign policy was successful in the East; the Cossack Jarmak laid the crown of Siberia at Ivan's feet. But in the contest with Poland he was worsted, notwithstanding that, under the pretext of wishing to receive the Roman faith, he humbly begged the emperor and Pope to intervene. The Poles, who were ready to offer him the crown after the death of Sigismund Augustus, were deterred by his untrustworthiness and his avarice.

Fate brought grievous misfortunes on his own house. In a quarrel he struck his son Ivan such a blow with an iron rod that the prince died from it on November 19th, 1581. His third son, Feodor, was of weak intellect. Ivan's remorse hastened his end. This remarkable prince, whose crimes are not devoid of some greatness, but whose name must always be mentioned with a shudder, died on March 17th, 1584. Ivan IV. holds a prominent place in Russian history both for good and for evil.

Ivan's son Feodor mounted the throne in 1584; but his gentleness and piety would have been more suitable for a

convent. The whole power thus lay in the hands of the privy councillors, amongst whom existed a dangerous rivalry between a Schujskij and a Bielskij. The reputation of Boris Godunov at the same time was slowly increasing, more especially since Nikita Romanof, Feodor's uncle, who was at first the most influential regent,

had died in 1586, and Godunov had contrived a marriage between his sister and the young tsar; in fact, he aimed at the crown himself. Although he could neither read nor write, he skilfully conducted the business of the nation, won a great reputation for Russia in foreign countries, and appreciated the value of Western European culture. He proposed to found schools and in Moscow a university, and sent John Kramer to Germany to obtain professors for it. He sent young Russians abroad to study, and gladly employed foreigners in his service; began giving an excellent education to his children and supported art and industries.

In a word, Godunov was thoroughly capable of performing his task. His name, therefore, had a good reputation in foreign countries, but not so in Russia. There men regarded his innovations with disapproval. The clergy despised the acquisition of foreign languages as superfluous, confusing and dangerous to the faith. The great nobles muttered against the upstart. Godunov found himself compelled to look for support to the higher clergy and smaller nobility. Two important innovations owe their inception to this circumstance—the prohibition of freedom of movement of the peasants, and the founding of the patriarchate. The Russian peasant had hitherto been allowed to change his master; that alone differentiated him from a slave. But this liberty of migration only benefited the owners of extensive properties, who held out enticing advantages to the peasant in order to be able to cultivate their broad plains. The peasantry, therefore, deserted the small proprietors, whose lands became depopulated and depreciated; yet these latter sustained the chief state burdens. Thus in this case the interests of the state coincided with those of the lesser nobility. Godunov, by taking from the peasant the right of movement, saved the lesser nobility from misery and gained it for his purposes. That must have been far

Ivan's Weak Son Mounts the Throne

Tragedies in the Royal Household

Liberty of Peasants Restricted

from his own interest, since he was himself the owner of extensive landed estates.

What was really for his personal advantage was the founding of the patriarchate. The Russian clergy had long complained that its supreme head, the Patriarch of Constantinople, was the servant

The Protector of Orthodox Christianity

of an infidel monarch and possessed no proper prestige. Moscow regarded herself as the third Rome, just as Byzantium had thought herself the second. Why should Moscow not obtain ecclesiastical independence, now that Constantinople had fallen so low, and Russia was reckoned the protector of Orthodox Christianity? Just then Jeremias, Patriarch of Constantinople, came to Moscow. Godunov seized the opportunity to win him over to his scheme. The other patriarchs assented, and in 1598 was founded in Moscow the patriarchate which continued until the end of 1700. The first patriarch was Job, a favourite of Godunov.

Even now Godunov seems to have made all preparations for gaining the throne after the death of Feodor. But a brother of Feodor, Dmitri, son of the seventh unlawful wife of Ivan the Terrible, was still living. Although he had been sent in good time to Uglitch with all his relations, there was no room for doubt that he would mount the throne after the death of Feodor. The news then arrived (1591) that the young Dmitri was no more. Public opinion incriminated Godunov. It is true that he organised an investigation and executed the inhabitants of Uglitch; but the rumour persisted.

Nevertheless Boris Godunov mounted the throne of the tsar after the death of the childless Feodor (January 7th, 1598), since the crown was offered him by the Patriarch Job, and he had been elected in a sort of imperial assembly. In order to ensure his own safety, he threw Bielskij into prison and banished the Romanofs. One of them, Feodor Nikititsch, was compelled to become a monk under the name of Philaret; his wife, Xenia

Schestov, took the veil as the nun Marfa. Boris was at first an admirable ruler. But soon he was overcome by fears; he, too, saw himself surrounded by traitors. He completely lost his balance of mind when the news spread that Dmitri was still alive, and was preparing to recover the throne. Lithuanian magnates undertook to put a person who styled himself the miraculously rescued Dmitri on the Russian throne by force of arms. The people believed that Dmitri was the true tsarevitch. The troops wavered in their loyalty, and, in spite of the reverse which was inflicted on the pretender, his adherents increased in numbers.

Godunov died in 1605, in the middle of this movement, and the pseudo-Dmitri

became master of Russia. The whole nation shed tears of joy at seeing the son of their prince once more. His behaviour and sympathies showed that he was no Rurikovitch. He doted on the West and on the Roman Church, he associated with Jesuits, and wished to convert Russia to Catholicism. He ridiculed the native customs and the Boyars, and scorned the court ceremonial. The Polish nobles who came to Moscow with their retinue indulged in shameless behaviour towards the Russians. A month hardly had elapsed before Dmitri fell victim to a conspiracy (May 17th,

1606). His corpse was burnt, and a cannon loaded with the ashes, which were then scattered to the four winds.

The succeeding period was full of disturbances. In a new assembly, summoned by the patriarch, Vasilij Schujskij, who had conducted the inquiry in Uglitch, had

Vasilij Schujskij the New Tsar

struck the pretender, and had the courage to tell him he was an impostor, was elected tsar.

Since a new patriarch had been installed by the pseudo-Dmitri, a change now took place in this office. The assembly imposed on the new tsar the condition that he was not to punish any offender by death without a trial, nor confiscate the property of criminals,



MICHAEL III. THE FIRST ROMANOV
When Michael III. was called to rule in 1613 a new dynasty mounted the Russian throne. It was a time of severe crisis, and Michael, physically weak and of small intellectual endowments, was not the necessary strong man.

and that false accusers should be liable to penalties. These formed a charter or constitution, such as the Slachta had extorted from the Polish king. Schujskij solemnly swore to it. But Russia saw in it a weakening of the royal dignity. The dominion of the nobility was feared more than the tyranny of the tsar.

Schujskij could not hold his own. Not merely were the nobility opposed to him from jealousy and envy, but new pretenders cropped up who professed to be Dmitri, or Peter, Feodor's son. A more dangerous symptom was that the King of Poland came forward as a serious candidate for the Russian crown. In 1587 the Swedish house of Vasa attained the Polish throne in the person of Sigismund III.

It was wished to procure the Russian crown for his son, Vladislav; Sigismund would certainly have liked to obtain it for himself. The Polish troops, which were already in the vicinity of Moscow, did not wish to leave Russia, since the new tsar had already been elected. Schujskij could not restore order, and was "humbly" begged by the assembly to vacate the throne, since he was unfortunate in his government and could not enforce any obedience to his rule. He abdicated and became a monk. The council of Boyars now elected Vladislav to be tsar, on the condition that he would accept the Orthodox faith. The Polish troops were already allowed to enter Moscow and commanded the city.

Then the Russian people rose throughout the empire, the monasteries also, with the Troizko-Sergievsk at their head. Nobles, merchants, and peasants banded together to save Russia from the foreign yoke. In Nijni Novgorod many, following the example of a meat-seller, Kusma Minin, sacrificed a third part of their property. The noble prince Posharskij took the lead, and the Poles were soon driven out of Moscow. In the year 1613 the new assembly was convened. The

votes now fell on a step-grandson of Anastasia, wife of Ivan the Terrible, Michael III. Romanof, the fifteen-year-old son of the Metropolitan Philaret, who had gone as ambassador to the Polish king and had been kept prisoner by him in

A New Dynasty for Russia Marienburg. Even in 1610 Michael found himself among the candidates for the throne, and had barely escaped Polish plots. With him a new dynasty mounted the Russian throne.

The state was impoverished and public affairs were in a bad condition. Many towns declared outright that they could pay no taxes. Michael, who had received a monastic education, and was physically weak and of small intellectual endowments,

was not the right man for Russia at this severe crisis. Even his father, Philaret, who really governed in place of his son, possessed no talent as a ruler, while able monarchs were seated on the thrones of Sweden and Poland in the persons of Vladislav and Gustavus II. Adolphus.

Russia thus was forced to endure still longer to be cut off from the Baltic Sea by Poland and Sweden. In the treaties which she made with Sweden at Stolbovo in 1617, with Poland at Deulino in 1618, and then at Poljanovka in 1634, Russia was forced to relinquish all claim on

Livonia, Smolensk, and a series of towns. "Russia now cannot launch a single boat on the Baltic without our consent," said Gustavus Adolphus in the Swedish diet, "and it will be hard for the Russians to leap over this stream." Even against other enemies Russia felt her weakness. When the Cossacks had conquered Turkish Azov, the tsar ordered them to evacuate the fortress. The highest merits of Michael and his father were that they governed without harshness and endeavoured to raise the economic position of Russia. After centuries of oppression from Tartars and tsars the people once more enjoyed more humane treatment. Both rulers held frequent sessions of the



PHILARET: FATHER OF MICHAEL III. The Metropolitan Philaret, who gave the first Romanof to the throne of Russia, really ruled in place of his son, but as he had no governing talents, he accomplished very little.

Russia in Fear of the Foreign Yoke

Privy Council, which had long been in abeyance.

It was only under Michael's son Alexis (1645-1676) and under the children of Alexis, Feodor (1676-1682), Ivan (1682-1689), Sophia, and Peter the Great, that fortune once more smiled on Russia, first in consequence of the weakness of Poland

under John Casimir, and then from her own increased strength. The Ukraine then submitted to the tsar; in 1667 Poland in the treaty at Andrussov was obliged to cede the Ukraine, on the left bank of the Dnieper, with Kiev; this was finally ratified in 1686 in the peace of Grzymul-tovskij by Sobieski, when Sophia reigned in the name of her infant brother. Russia also in 1667 recovered Smolensk and other territories, which had been the cause of wars for centuries. Peter the Great first began the war with Sweden on account of Livonia. It was still more important for Russia that with the Romanofs Tartar Russia ceased, and its Europeanising began.

The Tartar supremacy was the greatest calamity that befell the Russian state in its entire historical development, not merely because it lost political independence for nearly 300 years, and was treated with barbarity and became impoverished, but, in a still higher degree, because the people were nearly 500 years behind Western Europe in the progress of civilisation. A despotic government, which treated its subjects like Asiatics, a taxation which emptied the pockets of the people, a brutalisation of habits, a growth of servility among the population, and, as a consequence, a disparagement and even a contempt for culture, an Asiatic arrogance, and a tendency to aloofness from the West European world—all this was the fruit of the long Tartar thralldom. And can any one assert that even now Russia has entirely outgrown these characteristics? It was only towards the end

of the fifteenth century that more frequent tidings of Russia reached Western Europe. On the other hand, Russia had a keen interest in the West. The Florentine Union might be regarded as the first step towards closer intercourse between East and West. But the reign of Ivan III. in this, as in many other connections, marks a real epoch. Ivan III. made himself famous by his marriage with the house of the Palæologi, and also by the fact that

he finally shook off the Tartar yoke. The Hapsburgs were the first to wish to enter into relations with Russia. Nicholas Popel von Lobkovitz (1486) and George von Thurn appeared there as the envoys of Frederic III. and Maximilian. The Archduke Sigismund of the Tyrol, who died in 1496, sent Michael Snups with the order to learn Russian, and inquire into all the chief points of interest in the country.

Ivan himself instituted embassies to Hungary, Germany and Italy. He asked King Matthias Corvinus to send him skilful miners (1482). He made the same request to the Emperor Frederic III., asking at the same time for an artillerist, a builder, and a silversmith. He summoned painters and architects, goldsmiths and bell founders from Italy; among the engineers the most famous was Aristotele Fioraventi, a Bolognese, who cast cannon and created the first artillery in Russia. An Italian, Giambattista della Volpe, was director of the Mint in Moscow after the year 1469. The Greek diplomatist, Trachaniotes, in the year 1489, conducted negotiations for the marriage of a daughter of Ivan III.

In 1520 with Maximilian. Paolo Centurione, a Genoese merchant, came to Moscow with a papal letter of introduction. He was ostensibly commissioned to find a new route from Europe to India, but undoubtedly received other secret instructions. Important results followed the diplomatic labours of the Austrian ambassador, Siegmund Herberstein, who visited Russia on two occasions (1516-1518 and 1526-1527) and wrote a much read book, "*Rerum moscoviticarum commentarii*," about the results of his investigations. A Carinthian by birth, he knew Slavonic, and could therefore with great facility learn the Russian language and collect news. Nevertheless, he relates many fabulous stories of wonderful human beings and beasts in Russia.

The Venetians and English being excited by the discovery of America, like the Genoese by their merchant Centurione, wished to find a new route through Russia to India. In England, Willoughby and Chancellor, in the reign of King Edward VI. (1553) fitted out an expedition to find the north-east passage to India; Willoughby was lost; Chancellor was driven by a storm to the mouth of the Dwina. Ivan the Terrible received him very graciously



TSAR AND TSARITSA IN NATIONAL COSTUMES
OF THE MIDDLE AGES



RUSSIAN PRINCES IN SEVENTEENTH CENTURY DRESSES OF THE GRAND DUKES
THE RICH COSTUMES OF RUSSIA'S ROYALTY

and gave the English merchants special privileges. After that time a brisk trade developed between England and Russia ; in fact, an English trading company for Russia was founded, with headquarters at Moscow, and several branches which became a formidable rival of the

England's Trade with Russia Hansa. Ivan, a friend of the British, was nick-named by the anti-progressive Russians "the English Tsar," and even contemplated the idea of marrying Queen Elizabeth of England. The English merchants soon aimed at monopolising the trade and industries of Russia ; they started factories and prepared accurate maps of separate districts. Their trading-agent, Giles Fletcher, wrote in 1591 a detailed account of Russian trade. This first discovery of Russia, as the people of England called Chancellor's journey, brought a rich harvest to the English, and produced a large output of rather valuable literature on Russia.

The Dutch, here, as in many other parts of the world, followed in the footsteps of the English. They, too, equipped several expeditions in order to find the northern passage to China and India, and their trade soon outstripped the English. Isaac Massa, their agent, who made several journeys in Russia and Asia, collected important information, studied cartography, and was the first to bring home trustworthy accounts of Siberia. Hessel Gerritsz, a Dutchman, published in 1641 a map of Russia (the first, by Anton Wied, dates from the year 1542). Even the French and Germans took steps to open commercial relations with Russia.

But the Russian nation, instead of seizing the opportunity and learning as much as possible from the foreigners, offered energetic resistance to foreign influence ; only some few persons tried to bring Russia into closer relations with Western Europe. A feud broke out between the conservatives and the party of progress, between darkness and enlightenment, which characterised the inner life of Russia after its emancipation from

the Mongol dominion. It continued with undiminished force and persistently demanded immense sacrifices of blood, wealth, and the most valuable possessions of mankind. The future of Russia depended on the decision she took to oppose or to encourage progress.

In Russia, as a despotic state, the decision ought, in the first instance, to come from the rulers themselves. But the education which always fettered the Russian tsars to the palace and its environs, and tied them with innumerable formalities, was ill adapted to make clear-sighted, level-headed men of them. The Orthodox Church in her ignorance supported the policy of resistance to Western culture. Such harmless innovations as shaving the beard, bathing on certain days, killing vermin, or wearing European clothes, were, in the eyes of the uneducated clergy, who could hardly read or write, regarded as treachery to their nationality and the Church.

It is, therefore, no mere accident that Boris Godunov, having been brought up far from the court, was the first tsar who could be called an Occidental friend of civilisation. Not only did he invite foreigners to his country, but he sent young men to study in Lübeck, France, and England, founded schools, and wished even to endow a university at Moscow, and for this purpose obtained professors from Germany. He had his children taught by strangers, and ordered a map of Russia to be prepared for his son, which was afterwards used by the Dutchman, Hessel Gerritsz, for his publication.

He was, therefore, compared by foreign nations to Ptolemy or Numa Pompilius. But he roused antagonism in Russia, and representations were made to him through the patriarch. Even Dmitri the Pretender was a friend of culture, and for this reason could not hold his own. Schujskij, a thorough-paced Muscovite, repealed the innovations of Godunov and Dmitri. The first Romanofs were friends of



THE TSAR FEODOR III.

A monarch of kindly disposition, he governed on the same lines as his father, Alexis, an accomplished and cultured ruler and the patron of foreigners. Feodor died in 1682.

European culture. Michael summoned scholars to Russia; Arsenius, a Greek, set up a Greek and Latin school in Moscow. A still greater patron of foreigners was Alexis (1645-1676). He was devoted to hawking, although it was forbidden by the Church; he brought foreigners in numbers to Russia, protected them from the hatred of the people, and assigned them a particular quarter in Moscow, which was called the German suburb or *Sloboda*. Previous tsars had not even known how to write; we have many letters written by Alexis, a treatise on hawking, and memoirs of the Polish war. It was he who fetched the Little Russian scholars Slavincky and Polocky to Moscow and established the first postal communications with the West. He also first established a court theatre. His son Feodor, a monarch of kindly disposition, governed on the same lines. Now at last private individuals and ministers were found who were zealous advocates of West European culture. The enlightened chancellor Alexis, Ordinashtshokin, and the Boyar Matvejev were Westerners; they lived in civilisation, and were students of learning without paying any attention to the prejudices of their countrymen. Vasilij Golizyn, who was minister (1680-1689) and favourite of the regent Sophia, was especially praised and admired by the foreigners. Neuville, the Franco-Polish diplomatist, wrote of him that he was one of the most intellectual, magnificent, and courteous princes of his

time. Even in the bosom of the Church there appeared, under Alexis, a man who ventured to meditate ecclesiastical reforms; this was the Patriarch Nikon. Among other things, he ordered a revision of the service books, into which many errors had been introduced by copyists. But the success of his efforts was trifling. The emendations of Nikon far from a reform, produced a schism in the Russian Church. The priests refused to accept the revised books, and regarded them as heretical. This schism still estranges from the Russian Church millions of subjects, who embody Old Russia. From the bosom of the Raskolniks came, for example, Pugatchef. After postal communications with Western Europe had been instituted, a Russian wrote: "The foreigners have knocked a hole

between our country and theirs: the post, which possibly is financially advantageous to the tsar, only harms the country. The foreigners know at once whatever takes place in our land."

And yet what would Russia have been without the foreigners? Everything had to be brought in from abroad; architects, engineers, painters, artists, officers, cannon-founders, bell-founders, miners, silversmiths, goldsmiths, doctors, chemists, actors, teachers, and so on. It was only under the direction of the English, Germans, and Dutch that industries, such as mines, glass manufactories, powder-mills, etc., were started. For all military successes the Russians are thus indebted to the outside world.



THE PATRIARCH NIKON, THE REFORMER

The reforming zeal of the age revealed itself in the bosom of the Church itself, where the Patriarch Nikon attempted to introduce ecclesiastical changes. Among other things, he ordered a revision of the service books, but the success of his efforts was very slight.

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PETER THE GREAT STUDIES BRITISH INSTITUTIONS



The one aim of Peter the Great was to advance the interests of his country, and he devoted himself with tremendous energy and enthusiasm to this task. He was a close student of the manners and customs of other nations. During the tsar's residence in London he was taken by Lord Dartmouth to the roof of the House of Lords, where he watched the Second Chamber transacting its business.



THE FOUNDER OF MODERN RUSSIA

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF PETER THE GREAT

It was the greatest good fortune for Russia that in the long struggle between light and darkness, affecting all the aspects of Russian life, it possessed such a ruler as Peter the Great, the son of Alex's by his second wife—a lady of the house of Naryszkin. Peter, a man of rare gifts, with a marvellous memory and an indomitable will, placed himself most emphatically on the side of the party of culture; he overthrew with a strong but rough hand the enemies of European civilisation and refinement, brought Russia suddenly nearer to Europe, and procured her an honourable place among the great European powers. Like Godonov, he had not been brought up in the stifling atmosphere of the tsar's court, but in the country, since his sister Sophia wished to keep him far from the throne. A rough child of Nature, with keen mother wit, he rode rough-shod over all meaningless tradition, and while thus arousing the horror of his countrymen, he excited the admiration of the outside world. He was the first tsar who left his palace, laid his own hand to every sort of work, travelled widely, and performed the hitherto unprecedented feat of a journey to the West.

Peter became absolute tsar in 1689, after his half-sister Sophia the regent, who had even plotted against his life, had been placed in the convent of the Muscovite Sisters. His brother and co-tsar Ivan V. took no share in the government, but was merely named with Peter in all state documents down to his death on January 29th, 1696.

By the year 1725 Peter with restless energy had accomplished a vast number of works, for the completion of which the Russians, with their natural lethargy, would have otherwise required centuries. One goal shone before him and led his steps; he wished to make Russia great and strong by culture. And since he was not for one moment in doubt that

much must first be learned from Europe, he twice journeyed westward to study, and was always eager to bring his country nearer to the Western nations and to pave the way for a systematised commerce with them. Just as his plans were diametrically opposed to the views of the Russian conservatives, so his life was an uninter-

The Dark Forces of Old Russia rupted and bitter struggle against Old Russia, against all the dark forces which openly and in secret tried to preserve the old order—in a word, against the past. This explains his enthusiasm for the sea and the navy, which might become the connecting links with Western Europe. Russia was an inland empire, on every side somewhat remote from the sea, and her neighbours jealously watched that she should not set sail on it. This unfavourable geographical position has coloured the whole history of Russia. Condemned by Nature to seclusion, she became in the course of time accustomed to this, and soon regarded it as a natural characteristic. The little country of Greece was formerly indebted to its position on the Mediterranean, the high-road of the world, for its high civilisation, as also was ancient Italy.

For this reason Ivan IV. had already endeavoured to conquer Livonia and win a place on the Baltic. Peter grasped this idea still more clearly and applied himself to the naval question with all the fire of his soul. When he saw the sea for the first time at Archangel, he was as it were inspired. English and Dutch ships came thither by the long and seldom ice-free route past the North Cape. That was, for the time being, the only way to Western Europe, and there was the first opportunity of seeing foreign shipping; Peter was seized by a longing for the sea, like a man who, after long years in a foreign country, is smitten with home-sickness. He learnt shipbuilding, studied naval subjects, associated with mariners, and

formed the plan of journeying to Western Europe in order to gain a complete knowledge of the subject. But he first conquered the Turkish Azov, in 1696, and determined to build a fleet on the corner of the Sea of Azov.

He had been primarily indebted to the technical skill of foreign officers for the capture of the fortress, and this could only confirm him in his intention of going to the West. His victory over the Turks produced an impression in Western Europe and many sovereigns congratulated him. In the year 1697 he started on his first European journey, accompanied by 270 followers. This was an epoch-making event for Russia and for the civilised world, since Russia thus broke with her past and went to sit at the feet of the West, only to assume later one of the first places in the circle of the European powers. It was not so much the magnificence of the Western courts that impressed the royal barbarian as the culture; before that he bowed humbly.

Disguised as a simple member of his suite under the plebeian name of Peter Michailof, he went into foreign countries, not to enjoy himself, but to learn. He did not yet consider himself worthy to appear in all his state. He had for some time served in his own army as a private, then as a bombardier, later as a captain, and so through the grades, and had submitted to the orders of foreigners. It was only after great victories that he ventured to assume higher commands. He went via Riga to Holland first, and then visited England and Holland again; not France this time, because Louis XIV., as Saint-Simon tells us, dissuaded him in a courteous manner. He wished to see everything everywhere. Holland, with its highly developed navy, especially attracted him. It was an important point for the education of the Russian people, particularly

the nobles, who avoided all manual labour, that he worked there with an axe as a carpenter in order to learn thoroughly the art of shipbuilding.

Peter, on his return home from abroad, tried to utilise what he had learned in as many ways and places as he could. The knowledge that Russia emphatically required access to the sea for her development soon led him into war with Sweden, which, by the possession of Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, and Finland, could call the Baltic its own. This, the second or true "Northern War" with Charles XII. of Sweden ranks among the most important in European history. Peter's badly armed and ill-trained army confronted the best troops in Europe. But every defeat which he sustained only served him as a lesson. The losses of his enemies grew

larger and larger, until on July 8th, 1709, he crushed them at Poltava. At a banquet afterwards he drank the health of the captured Swedish officers for the lessons they had taught him.

From that day forward he made continuous progress on the Baltic, until at the peace of Nystad (September 10th, 1721),

he obtained Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, and parts of Finland and Carelia. Sweden thus sank to the position of a second-class or third class power. The maritime problem was solved for Russia; a new era dawned. Peter and Russia were seized with a wild joy. Peter publicly danced upon the

table and drank to the health of the cheering mob. He had resolved even before the close

of the war to remove the centre of the empire to the Baltic. He, therefore, built after 1703 on the Neva, in the territory conquered from Sweden, a fortress and a new capital which was to bear his name, in order that Russia should not again be driven back from the sea, and that she should not forget the man who had led her to the sea. He



THE WIVES OF PETER THE GREAT

This great monarch was twice married. It was a deep sorrow to him that his first wife, Eudoxia Lopuchin, whom, in 1698, he sent to a convent, did not share his reforming zeal but schemed against him; his second wife, Catharine, succeeded him on the throne and died in 1727.

Russia as
a Maritime
Power

PETER THE GREAT, THE FOUNDER OF MODERN RUSSIA

remembered, as he did so, the ancient times when that coast had been Russian, and the men who had won the first victory over the Swedes. He, therefore, founded the Alexander-Nevskij Order. St. Petersburg, where he felt himself "in a sort of paradise," he modestly called his little window looking on Europe.

This same longing for the sea impelled him to win the shore of the Black Sea. The declaration of hostilities by the sultan, whom Sweden, the Tartars, Stanislaus Lesczynski, and the French had instigated to make war on Russia, was therefore most welcome to him.

Peter already dreamt of marching to "Zarigrad," that is, Constantinople, as once the heroes of old Russia had done, in order to free the Christians of the East—Serbs, Montenegrins, Bulgarians, Greeks, and Wallachians—from the Turkish yoke. He calculated upon a universal rising of the Christians, but his undertaking failed simply because no such rising took place. Surrounded at Hush

on the Pruth by 200,000 Turks and Tartars, he was compelled to surrender Azov on July 23rd, 1711, and destroy his fleet. He took this humiliation deeply to heart. It was reserved for his successors to conquer the northern shore of the Black Sea.

He fought with better fortune against the Persians for the possession of the Caspian Sea, across which the commerce between Europe and Asia was intended to pass. The Russians captured in 1723 Daghestan, Gilan, Mazandaran, with Resht, Asterabad, and Baku. The way was paved for their dominion on the Caspian Sea. With a thorough appreciation of the value of free intercourse, Peter provided

for new high-roads and waterways throughout his empire, and contemplated connecting the Twerza with the Msta, the Dwina and the Don with the Volga, the Caspian Sea with the Black Sea, and both by means of the Volga with the Baltic. He constructed the great Ladoga Canal, which connected the Wolchov with the Neva. Holland was his model in these operations, as Sweden was for road-making. The postal system was satisfactorily enlarged under Peter, although German officials were still employed and the postal accounts were for a long time kept

in German. Peter also tried to improve the fairs, of which there were some 1,630.

He concluded commercial treaties with several European states, ordered his Boyars to send their children abroad, and undertook himself, in the year 1716, his second journey to the West, where he devoted his special attention this time to art and science, a proof of the progress he himself had made in culture. He now visited France and took pains

to conclude a commercial treaty and a

closer alliance with Louis XV., and would have been glad to marry his daughter Elizabeth to the heir to the throne. But France only consented to a commercial treaty. Louis XV. married on September 5th, 1725, Maria, daughter of that Stanislaus Lesczynski whom Peter in 1707 had helped to drive from the Polish throne.

Peter also brought foreigners into the country that they might erect workshops there and carry on business. The French started tapestry works and stocking factories on the model of the Gobelins manufactory at Paris, and were famous for their skill in weaving Russian wool,



PETER THE GREAT: CHIEF OF ALL THE ROMANOFFS
Becoming absolute Tsar in 1689, Peter the Great rode rough-shod over all meaningless tradition, and soon procured for Russia an honourable place among the great European Powers. He died in 1725.

as the English were for the preparation of Russian leather. The tsar allowed foreigners to look everywhere for metals. He himself founded factories and commanded the Russian artisans to take instruction from foreigners; thus he sent

Russia's Debt to Foreigners a number of shoemakers from every town to Moscow to be taught by the English who were working there. He improved the conditions of mining, agriculture and stock-rearing. No aspect of economic development escaped his notice. The prosperity of the empire increased and economic revival spread. The national revenue increased in fifteen years (1710-1725) from three to ten million roubles. The influence and prestige of Russia were

of the line, 800 vessels, and 28,000 sailors, which soon showed its value in war. There were in his army many foreign officers or Russians educated abroad, so that in the end he was able to defeat all his enemies. In this task he was especially supported by his general Patrick Gordon, a Scotsman, his admiral François Lefort, a Genevan—both died in 1699—and James Bruce, a Scotsman, who managed the artillery department. The Russians themselves soon made merry over the old army; Theophan Pososhkof, the peasant scholar and partisan of Peter, compared it to a herd of cattle. The army which Peter created beat the first commanders in Europe.

He devoted not less careful attention



THE PALACE OF ORANIENBAUM, NEAR PETERHOF, BUILT BY PETER THE GREAT IN 1714

immensely widened by the growth of national wealth and intercourse with other countries. The first place among all Russian monarchs is on these grounds most emphatically to be assigned to Peter the Great.

The chief corps in Russia had been, since Ivan the Terrible, the Strelitz. As they had several times revolted against Peter, he dissolved them in 1698, after inflicting a sanguinary punishment for their disloyalty. He now formed new regiments of foot soldiers and dragoons as a standing army, which was raised to 210,000 men and regularly levied. The Cossacks and the wild Eastern tribes supplied an unlimited number of fighting men. Peter created a large force of artillery and a fleet, numbering forty-eight ships

to founding educational institutions, so that Russia might no longer be dependent for her culture on the outside world. He thus set up technical schools, such as a school for accountants, a school for working builders, a naval academy, a school of cartography, and introduced foreign teachers, with whom he had personally much intercourse. His acquaintance with Leibnitz, whom he

An Age of Intellectual Progress nominated privy councillor with a salary of 1,000 thalers, was important. At the suggestion of Leibnitz he founded the Academy of Sciences, which was intended to have its seat in St. Petersburg (it only came into existence after his death, 1725). Peter also equipped scientific expeditions, as for example to Kamchatka, in order to

AN EARLY APPEARANCE OF THE JEWS IN RUSSIA



Peter the Great was the friend of foreigners, and he is here depicted granting permission to settle in Russia to a deputation of Jews in Moscow. But although this concession was made by Peter, it was not until 1839 that a Jew could be a citizen of the first class in Russia.



RUSSIA IN WINTER: ST. PETERSBURG UNDER SNOW

solve the problem whether Asia is connected with America.

It was not less important for Russia that he brought to his court scholars from Little Russia such as Theophan Prokopovitch and Stefan Javorsky, who had already advised the founding of an academy and now found a useful outlet for their energies in the ecclesiastical domain. But the most important point was that Peter decided no one should be admitted to the service of the state who had not acquired the rudiments of school education and some technical knowledge. Nobles who were unable to read and write were to lose their nobility. Every official was bound to put his children in a national school from their tenth to their fifteenth year; uneducated children of the official class were not allowed to marry unless they had learned a trade. The tsar ordered a number of technical books to be translated into Russian, on which task he himself gave advice to the authors. They were to aim

**Tsar Encourages
Printing
and Science**

in their translations at reproducing not so much the words as the sense, and were to guard against useless digressions. Peter also reformed the obsolete and unpractical alphabet by devising new forms of letters. Since the art of printing in Russia had made no progress since the sixteenth century, he summoned Dutch printers and set up two printing-presses in Moscow, four in St. Petersburg, one each in Tchernigov,

Novgorod, and other towns. He also was a patron of science. The author Polykarpov received 200 roubles from Peter for the "History of Russia from the Sixteenth Century onwards," which he printed. Peter did much also for geography. He ordered curious bones, peculiar stones, and even inscriptions to be collected, and human and animal abortions to be exhibited, while he noticed in the ukase that ignorant people made mysteries of such things and ascribed them usually to diabolic agency. He had the monastic libraries examined and copies made of their archives.

**The Founder
of Russian
Newspapers**

He built hospitals, and sent young persons to study medicine abroad. From January 1st, 1700, he introduced into Russia the Christian chronology—of course according to the Julian calendar, which had become antiquated in the interval but was still tenaciously upheld by most non-Catholics—while hitherto the creation of the world had been taken as the starting-point. He even recognised the value of the public Press, and brought into existence in 1714 the "Petersburg Journal." By such many-sided and far-sighted efforts to advance the civilisation of his country, he more than justified the doctorate which he received from Oxford, and the further honour of being nominated a member of the Academy of Sciences at Paris.

The ancient provincial administration would obviously be affected by this great reorganisation, and all the more so as

PETER THE GREAT, THE FOUNDER OF MODERN RUSSIA

the worst abuses prevailed in this domain. Since the officials, as was then the custom almost everywhere, received no salary, but only grants of land, or had to maintain themselves at the expense of the population, they became regular tormentors of the people, whom they could plunder without breaking the law. Such emoluments were called in Russia *Kormlenje*; that is, nourishment or forage. "Wait for your post and grow fat" was the formula for appointment in the days of the old tsars. Peter abolished the *Kormlenje*, in doing which he acted with his usual harshness, if not brutality, and appointed a fixed salary for every office.

In the machinery of administration complete confusion prevailed, since the departments of the individual magistrates were not clearly separated. Peter divided the empire in 1708 into eight,

in 1719 into ten, and later into eleven, governorships, and these finally into forty-three provinces. Each governor had at his side a provincial council elected from the nobles. As central authorities he created in 1718 ten governmental colleges or ministries, on the Danish and Swedish model, for foreign affairs, war, the navy, the treasury, law, the revenue, noble estates, industries, mining and trade. In each college one foreigner was given a position. In 1711 Peter instituted a senate, in the place of the Council of the Boyars, as the supreme court of justice and a supervisory authority; he nominated a Procurator-General as its president, who was to watch over the observance of the laws. He gave the towns self-government and independent jurisdiction, and established at St. Petersburg, to control them all, a chief



PETER THE GREAT ON HORSEBACK

While Peter the Great sought to advance Russia by culture and the arts of peace, he was not unmindful of its position as an empire that depended upon its strength of arms, and he aimed at making it powerful against its enemies.



From the painting by]

[D. MacLise, R.A.

WILLIAM III. WATCHING PETER THE GREAT WORKING AS A SHIPBUILDER AT DEPTFORD DOCKYARD

When Russia's great ruler saw the sea for the first time, at Archangel, he became inspired with the ambition to make his country a naval power. He visited England to learn ship-building, and, adopting the plebeian name of Peter Michailoff, he worked with his own hands as a carpenter that he might understand the complete art of constructing ships.



THE CROSS OF DESTINY NEAR POLTAVA

Near the city of Poltava, at the junction of the Poltava and the Vorskla rivers, stands the massive cross shown in the illustration. It marks the resting-place of many hundreds of Swedish soldiers, who, under Charles XII. were defeated by the Russians, led by Peter the Great, on July 8th, 1709. The battle at once marks the fall of Sweden's power and the beginning of the rise of modern Russia, for as the one nation retrograded the other made rapid strides forward.

magistrate who was responsible to the senate only, and had to attend to trade and commerce.

The tsar created a body of police and introduced a sort of state inquisition in order to break down the opposition to his reforms. He improved the judicial system: partly after the Swedish model, more especially the criminal code, and reformed the system of taxation by substituting a poll-tax for the hearth-tax. He took the severest measures to ensure the public peace, by no means an easy

task when brigandage was so widely prevalent. He prosecuted the coiners, built workhouses, infirmaries, and lunatic asylums; he called on all his subjects to inform against thieves, and punished the guilty often with his own hand. In order to raise the tone of honour among the whole body of officials, who were both ignorant and corrupt, he ordered that every one who entered the public service should become noble. By this expedient, and by the institution of orders, he abolished the privileges of the hereditary nobility.



GENERAL VIEW OF POLTAVA SHOWING THE FAMOUS BATTLEFIELD

Service and work would for the future ennoble a man. He introduced into the public service fourteen grades, of which the highest were to be attained by merit only, without respect of birth.

He interfered even with family and social life. He would not tolerate face-veils, or litters concealed by curtains. Women were not to live in Asiatic seclusion, but to move about freely in the European fashion. He repealed the old Russian law by which all members of a family had equal rights of inheritance, and introduced the German law of primogeniture, in order that the younger sons should be compelled to look for a livelihood

at court in any other costume ; and a tax of from thirty to one hundred roubles was laid upon beards. In short, there was hardly a form of life that Peter would not have gladly reformed, all to raise his people as quickly as possible from the condition of barbarism. But although he esteemed strangers, followed their advice, and wished to Europeanise Russia, he did not do so slavishly, but only adopted useful novelties ; he preserved the dignity of the Russian nation and allowed no encroachments by foreigners. Thus he punished severely anyone who propagated Lutheran doctrines ; and as far as possible he placed Russians in the leading positions.

He did all this with as much haste as if he wanted to leave nothing for his successors to do, or as if he were afraid that his reforms would be reversed and his Russians brought back to the old barbarism. Nor was this anticipation altogether groundless ; for, in spite of his iron rule and unparalleled energy, he had his enemies ; he had not by any means conquered the darkness. The party



A CANAL DREDGER AT WORK

in trade or in the civil service. But this enactment was repealed under the Empress Anna, since it did not suit Russian conditions. Peter further decreed that serfs should only be sold by families and not separately like heads of cattle. He introduced the social forms and customs of the West, arranging, for example, balls and receptions upon the French model. Indeed, he gave orders that Western dress should be worn, in order ; as an English diplomat expressed it, that his people might be transformed both outwardly and inwardly ; and to make them entirely European, or, as he himself declared to the Danish Ambassador, Juel, in order to make men out of beasts.

When, having returned from his first European journey, he was respectfully welcomed by the Boyars, he received them graciously, embraced and kissed them, but at the same time remonstrated with them about their dress, cut off with his own hands the beards of Field-Marshal Alexei Schein and others, as well as their long skirts and sleeves, and required that men and women alike should dress like Europeans. No one might appear



LADOGA CANAL, BUILT BY PETER THE GREAT

of Old Russia still lived ; they crept away like reptiles when a sunbeam strikes into their lurking place. "Unhappily he stands alone with his dozen workers while millions block the way," wrote the enlightened Pososkof, peasant and merchant at once, in his book on "Poverty and Wealth."

The people, the body of officials, the clergy, the Boyars, and in fact his own relations were dissatisfied with the reforms. When Peter came back in 1698 from his travels, a story was current that it was not the tsar, but a stranger, while the real tsar had been rolled into the sea in a barrel by the Germans. The priests announced the



THE WINTER PALACE



MARBLE PALACE, BUILT BY CATHARINE II



THE ANITCHKOFF PALACE



HERMITAGE ADJOINING WINTER PALACE



PALACES OF THE NOBLES ON THE FONTANKA CANAL

THE STATELY PALACES OF ST. PETERSBURG

approach of Antichrist, and since, according to a prophecy, Antichrist was to be born in adultery, it was said that Peter's mother, the second wife of Aléxis, was the false virgin, the adulteress. Insulting notices were posted on the walls. The clergy were especially dangerous, since, being unpleasantly disturbed in their *dolce*

The Clergy as the Enemies of Progress *far niente* by Peter, they thought it their duty to oppose the innovations. The Patriarch of Moscow declared

that shaven beards were unworthy of men; a beardless man resembled a beast. European dress was stigmatised as the badge of unchristian views. Foreigners were always in such danger that Peter had to protect them. A physician, Bremburg, was almost murdered because a skeleton had been seen in his possession. Whenever fires broke out, foreigners were not infrequently the victims. On the occasion of the revolt of the Strelitz corps, a massacre of all foreigners had been planned. It was intended to destroy the German quarter and to attempt the life of the tsar. If he had not intervened at the very first with severity and courage, a general revolution would have broken out.

The victories of Azov and Poltava contributed largely to strengthen Peter's government. Nevertheless, he was called upon to suppress numerous risings of the Cossacks and different bands, as well as the rebellions of various individuals. How far the clergy were to blame for these insurrections cannot at this distance of time be ascertained. They even knew how to sow opposition in his family. His sister, his wife Eudoxia Lopuchin, and even his son Alexis, were unfriendly to his reforms and therefore to him.

That was the greatest sorrow to Peter. He sent his wife, in 1698, to a convent, but her cell became the centre of all the machinations against him. He tried vainly to guide his son's steps into another path. Even the threat to exclude him from the throne proved unavailing. While he was on his travels, Alexis fled, in 1717, to the relations of his wife, Charlotte of Brunswick, at Vienna. But Peter sent

secret agents after him. They found him at Sant' Elmo, near Naples. He was induced to return home, and his father sat sternly in judgment over him. He forced Alexis, at a meeting of notables in the Kremlin, to renounce the throne (February 14th, 1718). He then ordered him to be thrown into prison and tortured. The tsarevitch was found dead there on July 7th. Peter the Great, in excess of zeal, had thought himself bound to sacrifice his own son on the altar of his country.

He clearly saw from which side the greatest danger threatened his immense work: it was the Church; and he therefore soon determined to limit the influence of the clergy. On the death of the Patriarch Adrian, the enemy of his reforms, in 1700, he did not again fill the vacant chair, but

nominated Stefan Javorsky as vice-patriarch. In 1721 he definitely abolished the office of Patriarch, and appointed a synod of bishops as the chief ecclesiastical authority, and, as in the case of the senate, he placed at its head a procurator-general, who was often a soldier, to represent the tsar. In the edict which announced this change the tsar stated that "the common people cannot grasp the difference between the highest spiritual and secular power, and imagine that the chief pastor of the Church is a second sovereign, who is the equal, if not the superior of the tsar." He advised



ADMIRAL LEFORT

Peter the Great was by no means averse to employing foreign officers, many of whom were in the service of Russia. Francois Lefort, admiral of the fleet, was a Genevan.

the bishops to avoid display and pride, and to forbid men prostrating themselves before them. Every bishop was to set up a school in his palace. Peter also looked into the monastic question, and forbade anyone to enter a convent before the age of thirty. He

Peter Tolerant to Religions ordered the monks to learn a trade. He did not venture to confiscate the monastic revenues, although the monasteries had piled up immense wealth, and were often merely incentives to idleness and vice. He imposed on them, however, the duty of keeping up schools and supporting the destitute. With these exceptions he interfered little in religious questions, and was thoroughly tolerant to all denominations. It was perhaps mainly from fear of



BUILDINGS OF THE ADMIRALTY IN THEIR BEAUTIFUL GARDEN



NEVSKY PROSPEKT: THE SPLENDID MAIN THOROUGHFARE OF ST. PETERSBURG



SPANNING THE RIVER NEVA: THE NICHOLAS BRIDGE

ST. PETERSBURG, THE MAGNIFICENT CAPITAL OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE

the excessive power of the Church that he retained the despotic form of government, and even wished to strengthen the power of the sovereign. Even Ivan the Terrible had condescended to convene provincial diets; his successors did the same; but Peter refused. His ministers supported him in this. Stefan Javorsky

**Emperor
of All the
Russias**

actually wrote a book in which he tried to give a scientific basis to absolutism. Peter did not, however, go so far; for instance, he forbade prostration before him and servile modes of address. But in the question of the royal title he wished to break with tradition, and assumed the style of Emperor of all the Russias. He thus placed himself on an equality with the Roman emperor, since he regarded himself as a successor of the Byzantine Cæsars. He was thus the first sovereign in Europe who no longer acknowledged the Roman idea of world empire. In order that his reforms and those of his heirs might not be exposed to an attack delivered by some crown prince of the Old Russian party, he changed the law of succession in so far that each tsar could nominate his successor.

A more versatile monarch can hardly be imagined. Peter put his hand to everything; almost everything was due to his own initiative. Even if he tried to introduce the civilisation and morality of the West into Russia by force, he never allowed Russia to become dependent on strangers or to be governed by them. He summoned young Russians as well as foreigners to his side. In Peter's eyrie, as Pushkin says, there was a wonderful brood of eaglets: Menschikov, who sprang from a small family, became prince, field-marshal and admiral; Boris Scheremetjef, the first marshal of Russia, renowned for his bravery and uprightness, whose exploits were the theme of folk-songs; the brothers Demetrius and Michael Golizyn, Feodor Golovin, Gavriolo Golovkin, Jacob Vasily, and Gregor Dolgoruki; the fiery, honest, and shrewd Jagusinsky, solicitor-general of the senate; Boris and Alexander Kurakin (father and son), ambassadors to the European courts; Peter Tolstoi,

a splendid diplomat; Alexis Kurbatof, the treasurer, and others. Even Peter III. of Holstein, the degenerate grandson of Peter the Great, said in his praise that he had reared an enlightened family and furnished the state with able generals and officials.

Peter died on February 8th (January 28th o.s.), 1725, barely fifty-three years old, the greatest of the Romanovs, and one of the greatest monarchs of any nation. Seldom has any man employed his life to more advantage. The new era of Russia begins with him. He filled the country with fresh and vigorous sap, breathed a new spirit into the giant frame of the nation, and rejuvenated the empire. His successors stand on his shoulders. The foreign diplomats were full of wonder at his person. "The tsar towers above every man in his realm," wrote the Danish ambassador; "he is a marvel of wisdom, acuteness, observation, promptness, and strength."

The tsar's own people honoured such services. The senate bestowed on him the title of Great Father of his Country. Yet he had received a very defective and old-fashioned education. The electress, Sophia Charlotte of Brandenburg, after 1701 first queen of Prussia, admirably described him: "He is at once very good and very bad," she wrote; "had he enjoyed a better education he would have been a perfect man." It is obvious that sometimes in his exacting labours he acted over-hastily, and that thus many of his creations appeared clumsy at first; much also that he planned was not carried out, and much proved ephemeral. Documents that have been quite recently published give us a glimpse into the indefatigableness and variety of his labours, and into his capacity for carrying a matter through. The documents for the history of his reign are not yet completely accessible, nor has any exhaustive life of Peter been written owing to the mass of materials. But with the lapse of time his true greatness has been more fully realised. In days of distress his disciples wept at his grave, and folk songs called on him to rise from the tomb.



WHEN WOMEN RULED IN RUSSIA

PETER THE GREAT'S SUCCESSORS AND THE BRILLIANT REIGN OF CATHARINE THE GREAT

IT was a misfortune for the empire that Peter the Great died without having nominated his successor, not merely because a civil war might easily have arisen, but because this insecurity grew into a malady which endured for a whole century, occasioning great dangers to the empire. Almost all the relations of Peter, his second wife, Catharine I., his nieces, his daughters, and his grandsons grasped at the sceptre. After 1598 almost every change of sovereignty from the end of the sixteenth to the beginning of the nineteenth century was effected by a coup d'état; and how many tsars died a natural death?

Peter was followed on the throne by Catharine, a Lithuanian of low origin, chiefly because she had won much credit both with the army and with the official classes by wise bribery of the Grand Vizir in the crisis on the Pruth (1711). She designated Peter II., grandson of Peter and son of the unfortunate Alexis, as her successor. She died in 1727, and he on February 9th, 1730. The throne was then held by the army, especially by the guards. Thus in 1730 the niece of Peter, the Duchess of Courland, Anna Ivanovna, the second daughter of his brother and co-tsar Ivan, came to the throne, and in 1740 Ivan VI. Antonovitch of Brunswick-Bevern, a grandson of Peter, with his mother, Anna Leopoldovna, as regent. But these latter were deposed in the course of

Women on the Throne of Russia

the next years, and Elizabeth, the third daughter (born in 1709, and therefore illegitimate) of Peter, mounted the throne, which she occupied until her death, in 1762. After her, the grandson of Peter the Great by his second daughter, Anne of Holstein-Gothorp, came to the throne as Peter III., but was forced to abdicate after six months, and finally, on July 17th, 1762, was murdered by Alexis Orlov at the country house of Ropsha. His wife,

Sophia of Anhalt-Zerbst, mounted the throne as Catharine II. She was followed in 1796 by her son Paul I., who was assassinated on March 23rd, 1801.

It is remarkable that in the course of the eighteenth century women mostly guided the fates of Russia, while the men could not hold their own, but usually died violent deaths. Peter's sister Catharine I. Sophia had been the first to sit on the throne, at first as regent; she wished to be proclaimed sole ruler. She allowed herself more liberty of movement than her brother Peter would have liked, and in this way paved the way for other women to the throne, hitherto an unprecedented event in Russia. The respect felt for Peter I. was so intense and permanent that his second wife was able to succeed him at once. Catharine I. was the first absolute mistress of Russia. The Raskolniki alone, true to their tradition, refused to swear allegiance to her, and preferred to suffer death.

With the women came also the power of favourites, of whom some, such as Bühren (Biron), the favourite of Anna Ivanovna, behaved defiantly, and treated the whole nation with contempt; some even were desirous of mounting the throne themselves, such as Alexander Menschikov, who immediately, after the death of Catharine I., betrothed his daughter Maria on May 25th, 1727, to the heir to the throne (Peter II.), and wished to marry his son Alexander to the latter's sister; in writing to the young Tsar Peter II., he signed himself "your father," and ordered the members of his family to be inserted in the almanac with those of the imperial family, and the names of his daughters to be recited in the church prayers. Alex's Rasumovsky, who was secretly betrothed to Elizabeth, became count (1744), field-marshal, and master of the hunt; Gregory Orlov,

ennobled in 1762, "the handsomest man in the north," wished to marry Catharine II., and became in 1762 an ancestor of Count Bobrinsky.

It was a shameless state of things. The parties at court were fighting one against the other without regard for the welfare of the nation. If one party came to the helm, it wreaked its fury recklessly on the outgoing party. The defeated were beheaded; if mercy was shown them from the "inborn goodness" of the tsaritsa, their hands were lopped off, their tongues and ears cut off, their property confiscated, and they were sent to Siberia. Thus a series of able men were killed in barbarous party feuds. The hatred against foreigners was revived, and foreign officers were murdered from "patriotism."

The new constitutional changes were usually due to the favourites; an attempt was made in them to limit the power of the crown in favour of the councillors of the crown. After the death of the last Romanof (1730) the "High Privy Council" resolved to utilise the situation in order to obtain charters for the nobility. The Dolgorukij and Golizyn accordingly offered the crown to the female descendants of Ivan V., who stood further from the throne, in the well-founded anticipation that they would more easily accept terms. Anna Ivanovna actually signed the demands laid before her to the effect that the High Council should consist of eight members; that vacancies should be filled by co-optation, and that the council should be summoned for all imperial affairs, so that without its consent no decision could be taken as to peace and war, nor any new taxes levied; that no offices from the highest downwards might be conferred, nor any crown property alienated without its approbation, nor any member of the nobility punished without its judicial cognisance.

Anna, further, might neither marry nor nominate her successor without the approval of the council. Thus in 1730 the Russian Privy Councillors demanded all at once that which the Polish nobility only obtained in the course of centuries.

Possibly, too, the Swedish Riksråd had supplied them with a model. But the text of the capitulations which we have quoted shows that the Russians were tyros in such matters. Men would not tolerate too sudden innovations, especially when the body of Boyars and priests was intended to submit to the rule of a few persons.

The Russian nation feared the domination of the high nobility more than the tyranny of the tsar. When, therefore, a few days afterwards, a general assembly of the states was summoned and the capitulation was read out, there was no one, so Bishop Theophan Procopovitch tells us, among those present who did not tremble from head to foot when he heard the document. The members of the Senate and many others presented the empress with petitions against the new constitution, and the officers of the guard cried: "We do not wish that laws shall be dictated to the empress; she ought to have the same rights as her predecessors." Anna, as might be expected, then carried out a coup d'état to secure the crown. Russia was not yet ripe for a more liberal constitution. Despotism, in fact, now struck deeper roots, since it had, as it were, received the sanction of the people.

In other respects the rule of the Russian empresses, with the exception of Catharine II., was thoroughly bad. Apart from the fact that the greatest licentiousness prevailed at the court, and that some empresses, like Catharine I. and Elizabeth, were addicted to drink, they achieved nothing of note by their foreign policy, although they all governed in the spirit of Peter, and were anxious to carry out his plans. Elizabeth, at the advice of her favourite, Ivan Schuvalov, founded the University at Moscow in 1755, and the Academy of Fine Arts at St. Petersburg in 1758. Cyril Rasumovsky wished to establish a university at Baturin in the Ukraine. The learned Privy Councillor Teplof said, with justice, of these foundations: "The Academy is without academicians, the University without students, the rules are not followed; an irremediable



PETER II. OF RUSSIA

Designated by Catharine, the widow of Peter the Great, as her successor on the throne of Russia, Peter II., grandson of the Great, became tsar in 1727. He died in 1730.

**Elizabeth
the Patron of
Education**

DECEIVING CATHARINE THE GREAT



It is a remarkable fact that during the eighteenth century the fate of Russia was chiefly in the hands of women rulers. Greatest of these was Catharine II., a woman of striking intellectual gifts. She was desirous at one time to abolish serfdom, and took a deep interest in the condition of her people. During her Majesty's royal progresses it was the custom of her favourite, Potemkin, to patch up miserable villages into a state of apparent prosperity. Our illustration depicts such a deception.

confusion prevails everywhere." This confusion was apparent in foreign policy no less than in home affairs. The influence of foreigners now made itself felt in a harsh manner. Under Anna, the German influence was predominant; the Russians were treated with contempt. Anna regarded herself as a foreigner, and ridiculed the Russian nobility and all that was Russian in an unseemly fashion. She chose her court fools by preference from among the Russian nobles; even princesses were compelled to submit to whippings, to crow like hens, sit on nests of eggs, etc.

Under Elizabeth, French fashions were the vogue, and were equally exaggerated. The foreign policy was shaped to suit this movement. The greatest victories, such as that won in conjunction with Laudon in 1759 at Kunersdorf, were not made full use of. Policy was guided by sentiment rather than by regard for the public welfare. Some advantages were obtained against Turkey, but at an excessive price.

At the invitation of the Empress Elizabeth there then came to court Joanna Elizabeth of Anhalt-Zerbst, a princess of Got-torp, connected through Anna Petrovna with the Romanovs, together with her daughter Sophia Augusta Frederica. She succeeded in marrying her daughter to the heir to the throne, Peter Fedorovitch (September 1st, 1745). Sophia had already adopted the Orthodox religion in 1744, and took the name of Catharine Alexejevna; she became afterwards the great empress Catharine II. Herself a beautiful and accomplished woman, of great intellectual powers, she could not

but overshadow her husband, who possessed limited abilities and had been indifferently educated. When she was only fifteen, she read Plato, Cicero, and other classics. She studied later the new French literature, especially the Encyclopædists.



HUSBAND OF CATHARINE II.
Peter III. had been on the throne for only six months when he was forced to abdicate, and on July 17th, 1762, was murdered by Alexis Orlov at the country house of Ropsha.

Thus, besides D'Alembert and others, she read and passionately admired Montesquieu, whose writings she "pillaged," and called his "Esprit des Lois," the monarch's breviary. "If I were Pope," she said, "I would canonise him." She kept up a vigorous correspondence with Voltaire: "The ancients would have ranked him among the gods," she wrote of him. She "bought" Diderot's library for 15,000 livres, but on the condition that he managed it for her during the rest of his life at a high salary. She was also familiar with the literatures of England and Spain.

Her gifts and accomplishments were balanced by her licentiousness, in which she surpassed her predecessors. Nevertheless, the fortunes of Russia took a turn for the better when she mounted the throne on July 9th, 1762, having deposed



EMPERSES ANNA IVANOVNA AND ELIZABETH

The German influence was predominant in Russia during the reign of Anna, who, regarding herself as a foreigner, ridiculed everything that was Russian. French fashions were the vogue under Elizabeth, and the foreign policy was shaped to suit this movement.

her husband by force. This able woman soon probed the most complicated questions. It could not, therefore, escape her notice that the future of Russia depended on the establishment of connections with the West. It was a great stroke of good fortune for the Russian nation that in her person a ruler took the

reins of government who, as Peter the Great formerly, in the great struggle between reaction and progress, definitely placed herself on the side of progress. She not only possessed the will to do something for the elevation of culture, but knew how

to set the machinery of reform in motion with undeniable skill and intelligence.

Her powerful mind had long contemplated various schemes of reform. She found a coadjutor in the equally intellectual and beautiful Princess Catharine Romanovna Woronzov-Dashkov, the most accomplished woman of her time, who, as she said, was willing to mount the scaffold for her mistress. She did Catharine great service in the deposition of Peter III. The French were the models for Catharine in culture as well as in immorality; but she did not imitate them to a slavish or vulgar degree. As she always remained a sovereign in her attitude towards her favourites, so she always maintained her dignity among the foreigners from whom she learnt. She knew how to strike the happy mean, and did not go to extremes, as Anna and Elizabeth did, or her husband Peter III., who had deified the Prussian king, Frederic the Great, to an absurd degree. Besides French, she also brought Germans to her court, especially natives of the Baltic provinces,

in which the best schools were to be found.

Above all, she allowed the French philosophy of enlightenment to influence her mind. Worshipping the views of the Encyclopædists, she was filled with the lofty thought of making her people happy. She dreamed of no less a scheme than the abolition of serfdom. "Freedom, thou soul of all things," she wrote, "without thee all is dead; I wish to have obedience in laws, but no slaves." Steeped in these ideals, she desired to inaugurate her reign with a modern code. She therefore resolved

to summon a legislative assembly, on the model of the old French estates, from the whole of Russia, and worked for some years with great diligence and acuteness at a draft scheme for its constitution, which testified to her liberal views. She wrote: "The nation is not for the ruler, but the ruler for the nation. The equality of the citizens consists in their only having to obey the law; freedom is the right to do everything that is not forbidden by the law." She condemned religious persecutions and every form of intolerance.

Voltaire expressed his astonishment to her.

Even Frederic the Great could not find words enough to celebrate the authoress, the first woman who came forward as a legislator. The legislative assembly was summoned in the year 1766. It consisted of representatives of all classes and races in the empire, 559 persons. There were to be seen senators, officials, soldiers, members of the synod, citizens, peasants, Tartars, Kalmucks, Lapps, Samoyedes, Germans, and Poles. Every member was

required to be provided with an authorisation from at least five of his electors, and received a medallion bearing the likeness of Catharine and the inscription: "For the happiness of one and all, December 14th, 1766."

All members were declared inviolable for the period of their sittings, and exempt for ever from all corporal punishments. She wrote to Voltaire: "I think that you would be pleased with an assembly in which the Orthodox believer sits between the heretic and the Moslem, all three



ANNA IVANOVNA IN HER ROYAL SPLENDOUR

From a painting in the Romanof Gallery, St. Petersburg.

listen to the speech of an idolator, and then the four of them come to a unanimous opinion." This assembly, owing to its composition, was naturally unfitted for legislative work. In the middle of an earnest discussion over the rights of citizens in towns, one member talked about hygiene, and another recommended a remedy against frost-bite. Nevertheless, in the 200 sittings or more which the assembly held, a number of questions were thoroughly discussed, and resolutions were formulated which are of the highest interest.

Owing presumably to the Turkish war, Catharine dissolved the assembly on December 18th, 1768; only the special committees continued in force until December 4th, 1774. She emphasised, at any rate, in a ukase, the belief that the proceedings had diffused light and learning over the whole realm. The question of the abolition of serfdom had also been touched upon in the assembly; even some nobles among the deputies were in favour of it. Count Peter Scheremetjet, a great benefactor to the poor, and so free from prejudice that he had married a serf, declared his readiness to emancipate them all. But on the whole the Russian nobility were not inclined to release their "souls"; for that would have meant economic ruin for most of them. Many were full of class prejudices. The poet Alexander Sumarokov expressed their view when he says: "The peasant is as fitted for serfdom as the house-dog for the chain or the canary for the cage."

Catharine herself honestly desired the complete, but gradual, abolition of serfdom, and energetically advocated its amelioration. She severely punished persons who were denounced to her for their inhumane treatment of serfs. But the question was very complicated, for serfdom had a political basis. Its beginning lies in the Tartar age, when the Russian petty princes, who were also the chief tax-collectors of the Tartar Khans,

were obliged to raise the Tartar imposts together with their own, and for this object had to introduce a new system of fiscal groups. The increased demands on the army and revenue caused by continual wars compelled the Muscovite grand dukes above all to look for means with which they could enforce the military duties of the nobility and the taxes and services of the peasantry.

A suitable machinery was found in the well-proved system of fiscal groups with common responsibility, so that the government could not touch each separate individual immediately, but only through the body of ratepayers. The same method was applied to the nobility to bring them into touch with military service by the creation of "districts of nobility," in which an *ocladozik*, elected from amongst the nobles, fixed the amount and value of the military service which each of the "district nobles" had to render: As a reward for the service the prince handed over to the nobles crown lands with the resident peasants, whose numbers constituted the real value of the lands. The nobles naturally could only discharge their obligations to the state if the peasants remained on the soil and cultivated it; if these left their part of the country, the lands which they



CATHARINE THE GREAT IN THE UNIFORM OF THE HUSSARS

deserted had no further value. In order, therefore, that military service might be secured, and the land-tax (plough-tax), and, after Peter the Great, the hearth-tax or poll-tax, might not be diminished, the peasants' right of moving their domicile required to be checked. At first it was only restricted. Feodor Ivanovitch, 1592 and 1597, then Boris Godunov, 1601 and 1602, Schuskij, 1607, and Peter the Great, frequently occupied themselves with this problem. First of all, emigration was rendered difficult; then it was absolutely forbidden, and the "floating element" of the population was permanently riveted to the soil. The power of the lord over his serf thus was strengthened, and the state did not interfere in their mutual relations.

THE SUCCESSORS OF PETER THE GREAT

In the seventeenth century, prison, fetters and neck-irons were to be found in a country house.

This patriarchal jurisdiction was not limited by any legal conditions, except that the death penalty was forbidden. The peasants, however, always endured this burden in the knowledge that their services were rendered directly to the state as payment for the officials performing military and other services; that is, the nobility. But when Peter III. in 1762 released the nobles from the obligation to serve the state, on the grounds that love for the sovereign and zeal for the service of the state were so universal that it no longer appeared necessary to maintain those compulsory measures, a great agitation was roused among the peasants, for they believed that on their side they were released from all obligations to the nobility. A responsive quiver was felt throughout the empire; even the disturbances in the Ukraine of the year 1767-1768, were influenced by it. For the first time the peasants were overcome by mistrust of the nobles, whom they accused of keeping them in slavery in defiance of the tsar's will. This idea came more prominently forward under Alexander II., and has not been entirely dissipated to-day.

Catharine would certainly have lightened the yoke of serfdom. But on the other hand the solution of this question was then far too difficult; on the other hand she had just been diverted from that idea by the barbarism of the empire, and altered her views surprisingly in 1768. Instead of alleviating the lot of the peasants, she extended the prerogatives of the landowners, conceded to them the most extensive jurisdiction, forbade the peasants to impeach their lords, and allowed the lords to send their serfs to Siberia. Catharine, who erased the word *rab* (slave) from the Russian dictionary, reduced to serfdom a million and a half

peasants in Little Russia. The sanguinary revolt of the Ukraine peasants under Gonta and Selisnjak in 1767-1768, just at the time when the abolition of serfdom was being discussed, completely destroyed the tsaritsa's pleasure in reforms, since she was indignant at the cruelties perpetrated there, and she entirely changed her attitude, as the dangerous and sanguinary rebellion of Pugatchef fully occupied her attention.

Although the Russian nobility in the bulk was hardly worth more than the peasantry, yet it helped the state to keep the savage peasantry in check, and might be regarded, therefore, as part of the state machinery. Catharine's liberal notions received a still ruder shock when, in the course of the French Revolution, that very people, for whose welfare and freedom men had written and toiled indefatigably, perpetrated hideous atrocities. Gonta, Selisnjak, and the Jacobins, Umani and the storming of the Bastille, gave her much food for meditation. Her opinion was that the people did not deserve liberty.

Then her reactionary efforts began. She destroyed socialistic books and ordered their authors to be watched and their correspondence opened. She broke off relations with France, banished all Frenchmen who were supporters of the Revolution, and received the émigrés with open arms. Catharine did not, however, entirely sacrifice her liberal ideas; the peasants were only temporarily in disfavour with her. She gave the nobility a sort of constitution according to districts, to the towns self-government and private jurisdiction, and special privileges to the merchants. The nobility at that period enjoyed her peculiar favour. She thought the king's cause was the nobles' cause; no nobility, no monarch.

Although Catharine would not abolish serfdom, she was at least trying to prepare for its abolition. She saw that the culture of the nation must first be raised before its condition could be ameliorated, and she



THE FAMOUS CATHERINE II. IN
HER ROYAL ROBES

threw herself heart and soul into the task of raising the standard of schools and education. In this effort she was much helped by Ivan Betzkoy, who had been educated abroad. Like Peter the Great, she founded schools, academies of science and art, and educational establishments. There was room, for example, for some hundreds of well-born girls in the Smolna convent, and the immense educational institute for destitute children roused the admiration of Napoleon I. She commissioned Diderot to prepare a scheme for a system of secondary schools.

**Royal Support
for Learning
and Science**

But, unlike Peter the Great, she contemplated the education of the masses, and, therefore, set more thoroughly to work. She not only, in 1775, ordered the "colleges of general supervision" in the separate governments to provide for the foundation of schools in every large town, and in 1781 built in Petersburg seven schools containing one class only, which immediately received 486 scholars, but also nominated, in 1782, a special committee for the establishment of national schools. At the head of the commission, it is true, was placed Peter Savadovskij, who, in spite of his learning, was very indolent, but he had efficient scholars at his side, among them the "Illyrian" school-director Theodor von Jankovics sent by the Emperor Joseph II., in 1782, who elaborated a new curriculum and wrote text-books. The Russian Kosodavlef published twenty-eight school-books.

These were modest beginnings; no village school had yet been erected. But the National School Ordinance of August 5th, 1786, made school reform obligatory on the whole of Russia. The French educational system was the empress's ideal in this; the Emperor Joseph, whom she had met at the beginning of July, 1780, in Mohilef, influenced her in this direction, since he, too, was under the spell of the French enlightenment. At the advice

**Catharine
Founds a Russian
Academy**

of the Princess Dashkov, Catharine founded in 1783, on the model of the French, a Russian Academy, which was entrusted with the duty of "drawing up rules for orthography, preparing a Russian grammar and prosody, and encouraging the study of Russian history." The Russian Academy stood, therefore, independently by the side of the Academy of Sciences, whose director was also the princess,

from 1783-1796; the former was incorporated in the latter as a second division as recently as 1855. The Russian Academy set about the preparation of a Russian dictionary. The Princess Dashkov edited three letters; the empress composed an appendix to the first volume. Both academies performed meritorious services in elevating the progress of science in Russia.

Catharine's literary activity had many phases. When Princess Dashkov, in 1783-1785, published "The Companion" (or "Conversational Guide for Friends of Russian Literature"), the empress composed for it some anonymous sketches of a satirical character. She also wrote treatises, tales, and plays. Thus she glorified in "Oleg" the first campaign of the Russians against Constantinople; her court bandmaster, Giuseppe Sarti, composed choruses for this piece. In the piece called "Gorebogatyry," or the "Hero of Misfortunes," she ridiculed Gustavus III. of Sweden. Other works from her pen are "The Siberian Shamans," "Deceivers," "The Blinded," "Woe for the Times." For her grandsons Alexander and Constantine she wrote "The Grandmother's Alphabet," and "The Library," which was printed in Berlin. She collected linguistic notes, spent time on archæology and mythology, and extracted chronicles. She was fond of history, especially Russian. "No history supplies better and greater men than ours; I love it to infatuation," she wrote to Diderot.

An imperishable monument of her genius is to be found in her numerous letters, which testify to her grace, her good breeding, her great intellect and literary talent, as well as to her sparkling wit and sensibility. She wrote with equal facility (though, it must be owned, with equal incorrectness) in Russian, German, and French. Her French letters, according to the opinion of the Abbé Jean Siffrein Maury, surpassed even those of Voltaire. For music alone she had no talent. She commissioned many translators and paid them well, as Peter the Great had formerly done. As a patroness of belles lettres she brought distinguished poets, artists, philosophers, and scholars to her court, at which a high intellectual tone prevailed. Many famous contemporaries visited her there, among them



CATHARINE THE GREAT OF RUSSIA

Mounting the throne in 1762, after deposing Peter III., this remarkable woman did much to raise the standard of education. Liberal and tasteful, she enriched St. Petersburg with works of art and splendid buildings.



Voltaire and Diderot. With Baron Melchior Grimm (1723-1807), she once conversed for seven hours without interruption on scientific questions. He was her art and literary agent in France, and bought for her books, works of art, and collections. Voltaire was her intellectual model. Liberal and tasteful, she adorned and enriched St. Petersburg with works of art and splendid buildings of every sort. She loved brilliance and a luxury hitherto unknown in Russia.

She also patronised the Russian scholars and poets. Even in her day, Russian literature showed a list of famous names; the Russian drama was created at this time. The empress had a great share in rousing the self-consciousness of the nation. Although a German princess by birth, she felt herself a Russian. She said in jest to the physician who opened one of her veins: "That is better; the last drop of German blood is gone." The Russian party might have seen that it was possible to be a reformer and remain a true Russian. A number of Russian newspapers sprang up, and the national literature of Russia now flowed in a broad stream. In short, the culture of East Europe rose, at least in the higher circles of society, to heights of which the most sanguine had never dreamed. It was also greatly to the honour of Catharine that she employed the Church in the cause of culture. She completed a step, on which Peter the Great did not venture, namely, the confiscation of the estates of the Church. The Russian monasteries were enormously wealthy. They had been spared even by the Tartars, and their property had grown from century to century. The number of their members amounted to more than a million; the convent of Troizko-Sergiev, at Moscow, alone had 120,000. Catharine now appointed a board, which placed all Church estates under one government. The convents received for every male member a rouble and a half; from the surplus, schools, hospitals, and other charitable institutions were to be erected.

Catharine divided the Russian state into districts, in order to improve the administration and facilitate supervision, and thus created forty governments. During her reign large tracts of land were settled, mostly with colonists from the West, among them many Germans. The number of the population of the kingdom rose under her to forty millions, which was due not only to the colonisation and incorporation of various regions, but also to the circumstance that she paid attention to public sanitation, and among other things introduced inoculation for small-pox. She founded many towns, several of which bear her name, constructed, like Peter, canals and roads, and promoted trade and industries.

It was fortunate for Russia that through the advocacy of her great tsaritsa the warming rays of Western culture shone on her longer than formerly under Peter the Great. For the military strength and political influence of Russia grew with the progress of her civilisation. In spite of the great services of Catharine we must not forget that she only built on the foundation which Peter I. had laid. Peter the Great had roused Russia from a secular apathy, and his task was the greater. He did almost everything himself. Catharine worked mainly through her statesmen; her greatest gift was

her knack of gathering splendid men round her. She was aware of this, and just enough to admit it openly and to give the precedence to Peter the Great.

Catharine's favourites were to some extent highly gifted men, to whose suggestion she may have been indebted for many an act ascribed to her own inventive powers. It is perhaps an excuse for Catharine's weaknesses and sensuality that in her days such conduct was universal. But while other sovereigns were taken up with sensuality, she worked indefatigably; from early morning until late into the night she attended to the business of the empire. Her people readily forgave her any failings in view of her services.



POTEMKIN, THE FAVOURITE
The favourites of Catharine were, for the most part, highly gifted men, and in the front rank of her esteem stood Gregory Potemkin. But he was not above deceiving her Majesty on occasion.

GREAT DATES IN THE HISTORY OF EASTERN EUROPE: A.D. 376 TO 1793

A.D.		A.D.	
376	Huns invade Russia	1593	Austro-Turkish war
c. 480	Czech migration to Bohemia and Moravia	1598	Murder of the pseudo-Dmitri in Russia ; murder of Feodor I., last of the Ruriks ; Moscow patriarchate founded
759	Prague founded		
862	Rurik the first of his line at Novgorod	1606	Peace of Vienna
864	Moravia Christianised	1613	Michael Fedorovitz, first Romanof ruler ; Russia becomes Europeanised
894	Bohemia Christianised		
906	Magyars overcome Moravia	1617	Treaty of Solbovo and cession of Finland to Sweden
907	Oleg invades Greek Empire		
941	Igor attacks Byzantium	1619	Revolt of Bohemia ; Frederick elector palatine elected king of Bohemia
944			
955		1648	Bohemia secured to Austria
988	Russia under Greek and Christian influence	1654	Conquest of Poland by Russia and Sweden
c. 992	Christianity introduced into Poland	1660	Poland regains independence
996	Hungarian monarchy founded	1667	Treaty of Andrussov and acquisition of Polish territory by Russia
1041	Henry III. conquers and devastates Bohemia		
1061	Hungary infested by Poles	1668	John Casimir abdicates Poland
1077	Saint Ladislaus king of Hungary	1671	Cossacks subjugated in Russia
1132	Bela II. king of Hungary	1674	John Sobieski reigns in Poland
1157	Progress of Silesia	1675	Turks defeated at Lemberg by John Sobieski
1174	Bela III. brings Greek civilisation into Hungary	1676	Stefan Bathori reigns in Poland
1187	Premysl Ottokar first king of Bohemia	1683	John Sobieski overcomes the Turks and raises the siege of Vienna
1222	Golden Bull of Hungary		
1223	Russia invaded by the Golden Horde	1686	Ofen retaken from Turks
1238	Henry II. extends rule of Silesia	1687	Hungarian crown becomes hereditary
1241	Tartars ravage Hungary ; Danes driven back from Russia	1689	Peter the Great absolute ruler in Russia
1242	Tartar power in Russia	1696	Conquest of Azov by Russia
1274	Ladislaus of Hungary and Rudolf of Hapsburg make league	1697	Turks defeated at Zenta ; Peter the Great travels
1300	Moscow made the capital of Russia	1698	He dissolves the Strelitz and forms a fleet
1301	Arpad dynasty in Hungary ends	1699	Hungary freed from Turks ; peace of Carlowitz
1309	Charles Robert of Anjou elected king of Hungary	1700	Russia defeated at Narva by Charles XII. of Sweden ; introduction of Julian Calendar into Russia
1325	Silesia invaded by John of Bohemia	1703	St. Petersburg built for the capital
1342	Lewis the Great king of Hungary	1704	Stanislaus I. elected at Vienna
1344-82	Lewis the Great victorious in Servia, Bulgaria and Dalmatia	1707	Mazeppa attempts to free the Ukraine
1346	King John, blind king of Bohemia, slain at Crecy	1709	Swedes defeated at Poltava
1370	Lewis of Hungary elected king of Poland	1711	Defeat of Russians on the Pruth ; Russia in- stitutes a senate
1380	Tartar war in Russia		
1383	Moscow burned	1715	Russian conquests on the Baltic ; Finnish territory, Esthonia and Livonia added to Russia
1395	Tamerlane invades Russia		
1411	Sigismund of Hungary elected emperor of Germany	1716	Peter the Great's second visit to the West
1415	Martyrdom of John Huss	1718	Expulsion of the Jesuits from Russia ; peace of Passarowitz ; death of Peter's son, Alexis
1419	Capture of Prague by Ziska, the Hussite leader ; Hussite war in Bohemia		
1437	Bohemia and Hungary united to Austria	1721	Abolition of patriarchal office in Russia
1442	Hunyadi victorious over the Turks	1722	Pragmatic sanction in Austria permitting female succession
1444	Ladislaus of Hungary defeated and slain at Varna ; Hunyadi regent of Hungary	1723	Russian conquests on the Caspian shores
1448	Hunyadi defeated at Kossova by Turks	1725	Death of Peter the Great
1456	Hunyadi defends Belgrade	1730	Deposition of Peter II. (last of the Romanofs)
1462	Ivan III. reigns in Russia	1737	Austro-Russian war with Turkey
1471	Ladislaus, king of Poland, elected to Bohemian throne	1739	Cession of Servia and Wallachia to Turkey by Peace of Belgrade
1478	King of Hungary takes Silesia	1740	Prussia conquers Silesia ; Hungary supports Maria Theresa
1479	Tartar invasion of Russia repelled by Ivan III.		
1481	Tartars in Russia crushed	1741	War of Austrian succession ; Elizabeth, daughter of Peter the Great, reigns in Russia
1491	Hungary invaded by Maximilian of Austria		
1506	Sigismund I. reigns in Poland ; war between Russia and Poland	1757	Prussia defeats Austria at Prague
1514	Peasant revolt in Hungary	1762	Catharine II. reigns in Russia
1516	Louis II. king of Hungary	1763	Frederick of Prussia retains Silesia
1526	Hungary invaded by Turks ; Ofen captured ; Louis II. defeated at Battle of Mohacs ; John Zapolya elected king of Hungary	1764	Murder of Ivan VI., lawful heir of Russia
1531	Defeat of Wallachia	1770	Great pestilence in Poland
1533	Ivan the Terrible reigns in Russia	1772	First partition of Poland
1548	Sigismund II. effects reforms in Poland	1774	Crimea independent ; peace of Kainardji
1553	England opens trade with Russia	1775	Cossack rebellion in Russia ; peasant revolt in Bohemia
1568	Strelitz established in Russia	1781	Bohemian edict of toleration
1569	Lithuania united to Poland	1783	Russia annexes Crimea
1579	Ivan the Terrible of Russia seeks to marry Elizabeth of England	1784	Protestants tolerated in Hungary
1591	Hungary devastated by Turks	1790	Hungary independent
		1791	Peace of Sistova
		1793	Second partition of Poland



SYMBOLS OF RUSSIA'S GREATNESS: CROWNS AND SCEPTRES OF THE NATION'S RULER

1, Tsar's "globe" as Tsar of Astrakhan. 2, The costliest crown in the world, worn by the Russian Emperor as the Tsar of Novgorod; surmounted by a cross of twelve enormous diamonds. 3, The "globe" which, as Tsar of Kiev, belongs to the Emperor; and, 4, his sceptre as Tsar of Siberia. 5, The Russian crown of Siberia; and, 6, the crown of the kingdom of Kasan. 7, This sceptre, which once belonged to Peter the Great, is wielded by the Tsar as "Emperor and Autocrat of All the Russias." 8, The Tsar's throne as ruler of Vladimir (16th century). 9, Crown used in ceremony of crowning heir to Russian throne. 10, Sceptre as Tsar of Moscow.



RISE OF THE KINGDOM OF RUSSIA ITS RAPID GROWTH IN POWER AND INFLUENCE

WHILE the sum total of the work done by Russia in the domain of culture during her general development was hardly sufficient for her own requirements, her military and political successes were, on the other hand, most important, although purchased by great sacrifices. The Russian people had stubbornly survived the Tartar terrorism, had subdued in the sixteenth century the Tartar khanates of Kosan and Astrakhan, had obtained possession of Siberia, had acquired in the seventeenth century the Ukraine, had conquered under Peter the Great the Baltic coast, the Caspian, and the Sea of Azov, and had carried their arms to Persia.

In the eighteenth century the diplomatists of Europe were much occupied by the Turkish or Eastern question as well as with the destiny of Poland. A happy solution of this problem was a vitally important task for Russia. Some few years

Turkey A Bone of Contention

after the great defeat under the walls of Vienna (1683), the victories of Eugene of Savoy had shaken the Turkish power to its foundations. As long as a war against the Porte seemed a dangerous enterprise, Hungary, Austria and Poland had been forced to bear the brunt of it alone; in fact they had been sometimes actually hindered by other powers. But when after 1718 the question of the Turkish succession became one of practical politics, all the powers announced their interest in what they were pleased to call the Eastern question, and thus Turkey has been as great a bone of contention as was Poland at an earlier period. Russia, France and England, who hitherto had taken practically no share in wars with Turkey, now became so susceptible on this very point that they thought they alone had a right to settle the matter.

Russia has been often surprised by events at a moment when she was still too weak to discharge some great task with which she suddenly found herself confronted; but then, after collecting all

her forces, she has often outdistanced her rivals, who had got the start. At the end of the seventeenth century, when Poland and Austria dealt Turkey such heavy blows, Russia was still too unprepared to think of making war upon the sultan. The war which she was compelled to wage for the possession of the Ukraine ended in 1681 with the inglorious peace of Bachtchissarai. Then in 1684 a joint embassy for Austria and Poland appeared in Moscow to induce the tsar to occupy the Crimea, the "right hand of the sultan." In 1686 John Sobieski ceded the Ukraine east of the Dnieper to Moscow, in order to secure its co-operation in his plan.

War against the Turks was then still regarded as a holy war, to which all Christian states ought to feel themselves bound; the fact that the Polish king nevertheless richly rewarded Moscow for its services shows that other motives besides those of the Crusader were brought into play. The Russian court, indeed, promised in that treaty to attack the Crimea; but two expeditions equipped for that purpose were abortive. Even Peter the Great only succeeded in taking Azov at the second attempt (1696). By these campaigns he formally opened the series of Russian wars with Turkey, just as on the west he was the first to gain a firm footing in Poland. When Peter, a year later, started on his European journey, he received congratulations on all sides, even in Poland. In Vienna the Jesuit Freiherr von Lüdninghausen brought into his sermon the words that "God would give the tsar, as the namesake of St. Peter, the keys to open the Sublime Porte."

Peter's Favourite Scheme

But Peter had more important matters to settle first. It was not until after Poltava (1709) that he recurred to that idea. To drive out the Ottomans from Europe in the name of civilisation became a favourite scheme of his; he saw many millions of Christians of his own faith pining under

the Turkish yoke and fixing their hopes on him. He was already thinking of relieving these peoples when he sustained the reverse of 1711. Surrounded on the Pruth, he was compelled to resign Azov and destroy his fleet. Peter did not venture to contemplate a fourth war against Turkey. Austria, meanwhile, was

**Russia
Becomes a
Kingdom**

still entangled in the War of the Spanish Succession. The Hapsburgs won, it is true, whole regions by the treaty at Po-sharevatz (1718); but twenty years had hardly passed before most of the fruits of these great efforts and sacrifices were once more lost. Russia filled the place of the now crippled Poland. Soon after the promotion of Russia to the rank of a kingdom (1701), the growing hostility between Brandenburg and Austria had formed the political axis of Central Europe; at the conferences of Vienna in 1720 Frederick William I. was already termed the most dangerous enemy. Hardly any other state than Russia could be taken into consideration as an ally against the house of Hohenzollern. The first alliance between them, therefore, was concluded on August 6th, 1726. The advantage lay on the side of Austria. The Viennese diplomatists cautiously assumed no responsibility towards Turkey except for Russian possessions in Europe, and succeeded in strictly limiting their obligations to their ally, while the latter was pledged in general terms to afford assistance against the house of Brandenburg.

The assistance which Austria voluntarily extended to Russia on the question of the Polish succession was possibly of more value; later, too, the friendly attitude of Austria in Polish matters was highly useful to Russia. France, however, on the one hand avenged herself for the defeat of Lesczynski in the Polish election of 1733 by Augustus

**France
At War with
Austria**

III. of Saxony, by declaring war on Austria, and by inciting to rebellion the electors of Mainz, Cologne, Bavaria and the Palatinate, and on the other hand by forcing Turkey into war against Russia. Urged by Austria, Russia in 1736 sent for the first time her armies to the West, and simultaneously, supported by Austria, began a war against the Porte, after she had by a treaty with Persia, given up the conquests of Peter. This common action

is the more noteworthy since from the language of the Russian and Austrian diplomatists in Niemirow it was clearly shown that both countries had Constantinople before their eyes as the ultimate goal. While, however, Russia fought victoriously against France in Poland, and also against Turkey, Austria was beaten on both fields of battle with considerable losses. In the peace of Belgrade of 1739, Charles VI. was forced to give back Belgrade and Orsova, with Servia and Wallachia. Anna Ivanovna, however, won on the Black Sea a strip of country between the Bug and the Dniester. The influence of Austria henceforth steadily declines in the south, while Russian influence rises; the victories of Prince Eugene in the end only benefited Austria's neighbours.

It would seem as if fear of Prussia had crippled all the energies of Austria. The watchword of Austrian diplomacy was necessarily "Freedom from Prussia." A scheme for effecting this was soon prepared; it proposed the partition of Prussia. Sweden and France declared their readiness for it, and Russia was to

**Frederic the
Great Insults
Elizabeth**

be the main support. But on May 3rd., 1740, Frederic the Great mounted the throne of Prussia; on October 20th, the Emperor Charles VI. died, and by December Frederic was in possession of Silesia, having stolen a march on his enemies. Austria was defeated in two wars. In their terror, the Austrian diplomatists allied themselves still more closely with Russia in the new treaty of June 2nd, 1746. Attempts were made in every possible way to bring home to Russia the conviction that Prussia was dangerous to both parties. The advantage lay again on the side of Austria; Russia was pledged to send her sixty thousand auxiliaries should the position become critical. And it was only because Frederic had insulted the Empress Elizabeth by a disparaging remark that the latter had on her part a cause for fighting.

Notwithstanding that Russian armies several times defeated the Prussian king, as at Kunersdorf (August 12th, 1759) or his generals, the opinion gained ground in St. Petersburg that Russia was only picking the chestnuts out of the fire for Austria, and that nothing could be accomplished in Polish affairs without Prussia. The court of St. Petersburg was driven

to this view by the Eastern policy of Austria. In the eighteenth century Austria possessed no statesman of first rank; even the much-lauded Kaunitz really accomplished nothing. Confusion and hollow phrases mark the style of the Austrian memoirs of that age.

Since the Congress of Niemirow and the peace of Belgrade envious glances had been turned on Russia. The mediocre diplomatists of Vienna thought that Russia would help to crush Prussia and rebuild the power of Austria in the West without interfering with Turkey in return. This absence of any definite plan wearied and exasperated the two northern courts. Not to mention Peter II., who was an unqualified admirer of Frederic, even the cool-headed Catharine II. came to an understanding with Frederic as to all the essential questions of the foreign policy of both countries in the "treaty for mutual defence" of April 1764.

France now, as in the year 1736, fanned a flame in the East, since she urged the Porte to a war against Russia with the intention of diverting the latter from Poland. Kaunitz probably had a hand in the matter; he was convinced that Russia was not in a position to offer resistance, and that he would thus cheaply get rid of the danger threatened from that quarter. But the very opposite result followed. Alexander Golizyn with thirty thousand men defeated the Grand Vizir Mohammed Emin with a hundred thousand men in 1769 at Chotin on the Dniester, and occupied Moldavia and Wallachia; Peter Rumjanzov similarly with a few thousand troops defeated a hundred thousand Tartars on the Large, and then with seventeen thousand beat the Grand Vizir himself with a hundred and fifty thousand men on the Kaghul. Vasili Dolgoruki conquered almost the whole Crimea (1771), after Alexis Orlov on July 16th, 1770, had annihilated the Turkish fleet in the channel of Scio. Bessarabia, some part of Bulgaria, and a few islands of the Archipelago were conquered.

The panic at Constantinople knew no bounds. Even in the cabinet of Vienna the greatest bewilderment prevailed. Russia, it was feared, would conquer Turkey single-handed. The Prussians now were acceptable to Kaunitz, who, with the approval of Emperor Joseph II., paved

the way for an understanding with Frederic. He also concluded a secret treaty on July 7th, 1771, with Turkey, which was, however, repudiated by Maria Theresa. But he did not wish definitely to abandon the old alliance with Russia.

Frederic the Great began to feel anxious about the rapid growth of Russian power. A suitable pressure exerted at this fitting opportunity, when the Russian state, on account of Austria, was dependent on the friendly neutrality of Prussia, promised success; after the brilliant victories of the Russians he saw that some enlargement of his empire was a political necessity in order to preserve the balance of power. In Poland alone was there any possibility of acquiring some enclaves, which could be permanently incorporated with the body of the empire.

The Prussian king therefore asserted that he required some parts of it. A complete annexation of Poland, such as Peter I. had contemplated for his son Alexis, was abandoned by Catharine II. who had too great interests at stake in the south, and was compelled to satisfy the claims of her two other neighbours. Prussia made the proposal, Austria took Zips while waiting to arrange matters with the other courts, and Russia put the seal to it. Thus the first partition of Poland was arranged on August 5th, 1772. The lion's share, the rest of Livonia and White Russia (Witebsk, Mstislav, half Polock, and districts on the Dnieper), with 1,800,000 inhabitants fell to Russia.

Russia, after soothing the political conscience of Prussia and Austria, could now, strengthened by Polish territory, follow out her southern aims with greater energy. From this aspect we can understand the arrangement of her favourable treaty with the Porte, concluded on July 21st, 1774, at Kutchuk-Kainardje (near

Silistria). Turkey was compelled to recognise the independence of the Tartars in the Kuban country, on the Bug, and in the Crimea. Russia received Azov on the Don, Kinburn on the Dniester, and all fortified places in the Crimea; besides that, the right of sailing in all Turkish waters and the protectorate over all Orthodox Christians in the East were secured to Russia. The severance of the Tartars from Turkey rendered it easier for Russia to subdue them, and the

**Brilliant
Victories of
Russia**

**Great Panic
in
Constantinople**

**Russia
Treats With
the Porte**

protectorate over the Orthodox Christians allowed her to interfere at any time in the political affairs of Turkey. By the first stipulation, the loss of the Black Sea for Turkey, and by the second, the loss of the Balkan countries, became nearer possibilities. Catharine would certainly have dictated harder terms had not her

Austria Driven Out of Bavaria

attention been occupied by the rebellion of Jemeljan Pugatchef (1773-1774; executed January 11th, 1775).

But reasons of foreign policy imposed moderation upon her; the Austrian statesmen, who had themselves brought on the Eastern question, terrified at the unwelcome turn of events, sounded a loud alarm. In defiance of the principle of the inviolability of Turkey laid down by the Viennese cabinet, Austria induced the Porte to cede Bukowina to her in 1774, an act which could only at bottom be acceptable to the Russian statesmen. Austria reaped the fruits of this policy in the War of the Bavarian Succession (1778 to 1779), in which she was driven out of Bavaria by Prussia and Russia. The young monarch, Joseph II. (1780-1790), after receiving these new blows, became wiser than his diplomatists; he sided with his Russian neighbour, since he would not or could not come to terms with Prussia; he guaranteed to Russia her Turkish conquests by the treaty concluded in the autumn of 1782, and confirmed the agreements as to Poland.

Russia meanwhile resolutely pushed on towards her goal. In March, 1779, the Porte was induced to complete the treaty of 1774 by the agreement of Ainali Kavak. In 1783, the Kuban and the Crimea were annexed by Russia, and thus the subjugation of the Turkish Khanates, which Ivan the Terrible had begun, was completed. Petersburg actually prepared a plan for the partition of Turkey, the

Russia Again Defeats The Turks

"Greek scheme" of September 10th, which Joseph II. sanctioned on November 13th, 1782. The Greek Empire

was to be restored and the Grand Duke Constantine (born on May 8th, 1770) to be created emperor. The child was given a Greek nurse; he learned Greek, and was surrounded by Greeks. Potemkin's boastful inscription, "Road to Byzantium," belongs to this period. Turkey, in great disquietude, and encouraged by

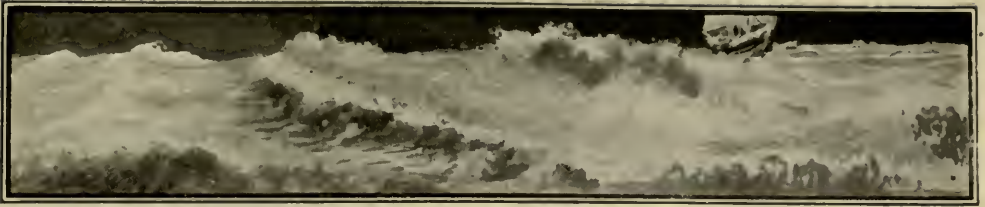
Great Britain, Sweden (whose help was of little value) and Prussia, took the initiative in declaring war. The Russian commanders, Suvarof, Potemkin, Repnin, supported by Austrian generals, again won brilliant victories over the Turks. In the peace of Jassy (January 9th, 1792) Russia received merely Oczakov and the stretch of coast between the Bug and the Dniester; Russian influence over the Danubian principalities was secured.

This moderation was prescribed by reasons the same as, or similar to, those in the year 1771. Russia urged a further partition of Poland. The latter had after 1772 zealously reformed the educational and fiscal systems, raised the number of her troops to 100,000, and even abolished the liberum veto. The new constitution, which had been laboriously and judiciously elaborated by the Polish diet, was based on patriotic ideas and liberal notions. It was published on May 3rd, 1791, and held out the promise of a better future. If Russia and Prussia did not wish to suffer by this movement, they must nip it in the bud. The official pretext for intervention

Partitions of Poland

was offered by the guarantee which they had given for the maintenance of the old constitution. In 1772 the powers had appropriated pieces of Poland on political grounds. Then followed in 1793 the second, and in 1795, after the insurrection under Kosciusko, the third, partition of Poland; in the latter Austria again participated, having just then (January 3rd, 1795) come to an understanding with Russia against Prussia. Only these two events properly deserve the name of partitions, since the three courts then actually contemplated erasing Poland from the map of Europe, while in 1772 it had only been a question of ceding several districts. The Polish diet, as in 1772, was compelled in 1793 also to approve the resolutions of the powers and to sign its own death-warrant. While Prussia and Austria, after numerous changes of ownership, took the central districts of old Poland, Cracow (and the old Russian principality of Halicz), Gnesen, Posen, and Polish Prussia, Russia, with the exception of Masovia (Warsaw), only occupied territories once belonging to old Russia. Catharine thus almost completed the "collection of Russia" which Ivan III. had begun.

VLADIMIR MILKOWICZ



THE HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE OF THE BALTIC SEA AND THE NATIONS AROUND ITS SHORES

THE Mediterranean and the Baltic in Europe occupy an exceptional position among the secondary seas. The sea which the ancients regarded as placed in the centre of the world, and which they therefore called Mediterranean, displays for our admiration the architects of that civilisation which preceded Columbus, the representatives of an intellectualism which is imposing itself upon the whole of mankind. The Baltic Sea, again, though of smaller extent, and at the present day of no greater importance than any other secondary sea, at one time played a very similar part and exerted no small influence upon a considerable portion of Europe throughout the historical changes which took place in the countries which formed its shores. Hence the Baltic seems to deserve that special treatment which we have already devoted to the Mediterranean.

The Baltic's Historical Progress Within the last thirty years the geographical similarity between these two seas has often been pointed out, and with full justification. Both are true inland seas, which may be regarded as deep gulfs extending from the Atlantic Ocean far into the gigantic continental mass of Asia, Europe, and Africa. The Mediterranean is 730,000 square miles in extent, the Baltic but little more than a seventh of that amount, namely, 111,408. The fact becomes highly important when we remember that the Mediterranean, notwithstanding its comparatively narrow area, was the sea of chief importance to the ancient world; in fact, almost the whole of the then known world was concentrated upon the length of its shores. The Baltic has never been able to claim so high a position. It has, indeed, its own cycle of historical progress and national development; but it is only one of many successive cycles, and one, too, considerably more remote. It must, moreover, be admitted that

the history of the Baltic cannot compare in uniformity with that of the Mediterranean, notwithstanding the fact that the smaller size of this sea seemed to favour concentration upon its shores. Only once—during the time of the Roman Empire—has its political uniformity found complete expression; on the other hand, attempts have often been made to unify the Mediterranean, in the colonisation of the Phœnicians and Greeks, in the establishment of the Pax Romana, in the triumphs of Christianity, and the advances of the Arabs—and these were attempts which reached the shores of the Atlantic Ocean.

In the case of the Baltic a modern attempt to secure complete political uniformity occurs only once, during the age when Sweden became a great power, though other peoples upon the coast, such as the Danes, Germans, Poles, and Russians, have aimed at the "dominion of the Baltic." Similarly, an economic and commercial uniformity has existed, not only during the prosperity of the Hanseatic League, but also again under the Swedish domination. At the present day it is possible to regard the Baltic as dominated by a German commercial system, as the business of the Russian and Polish interior is largely carried on by German firms; and in modern times Protestantism has retained its ground on every shore.

German System Dominating the Baltic Sea Even St. Petersburg, the cosmopolitan capital, cannot influence this uniformity, as the Russian national spirit is rather repelled by than attracted to the capital on the Neva, and is, moreover, of small commercial influence. In Finland, the Swedish element of the population is largely concerned with commerce over seas, and the coasts overshadow the interior, both in economic progress and in their influence

upon civilisation as a whole. A material difference exists between the two seas, with regard both to their position and the direction which their civilisation followed. In the Mediterranean, civilisation advanced with comparative rapidity at an early date from east to west, supported as it was by similar geographical conditions on every coast. In the Baltic Sea, in conformity with its position running from south to north, the southern shores are mentioned by history far earlier than the northern, which were opened to Christianity and to European culture only at a later date. Though the geological changes which have characterised the Baltic were of no importance to the history of mankind, we do not mean to imply that man was not a conscious witness of their passage. Man was already living and hunting in Central Germany long before there was any Baltic Sea in the present sense of the word; recent discoveries seem to betoken an even wider distribution of man in the neighbouring districts. However this may be, it is likely that even as antediluvian man did not object to live permanently upon ice and glacier, so his descendants did not hesitate to follow the ice when it finally melted and retreated. Such progress was indeed imposed upon man by the fact that he depended for his hunting upon the fauna of the glacier, which he was obliged to follow until new climatic conditions opened to him a life of greater material convenience and comfort. This, however, must have been a process of such long continuance throughout the district of the retreating glaciers that the Baltic and the North Sea had time to fill their deepest recesses and to assume those general outlines which have since remained practically unchanged. As a matter of fact, certain experts upon the stone age of the north assert that the "kitchen-midden" people are not to be regarded as the first inhabitants of the shores of the western Baltic, but that the traces of an earlier race can be found which must have been more closely connected with the geological development of Northern Europe than those later architects of the mussel heaps can ever have been. We are therefore justified in saying that man has witnessed the formation of the Baltic. This sounds a great assertion, and seems to secure to this sea an

exceptional position among its sisters. The fact, however, is not so. Long before the connecting straits were broken through, men were living upon the rolling plains of South-eastern England; and even upon the shores of the oceans which go back to a remoter period mankind has witnessed changes which have exerted a deep influence upon the later distribution of humanity. The Baltic for a time certainly remained without influence upon the fate of its earliest settlers, for the momentous step of embarking upon the sea has been taken by humanity without exception at a late and comparatively advanced period of civilisation. If in the case of the Baltic we find it necessary to look back to prehistoric times we are therefore bound to give special reasons for our decision.

The historical importance of the sea is chiefly and most easily obvious to the eye of the spectator in so far as it evokes and consolidates certain anthropological, ethnographical, political, economic, and intellectual conditions, and in so far as its mere existence upon the surface of the earth diminishes the differences between near or remote settlements of mankind. No single one of our larger water systems has failed to exert some such influence; even in the case of seas so sparsely inhabited as the Arctic Ocean, these results have been attained by centuries of search for the North-east and North-west Passages; in the absolutely uninhabited Antarctic Ocean the search for the "Terra australis incognita" has produced the same results. It may indeed be said that the final influence of these seas upon the formation of our modern territorial and economic relations has been far greater than that of many seas more favourably situated upon the habitable globe, and far deeper, for instance, than the influence of the Baltic, which has, however, a historical character of its own.

The special position of the Baltic is due to a point which falls outside the limits of those general considerations, and which for this reason, and also because its discovery is the work only of very recent years, has been neglected or disregarded by the ordinary historian. In the case of the Baltic, it is possible for us, using prehistoric and early historic discoveries, and utilising the sciences of comparative civilisation and comparative philology, to follow upon the shores of this sea a sharply

**Man Older
Than the
Baltic Sea**

**Importance of
Large
Water Systems**

**Traces of
Early
Inhabitants**

distinguished group of peoples almost to its birth, and to an earlier age than perhaps anywhere else in the world, with the possible exceptions of Mesopotamia and Egypt. These groups are Indo-Germanic or Indo-Keltic, or whatever other name may be chosen for this great ethnographical unity which in respect of language and civilisation is unmistakably identical, whatever differences may exist among the component members of the race. In the process of retracing these people to those remote times, generally known as prehistoric, there rises before the eyes of the modern historian, who no less than the ethnographer must deal with prehistoric facts, an ethnological unity, the foundations of which remain unshaken at the present day, though many of its numerous portions may require reconstruction.

As soon as the Baltic begins to influence the history of its inhabitants and neighbours, its special position and configuration make their effects felt as plainly as in all later times, notwithstanding the great modern improvements in means of communication. Comparison and contrast with the Mediterranean are immediately suggested. Both seas are unusually secluded from the outer ocean, and advance unusually far into the broad continent of the Old World, and to the common configuration of both seas Europe owes the fact that so many countries have been laid open to communication and well provided with coast line. At a very early period the Mediterranean facilitated contact and amalgamation between different races, and linked together spheres of civilisation which differed ethnographically and intellectually; the Baltic, on the other hand, was but a means of union between neighbours who were little more than tribes of the same race, and therefore stood upon a very similar intellectual plane. The presence of the Finns in the gulfs of Finland and Bothnia became a disturbing influence upon this unity; the Finns, however, were late in entering the circle of the Baltic people, and have, moreover, avoided its rivers more entirely than any branch of the Indo-Germanic family. Apart from the piratical Esthonians and Livonians, who flourished comparatively late and were speedily crushed by the Germans and the Danes, no great maritime movement is discoverable among this

group of nations, who were predestined by their position to work by land rather than by sea.

Thus far the Baltic appears as the counterpart of the Mediterranean, with the difference that its population is more uniform, its position more northerly, and its historical force inferior. This similarity,

however, comes to an end so soon as we turn our gaze upon the economic conditions of the surrounding countries and the influence exerted by the sea upon their composition. The geographical position of the Mediterranean is characterised by the fact that its axis follow the degrees of latitude. In comparison with this axis, all other lines of extent are so short that the northern and southern shores are separated only by a few degrees at any one point. Consequently, the climate and the natural products of the Mediterranean district are everywhere characterised by a certain uniformity; the products of the various Mediterranean countries differ rather in quantity than in kind. The economic importance of the Mediterranean has been more strongly influenced by this uniformity than is commonly supposed; of native products there has been but little fetching or carrying on the Mediterranean; its importance rather consists in the fact that it gathered the products of foreign and often distant countries and distributed them equally over its breadth and other surrounding countries. To the Mediterranean there primarily belongs that unique uniformity of moral and intellectual progress, for which we justifiably employ the term "Mediterranean civilisation."

In the case of the Baltic, these conditions are largely, though not entirely, changed. The shorter axis of the Baltic is that which runs from west to east; none the less the eastern and western extremities of this sea differ remarkably in climate, in conformation, in the conditions of production and distribution. The western extremity is richly articulated, its climate is that of the ocean, and it leads to direct communication with western Europe while the eastern extremity bears the characteristics of the north-east of the European continent. The northern third of the Baltic is characterised by the scanty influence it has exerted upon the history of mankind; on the other hand, the configuration of the remaining two-thirds has resulted

**Progress of
Mediterranean
Civilisation**

**Baltic and
Mediterranean
Contrasted**

**Different
Climates on
the Baltic**

in an influence far greater. Superficially, this configuration appears to have little in common with that of the Mediterranean; but if we disregard the exchange of commercial products, the only point in question before nations became politically active over seas, another similarity between the two seas becomes obvious. The

Varying Degrees of Civilisation Mediterranean at every period has acted as a great collecting basin into which more has flowed from the East than has flowed out; the eyes of the whole antique and mediæval world eagerly directed to this quarter are sufficient evidence of the fact. Eastward the Mediterranean need give but little to receive more.

Westward and northward the contrary was the case. In these directions there were to be found no peoples of a civilisation in some respects higher than that of the Mediterranean, as was the case in Mesopotamia, India, and China; on that side existed only poverty-stricken tribes, which were regarded with scorn, as too far beneath the ideals of civilisation then prevalent. If upon occasion they were deemed worthy of commercial intercourse by no means insignificant, the fact was due merely to practical considerations; in return for staple wares esteemed but little at the centre of civilisation, they gave those products of their Northern homes which were indispensable to satisfy the luxurious wants of the sunny South; these were tin and amber. The general picture therefore appears as follows: From the south-east to the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, and the Syrian passes, came a strong influx of expensive wares indispensable to refined civilisation—silks, aromatic spices, etc.; there is a weaker but well-marked flow of Mediterranean products northward and a vast consumption of such products in the great basin of the Mediterranean itself. The Baltic never had the character of a collecting basin in any

The Baltic as a Line of Passage high degree; it has always been, and remains at the present day, a line of passage. In other respects its circumstances resemble those of the Mediterranean, with the exception that the lines of exit and entrance diverge by some ninety degrees. The North Sea and the strait on which lie Hamburg and Lübeck serve as the line of entrance, as also at times do the three straits leading to the Skagerrak; from this direction the most valuable articles of commerce

have reached the south Baltic, which alone can be regarded as an independent centre of civilisation; this process has continued from neolithic times—in which, as is evidenced by the dolmens and stone burial places, a civilisation connected with ancestor worship extended from the Mediterranean Sea to the western Baltic territories—down to the Hanseatic and modern periods, which have always given and continue to give a larger amount of manufactured articles to these Baltic shores than they receive in the way of raw material. The district of exportation is the whole of the north-east. It is not until later centuries that it can be shown to have assumed this character, which then became strong enough to influence the whole commercial and economic history of central and western Europe. Its importance, however, was secured, not by tin or amber, but by boundless woods which afforded admirable timber for shipbuilding, and vast supplies of corn, which then fed the industrial districts of western Europe, and especially of Flanders. These goods still form

German Tribes in a State of Nature the staple exports of those districts. The chief reason for the fact that the north-east part of the Baltic became of importance to international communication at so late a date is to be found in the slow development which north European civilisation pursued. The original Germanic tribes were for many thousands of years living in a state of nature; they were dependent upon the gifts of nature to a greater extent than almost any uncivilised people in their position. In considering the part played by the Baltic in the development of the settlers upon its shores, it is obviously permissible for these reasons to regard that part, up to a certain date, as coincident with the influence exerted by the sea in general upon the life of primeval humanity.

That influence is wonderfully slight. For the majority of inferior races, it is practically non-existent, and in the case of others it does not extend beyond the occasional practice of shore fishing for purposes of food or beyond coast navigation for a similar object; the sea becomes a means of intercommunication and a modifying influence only for a very small number of peoples living in favourably situated islands or upon broken coasts, such as the Malay Polynesians, the North-

west Americans, and Eskimo. Such influence was exerted by the Baltic at the end of the first millennium A.D. only upon the adjacent parts of the extreme west of Europe, where civilisation was more advanced; for the remaining time and over its larger eastern portion, the importance of the Baltic varies, though it never becomes an influence of direct importance to the inhabitants of these shores. As we have already observed we can pursue their history in an unbroken course to the "midden mounds" of the early Neolithic Age. Neither the sea nor its shores were of any great importance to them; no evidence has yet been found to prove the existence of the simplest methods of navigation in those early times.

During the later period of this long era, and above all in the Bronze Age, the case is entirely changed. The distribution of great megalithic buildings shows that during the early period maritime communication was continued with the Mediterranean round the west coasts of Europe. During the Bronze Age, the Hällristningar, the rock carvings in the southern frontier provinces of Norway and Sweden, with their numerous pictures of strongly manned warships, sea-fights, and other warlike enterprises, prove that the old Scandinavians were mariners almost as bold and confident as their successors the Vikings and shared their art of boat-building. In view of this close acquaintanceship with the sea, we cannot be surprised at the uniformity of the civilisation which during the whole metallic age prevailed throughout the coast lands of the southern and central Baltic; navigation proved to be the best means of equalising contrasts and differences in the native civilisation, and also of distributing rapidly and equably throughout the districts those material and intellectual importations which arrived in such number from the South and the Mediterranean.

The close connection between the European North and the Mediterranean South is one of the remarkable facts in the early history of our continent, while its illustration is one of the greatest achievements of northern archæologists. This connection was maintained by the most different routes, from the Adriatic Sea, down the Elbe and the Oder, along the Danube, and from the Black Sea

westward through Russia; all these were paths converging directly upon the southern Baltic. These facts cannot be due to chance, and we shall certainly not be wrong in assuming the true cause to exist in the civilising influence of the Baltic itself. This influence was inadequate to create unaided a special and isolated civilisation, such as characterises the Mediterranean; the arctic position, the small size, and the sparse population of the Baltic region militated against such a possibility; but when once connection had been made with the more complex civilisation of the south, the talented northern races were fully capable, not only of assimilating foreign importations, but also of adding to them new forms, which in many cases were nobler and more beautiful. Thus the Mediterranean and the Baltic stand connected in the history of the world. From the south, which was itself influenced by the east, civilisation advanced to the north, whereupon the Baltic, though exercising no creative power, continued to disseminate and unify that civilisation.

The connected history of the Baltic begins at a time when the interchange of commercial products was more often effected by force than by peaceful trade. As yet no great political heroes advance into the dawning light of history; we can observe only the representatives of considerable bodies of seafarers, whose ambition sent them forth upon bold voyages in small boats, to plunder foreign coasts. Gradually these piratical raids became more deliberate undertakings for the foundation of settlements and supremacy. The Vikings, the "men of the creeks," founded a kingdom in Russia in the ninth century under the Slavs, and in the tenth wrested Normandy from the Franks; they soon entered the Mediterranean and settled in Italy. They came forth from every part of Scandinavia, including the islands in Jutland; the Rhos, who founded the kingdom of Novgorod came from Sveoland; others from Norway and Denmark; all were heathen and enemies to the people of European civilisation. They advanced from the Volkhov and Dwina to the Dnieper, thence into the Black Sea and extorted gold and manufactured articles from the Byzantines. They raised their dragon standard on the Volga and spread

**Talented
Northern
Peoples**

**Scandinavians
in the
Bronze Age**

**The Vikings
Enter the
Mediterranean**

the terror of their name to the Caspian Sea. At the same time a peaceful commerce grew up between Upper Asia and Germany by way of Kiev ; thus even in England, traces are to be found of a commerce which was largely in the hands of the Arabians ; Kufish coins were then current from the Black and Caspian Seas to the

How Peaceful Commerce Was Destroyed

shores of the Baltic and to England. This commerce was destroyed by domestic confusion in Russia, by struggle between the Russian princes and also between the Slavic and Finnish tribes.

The Baltic, which sent its amber by various routes to the south, also attracted Oriental wares by other routes. The necessity was soon recognised of effecting a union among the Baltic coast lands. In the eleventh century the Danes first raised the claim of political supremacy over the coasts of the Baltic instead of making their name feared by piratical raids. Gorm the Old was prevented by Henry the Fowler from carrying out similar intentions, and the Mark of Schleswig was secured against Danish influence (934). Canute the Great (1014-1035) appeared capable of gaining that supremacy for his nation ; he united England and Norway with Denmark, secured the Mark of Schleswig by an alliance with the Emperor Conrad II., wrested Pomerania from the Polish League, and extended his conquests to Samland. These great successes were to be immortalised by the conversion of this people to Christianity.

If the empire had remained in the hands of the Franconians and southern Germans, the Danish supremacy might have endured for a long period. Fortunately for the future of Germany, a Saxon, Lothar of Supplinburg, was elected emperor in 1125. The Emperor Lothar and after him the great duke, Henry the Lion, recognised the wide danger implied by the Danish advance and began measures of defence. They entered

The Days of Danish Supremacy

upon the struggle with their Scandinavian neighbours, in full consciousness of the political importance which the entrance to the Baltic implied to the German nationality. To secure the victory, all that was necessary was to burst through the barrier of Slav peoples which had settled on the shores of the Baltic up to the period of the great migrations and separated the Germans from their harbours.

Concerning Jomsburg, Vineta, and the great Wendish commercial towns, we have only legendary narratives ; history must confine itself to the statement that the maritime traffic of the Slavs upon the Baltic in the eleventh and twelfth centuries was of first-rate importance.

From an early period Wisby, in Gothland, was the central point of the Baltic commerce. The old town laws contained the following clause : " Let it be known that as the people of many countries have gathered in Gothland, peace is hereby assured . . . whoever comes to the coast is to enjoy the peace that has been sworn." Soon afterwards a German community was formed in Wisby by the side of the Gothlanders. Shortly after the middle of the twelfth century the Germans crossed into Russia and appeared together with the Goths in Slavonic Novgorod. At the close of the century a German court existed in that town, on the Volkhov.

Together with Novgorod, Polock and Smolensk were in commercial relations with Gothland from an early time, and with the Germans there, communications

being carried on by way of the Dwina. In 1201 Riga was founded from Wisby, and this became the second German

town on the Baltic ; from Lübeck, the first German port, the citizens of the Westphalian towns, Seost, Münster, and Dortmund, travelled to Riga, by way of Gothland, in order to found a German civic community enjoying " the rights of the Germans in Wisby." The connection between Lübeck, Wisby, and Riga formed the chief link in that chain which was joined at a later period by other Wendish and Prussian towns.

The Danes were forced to retreat before these successes. The fall of Henry the Lion in 1181 and the resulting revolt of the Danes under Waldemar I. and Knut VI., as the overlords of the Baltic Wends, proved to be of no permanent importance. It seemed, indeed, that Waldemar II. (1202-1241) might be able to extend and permanently to secure these acquisitions. The Baltic coasts were subjected to Danish supremacy in a wide curve to the south-west, from Gothland to Pomerania. Hence, Waldemar advanced to the island of Ösel at the mouth of the Gulf of Riga in 1206 ; but the attempts at conquest and at conversion to Christianity were alike failures. He sent forth two bishops

to Riga to inquire into the state of affairs, and would have been glad to wrest the town from the Germans. In the year 1210 he appeared in Pomerellen; the duke Mestwyn did homage to him, and he entertained designs upon Smaland. Seven years later, in 1217, Count Albert of Holstein, a vassal of Waldemar, founded a colony in Livonia and would have resumed the attack upon Ösel had he not been hindered by a thaw. In 1219 the king appeared in person, and occupied the Esthonian fortress of Lindanyssa; this was destroyed and the town of Reval was built upon the site. In the next year Waldemar again sailed to Reval. On this occasion he turned his attention to the more southerly Livonia, which had been conquered and converted to Christianity by the Germans. He immediately closed the harbour of Lübeck, to prevent any further increase of the German colony.

The year 1222 marks the zenith of Danish supremacy in the east, and the greater part of Esthonia then did homage to the Danebrog. On May 7th, 1223, the whole of this mighty edifice collapsed. King

**Zenith of
Danish
Supremacy**

Waldemar II. was taken prisoner in Fünen by his vassal, Count Henry of Schwerin; and Count Albert of Holstein also fell into the hands of the Germans. The harbour of Lübeck was reopened and counter influences made themselves felt throughout the Baltic coasts. Upon his release from imprisonment Waldemar again tried the fortune of war, but by his defeat at Bornhöved on July 22nd, 1227, the dominion of the Baltic was wrested for ever from the Danes. Waldemar surrendered Nordalbingia and the South Baltic coasts. Northern Esthonia was already conquered by the Germans, and its return to the diminished Denmark was only due to the intervention of the Pope in 1238.

About the middle of the fourteenth century a struggle again broke out between the Germans and the Danes for the predominance in the Baltic, and then it was that the union of the Wendish towns first became the great alliance of the Hansa. Under King Eric Menved (1286-1319) Denmark's supremacy had again been extended to the southern shores of the Baltic, though in a short time it was driven back by the German princes. When Waldemar Atterdag ascended the throne of Denmark in 1340, her power began to

rise again. The lost portions of the empire were recovered with the exception of Esthonia, the masters of which were chiefly German knights and citizens. Waldemar sold this province to the Teutonic knights in 1346. The main territories of Denmark were united and the kingdom recovered the power which it had formerly possessed

under Gorm the Old, and **The Famous
Federation
of Cologne** appeared a serious menace to the Germans. In order

to secure his power permanently Waldemar wrested the most valuable link from the chain of the Hanseatic towns. Wisby, which remained the staple market of Novgorod, and which for a long time rivalled Lübeck, was suddenly captured in 1361 by the Danish king, who had a short time previously recovered Schonen, with the Hanseatic towns of Bitten, Halland, and Blekinge. This event led to a firm alliance between the Hansa and the famous federation of Cologne in 1367; the towns from Flanders to Esthonia were united in a great military confederacy. Princes who were hostile to Denmark joined the League, and the proud Waldemar succumbed to the repeated attacks of the Germans. He abandoned his kingdom, and commissioned the Danish parliament to conclude peace. The towns opened negotiations in 1370 at Stralsund, and secured important commercial and political privileges; the prince concluded negotiations at Stockholm in 1371.

Only now does the Hansa appear as an independent political power on the Baltic; though internal dissensions decreased its efficiency, yet in its dealings with the outer world, under the leadership of Lübeck, it constituted a national power which did not collapse until Poland became supreme in the north. At an earlier period the Hansa had already suffered infringements of their rights. The trading privileges of the German merchants, the maintenance of which

they regarded as their special duty, had been disputed upon occasion in the north-west and east; in Scandinavia the union

**Scots and
English
on the Baltic** of Kalmar paved the way for a federation of native merchants, while the Prussian towns had introduced Scottish and English traders into the Baltic. But the chief menace to the powers of the federation was the growing force of the Slav nationality. The Teutonic Order in Prussia and Livonia had excluded the Russians and

Poles from the Baltic. In 1402 the knights bought the New Mark, and thus impeded Polish access to the coast of Pomerania; but in 1410 the Poles, in alliance with Asiatic hordes of Tartars, defeated 200 Prussian knights on the battlefield of Tannenberg, and the territory of the Order would have fallen into the hands of the Polish

East Prussia
Becomes a
Polish Fief

inhabitants of the interior had not the Livonian master, Conrad of Vitinghove, sent his marshal to Prussia with a strong force, which, with the help of German mercenaries, secured the peace of Thorn. Fifty years later, in 1466, in a second peace of Thorn, West Prussia and Danzig became Polish, while East Prussia was made a Polish fief. The white eagle replaced the black cross, and the Polish flag became important on the Baltic. In the year 1494 the Petershof in Novgorod was destroyed by Russia, which had been united under Ivan III. The Russian traders advanced to the Hanseatic towns of Livonia. The result was jealousy between these towns and the other members of the federation, as the former began to make the inland trade a monopoly of their own.

For another half-century the Slavs on the Livonian coast were held back, but without foreign help "the bulwark of Christianity" was too weak to make permanent headway against the onslaught from the east. Denmark and Sweden were divided by dissension. Gustavus Vasa destroyed the union of the Scandinavian powers, introduced the Reformation into Sweden and Finland, and prepared for the conquest of Esthonia, which was also Protestant, an enterprise concluded by his son, Eric XIV., in 1561. Livonia, however, was left to the Poles, who secured the whole seaboard from Pomerania to Danzig after the retirement of Russia; about the same time, 1562, Courland also came under Polish supremacy. This position

Poland the
Principal
Power

on the Baltic made Poland the principal northern power. With strong bases at Cracow, Danzig, and Riga, extending between the Black and the Baltic Seas, Poland played a considerable part in western history, and attained a measure of scientific and artistic reputation, supported by her close connection with Rome and Italy. Sweden and Russia were unable to make head against this great power. The defects of the Polish kingdom,

apart from her internal dissensions, were very well known to her contemporaries. She required a fleet to secure the dominion of the Baltic. In the election capitulations a fleet was demanded from the kings, but the jealousy of the Polish Slachta, which had been long growing, prevented the imposition of the taxes which would have sufficed for so great a task. Adherence to the Catholic reaction against Protestantism, in addition to the want of a fleet, undermined the position of Poland, and in the course of one generation this monarchical republic began to totter to its fall.

When the great European wars of religion broke out, the Swedish Protestant king, Gustavus Adolphus II., invaded Livonia, forced Riga to capitulate in 1621, and defeated the imperial power in Germany in 1631. In another generation it was difficult to conceive that any other power except Sweden had possessed any permanent prestige or influence in the north of the continent.

The Tsar of Russia, Peter the Great, advanced from the east upon the Baltic coast. He wished, as he said, to have at

Denmark's
Maritime
Commerce

least one window through which the Russians could look out upon Europe. Charles XI. and Charles XII. of Sweden accelerated the fall of their empire by their selfishness and stupidity. The Northern War, which was not inevitable, was badly conducted, and ended in the loss of Stettin with part of Nearer Pomerania in 1720, of Riga with Livonia, and of Reval with Esthonia (in the peace of Nystad, 1721). By his bold foundation of St. Petersburg in 1703 upon Swedish territory, which had not yet been ceded, Peter the Great built a bridge for his nation to the west.

The dominion of the Baltic which Poland and Sweden had attempted to exercise had disappeared after long struggles, and was never secured by Russia. It may indeed be said that the small country of Denmark, through her possession of the entrance to the Baltic and the extent of her maritime commerce, was a greater influence in Baltic navigation than the tsar's kingdom—at any rate, until the Sound tolls were removed in 1857. Since that date, the preponderance of naval force in the Baltic has passed to Germany.

KARL WEULE
JOSEPH GIRGENSOHN



EUROPE: THIRD DIVISION WESTERN EUROPE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

**From the Sundering of the Roman
Empire to the eve of the Reformation**

The first stage in the general treatment of Europe allowed us to treat so much of the continent as was known to the Romans, down to the final division of their empire. From that point it became necessary to introduce a geographical division between East and West for a period terminating about the time of the French Revolution.

Eastern Europe during that period has formed a single division. The greater diversity and the multiplication of detail in the history of Western Europe requires us to give the period two divisions—mediæval and post mediæval. The first brings us down to the beginning of the sixteenth century—the times immediately preceding the Reformation.

In it we shall trace the expansion of the Teutonic wave over the whole area, and its partial recession, leaving a Latinised portion and a Germanised portion. We shall see the development of the dual conceptions of Emperor and Pope as temporal and spiritual heads of Western Christendom, often in sharp rivalry; and the development of nationalities outside the empire: among the Latins, French and Spanish; among the Teutons, Scandinavian and Britannic.

We shall see also the collision between the Cross and the Crescent expressed in the Crusades. Finally we shall see the development of the new conceptions, intellectual, religious, and economic, which evolved modern out of mediæval Europe; and shall survey the fundamental characteristics of the social and political structure which was passing away.

GENERAL SURVEY OF THE PERIOD

By Dr. Thomas Hodgkin

THE PEOPLES OF WESTERN EUROPE

By Professor Eduard Heyck

THE EMERGING OF THE NATIONS

ITALY—THE FRANKISH DOMINION—THE EMPIRE OF
CHARLEMAGNE—THE BRITISH ISLES—THE SPANISH
PENINSULA—THE CHURCH IN THE WEST—SCANDINAVIA

By

**Dr. H. F. Helmolt, H. W. C. Davis, Professor
Heyck, Dr. Mabrenholtz, Dr. H. Schurtz,
Professor Walther, and Dr. Hans Schjöth**

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONS

THE GERMANIC EMPIRE—GERMAN EXPANSION ON
THE EAST—THE PAPACY—FRANCE—THE BRITISH ISLES—ITALY
—SPAIN—THE CRUSADES—INTERNATIONAL COMMERCE—
THE RENAISSANCE

By

**Dr. Armin Tille, H. W. C. Davis, A. D. Innes,
Professor Mayr, Dr. Clemens Klein, and others**

THE SOCIAL FABRIC OF THE MEDIAEVAL WORLD

By W. Romaine Paterson, M.A.





MAP TO ILLUSTRATE THE THIRD DIVISION OF EUROPE

In the above map the third division of Europe, which treats of the whole western part of the Continent from the sundering of the Roman Empire down to the eve of the Reformation, is illustrated. The map is at once historical, geographical and ethnological, since it shows the territorial disposition of the land within the period mentioned as well as the cradles of the various races whose movements throughout that period constitute so large a part of its history. The shaded portion of the map on the right indicates the western extremity of that part of Europe whose history down to the time of the French Revolution has already been fully dealt with in the preceding division of Europe.

WESTERN EUROPE IN



THE MIDDLE AGES GENERAL SURVEY OF THE PERIOD

By Dr. Thomas Hodgkin

THE MOULDING OF THE NATIONS AND THE TIME OF THE NORTHMEN

IN the year 500 the leading states of Western Europe were those which had been founded by the two branches of the great Gothic nation, itself in many respects the most civilised and cultured of all the barbarian tribes that had built their homes amid the ruins of the Roman Empire. The West Goths, or Visigoths, under their king, Alaric II., the seventh in succession from his namesake, the ravager of Rome, occupied about three-quarters of the Spanish Peninsula and the whole of that beautiful region of Gaul which was known as Aquitaine, and which lay south and west of the broad sickle of the Loire. The East Goths, or Ostrogoths, ruled Italy and Sicily as well as Germany up to the frontier of the Danube. Their king, Theoderic, was in many respects the wisest, strongest, and most enlightened of all the barbarian rulers, and honestly strove to blend as much as possible the culture of the old Greek and Roman world with the rough strength and energy of his Gothic countrymen.

Other Teutonic states were those of the Burgundians in the valley of the Rhone, of the Vandals along the northern coast of Africa, and of the Suevi in the region which is now called Portugal.

All of these kingdoms were drawn together, not only by a consciousness of kindred origin, but also by the profession of the same creed, for all had been converted to Christianity; but all were Christians of the Arian type, refusing to

accept the statement contained in the creed of Nicæa as to the co-equal divinity of Christ with His Father.

One Teutonic nationality, destined to be the mightiest of all, remains to be noticed. Along the mouths of the Rhine and the Meuse, in the flat expanses of Champagne and Lorraine, and on the left bank of the Middle Rhine, clustered the two great divisions of the Frankish nation, the Salian and Ripuarian Franks. These fierce wielders of the battle-axe remained heathen long after most of their fellow-Teutons had accepted the message of Christianity; but, four years before our story begins, their brisk young king, Chlodwig, or Clovis, embraced the faith of his Christian wife, Clotilde, and at his bidding the majority of his subjects embraced it likewise. A fact of immense importance for the future history of Gaul and of Europe was that the Christianity which won his allegiance was not of the Arian, but of the Trinitarian or Catholic type. This secured for him the hearty

Expansion of the Frankish Kingdom goodwill of the Catholic clergy and through them of the subject Romanised population throughout the whole of Western Europe, and was doubtless one cause of the rapid extension of the Frankish kingdom. In the year 507, with the words, "I cannot endure that these Arians should hold so large a part of Gaul," he challenged the Visigothic king to battle, and defeated and slew him on the plains of Poitiers. The Visigothic monarchy

lived on for a few centuries longer, south of the Pyrenees, and even extended its borders in 587 by the conquest of the Suevi, but, save for a narrow strip of territory, called Septimania, on the west coast of the Gulf of Lyons, its grasp on Gaul was gone.

Clovis died, a middle-aged man, in the year 511, but his sons continued his policy of profitable religious warfare, and after some campaigns, conducted with varying success, finally added the fruitful provinces of Burgundy to the Frankish kingdom, which now included the whole of modern France—save for the little strip of Septimanian territory—and also the Netherlands, the Rhinelands, and an indefinable extent of country beyond the Rhine. It was certainly in the six hundreds and seven hundreds (seventh and eighth centuries) the most powerful of all the barbarian kingdoms, but was weakened by the perpetual, and, to a historian, most irritating, partitions of the empire between the always jealous and often actively hostile members of the royal family—surnamed Merovingian, from Merovech, the fabled son of a sea-god and grandfather of Clovis.

Another source of weakness was the rapid demoralisation of the kings, whose constitutions were ruined by sensual indulgence and who generally died before middle life worn out by their vices. Thus, then, before the middle of the five hundreds two of the Arian kingdoms, the Burgundian and the Suevic, had been overthrown, and a third, the Visigothic, had been shorn of much of its strength. And before the five hundreds had run their course it, too, was lost to the Arian cause, not by conquest, but by conversion. In 587, Recared, the Visigothic king, who is believed by some to have been the first promulgator of the so-called Athanasian Creed, formally renounced Arianism, and the vast majority of his subjects followed his example. While these events

Rome a Crippled Empire were happening in the west, the cause of Teutonic Arianism in Italy was sustaining deadly blows at the hands of an antagonist whom it had too lightly valued, the by no means effete though crippled Roman Empire. The wise and statesmanlike Theoderic, king of the Ostrogoths, died in 526, his last years having been clouded by rumours of conspiracy and sedition which had seduced him, naturally one of the most tolerant

of rulers, into persecution of his Catholic subjects. A minority and a female regency followed. Theoderic's daughter, Amalasuntha, lost the love of her Gothic warriors by her unwise following of Roman fashions; her son, the lad Athalaric, died of the excesses which followed on his liberation from her maternal strictness. The whole fair fabric of Italo-Gothic prosperity was shaken, but might perhaps yet have endured for generations had not the sceptre of the Byzantine Cæsars been swayed at this time by one of the most extraordinary of its possessors.

The story of the reign of Justinian (527–565), belonging to the Eastern empire, has been told in another volume. All that needs to be said here is that by his brave and skilful general, Belisarius, he first overthrew the Vandal monarchy in Africa (533–535), and then successfully assaulted the Ostrogothic dominion in Italy. This last enterprise proved a far harder task than he had anticipated. Rome was taken and re-taken three times; once for the space of forty days she lay absolutely empty of inhabitants. The

The Ostrogoths Disappear From History struggle lasted sixteen years, and wore out the noble heart of Belisarius, who died, if not in poverty, in some measure of disgrace. But the stubborn patience of Justinian was at last rewarded with success. By the victory which his old wrinkled eunuch general, Narses, won amid the passes of the Apennines over the gallant young King Totila the last hope of the Ostrogoths was crushed. The remnant of that nation cleared out of Italy in 553, recrossed the Alps, and disappeared from history.

Thus, then, by the middle of the five hundreds, or soon after, the whole of that powerful combination of peoples which had upheld the standard of Teutonic Arianism was dissolved. Some were exterminated, others were converted, and Catholicism was the religion of all, whether victors or vanquished. Let it not be thought that this was a matter of which only Church historians need take notice. Apart from all questions of theological soundness or unsoundness, the mere fact that the whole commonwealth of Western European nations professed the same creed and took their spiritual word of command from the Bishop of Rome exercised an enormous influence on the course of political history and national

development from the downfall of the Arian kingdoms to the Reformation.

What made this extension of the spiritual sway of Rome more memorable was the splendid success of the missionary operations of the greatest of Roman Pontiffs, Gregory I. (590-604). According to the well-known story, the sight of some handsome Anglian lads exposed for sale in the Forum caused him, in 596, to send his friend Augustine on a mission to the then almost forgotten and unknown island of Britain. Although Christianity of a somewhat different type retained its hold on the Keltic population, and might

a strain of nobleness in his blood. Laymen and churchmen alike did more than lip-service to their new creed, and a man such as Bede, who was barely two generations removed from heathenism—he was born about 670—has won the abiding veneration of posterity both as saint and scholar.

The seven hundreds witnessed a melancholy decline in every department of Anglo-Saxon life. Murders of kings abounded, scholars were scarce, the monasteries became the haunts of the dissolute and the idle; but side by side with this decay of religious life at home



THE GREAT POPE GREGORY AND THE "ANGELS"

Gregory I., the greatest of all Roman Pontiffs, made his spiritual sway memorable by the splendid success of his missionary operations. Seeing some handsome youths exposed for sale in the Forum, he asked whence they came, and on being told they were Anglians, he replied, "Non Angli sed angeli"—not Anglians but angels. The sight of these touched his compassionate heart, and caused him, in 596, to send his friend Augustine on a mission to Britain, at that time an almost unknown island. But it was not until 686 that the process of conversion was finally completed.

From the painting by Kelley Halswelle, R.I.

even be said to flourish in Ireland and in the Hebrides, the conversion of our stubborn Anglo-Saxon forefathers was not altogether an easy process, and, in fact, was not finally accomplished till the year 686, nearly a century after the landing of Augustine.

This century, however, during which the struggle between Christianity and Paganism was still going forward, was the heroic age of the Anglo-Saxon nation. Noble Christian kings, such as Edwin, Oswald and Oswy, led their people upwards in the path of civilisation. Even the obstinate pagan Penda was not without

there was a marvellous display of missionary energy abroad.

Wilfrid, Willibrord, Boniface, moved up and down through Friesland, Hesse and Franconia, destroying idols and converting their worshippers. They were thus preparing the way for the addition of these regions beyond the Rhine to the vast Frankish empire. It is hardly too much to say that Germany owes both her Christianity and her civilisation to the labours of Anglo-Saxon missionaries.

From the statement previously made as to the unity of religious belief in Western Europe, two notable exceptions

must, for a time, be made. They were caused by the arrival of the Lombards in Italy and of the Moors in Spain.

Only fifteen years after the expulsion of the Ostrogoths from Italy, the Lombards under their ruthless leader Alboin arrived in the peninsula (568). An uncouth and barbarous people, they were for generations a miserable substitute for the almost cultured Ostrogoths, and their religion, if they had any, was either Arian Christianity or absolute heathenism. Gregory the Great, even while he was planning his campaigns of spiritual conquest, was living, as he bitterly complained, "between the swords of the Lombards," and the fierce enmity between the papacy and the Lombard kings was not appeased even by the conversion of the latter to Catholic Christianity, which was effected in a half-hearted, desultory way about a century after their entry into Italy. In fact, the relations between king and pope at this period of the world's history bore a strong resemblance to those between their modern Italian representatives.

The conquest of Italy by the Lombards was only partial. From their capital at Pavia they ruled the greater part of the valley of the Po. Tuscany was theirs, and most of the country on the flanks of the Apennines, divided into the two great duchies of Spoleto and Benevento. But the city of Naples, the toe and heel of Italy, the island of Sicily, and—in the north-east corner of the land—the all but impregnable city of Ravenna, still owed allegiance to the emperor, whose representative, called the Exarch (generally a Byzantine courtier), ruled all imperial Italy from Ravenna as his capital. Rome was, of course, also nominally imperial; but all through these centuries the Popes, who had many a theological battle with the Eastern emperor, were showing an increasing tendency to make

Venice Rising in Power Rome their own subject city, and to rule it independently of Constantinople. During the same period the little city, or group of cities, amid the mud-banks of the Adriatic, which was afterwards to be known as Venice, was quietly increasing in wealth and power, holding the Lombard barbarians at bay and professing unbounded loyalty to the distant Byzantine emperor. Visigothic and Catholic Spain

underwent in the six hundreds a process of rapid decay. It was governed by kings, none of whom was able to found an abiding dynasty; by national councils, in which the power of the bishops, which directed the forces of the state chiefly to the persecution of Jews and heretics, predominated, and by nobles rich and turbulent, but destitute of loyal devotion to their country. The old Romanised population, of whom we hear but little, was probably oppressed and down-trodden. Thus, when, in 711, the Saracen conquerors of Africa—who are generally styled Moors, though by no means all of Mauretanian descent—crossed the Straits of Gibraltar and challenged Roderic, the king of the Goths, to a fight, one obstinately-contested battle—that of Xeres de la Frontera—overthrew the whole rotten fabric of the Visigothic state. Save for a few resolute spirits who, under their king, Pelayo, kept the standard of the Cross flying on the mountains of Asturias, all Spain was Moorish and Mussulman. Nor did the wave of Saracen conquest stop with the Pyrenees. It

Great Wave of Saracen Conquest flowed over into Gaul, and for a time seemed likely to add that country also to the empire of the caliphs. Fortunately for Europe, Charles Martel, the virtual ruler of the Franks, proved equal to the occasion, and in the desperately hard-fought battle of Poitiers—about seven miles from the modern city, often, but incorrectly, called the battle of Tours—defeated the Saracenic emir, Abd-er-Kahman, and saved Europe from the Moslem yoke. It is worthy of notice that this battle—emphatically one of the decisive battles of the world—was fought in 732, exactly 100 years after the death of Mahomet, "Prophet of God." So far in one century had the fierce faith of the sons of the desert carried them; but so far, and no further, did the great wave roll.

We have called Charles Martel "the virtual ruler of the Franks," for that, and not crowned king, was still the position of the members of the Arnulfing family, of which he was the head. For more than a century the kings of the Merovingian line had been sinking into a state of fatuous decline. Young men, for the most part ruined by dissipation, and seldom surviving their thirtieth year, they had allowed the reins of government to slip from their nerveless hands into the



THE RETURN OF THE VIKINGS FROM AN OVERSEAS EXPEDITION

From the eighth until the eleventh century the Vikings ravaged the coasts of Europe, but at an even earlier period—as early as the seventh century—these hardy Norsemen visited the Western Isles of Scotland. They conquered the north of Ireland in 840, and in 852 formed a Norse kingdom in Dublin which lasted for three centuries.

Specially drawn for this work by W. Edward Wiggall

strong grasp of the chief minister, who was called Mayor of the Palace; and for three generations this fortunate manager of the royal business had been chosen from the same family, the descendants of the sainted Arnulf, Bishop of Metz.

Charles Martel, the greatest man whom the family had yet produced, and made incomparably greater by his deliverance of Europe from the infidel, died in 741, having never formally assumed the regal title, though he allowed himself for the last four years of his life the luxury of ruling without a phantom master. His sons, Carloman and Pippin, from motives of policy, thought proper to repeat the old comedy, and, drawing forth a descendant of Clovis from his seclusion, ordered him to reign as Childeric III. Before long, however, Carloman himself retired into a monastery, and Pippin, sole mayor of the palace, feeling his position now secure, addressed to Pope Zacharias the suggestive question whether it was better that the man who had all the power of a king or he, who had only the show of sovereignty, should reign? The Pope gave the answer which the wording of the question evidently implied, and, with his high sanction, Pippin was crowned and anointed king by the hands of Boniface, the missionary Bishop of Germany, about the year 751.

The Frankish king was soon able to show his gratitude by important services to his papal benefactor. In the year 752 the king of the Lombards took the long impregnable Ravenna, and the dominion of the eastern emperor in the north of Italy came to an end. The triumphant Lombards pressed on towards Rome, and it seemed as if that imperial city itself would fall into their hands. Sorely pressed, Pope Stephen II., the successor of Zacharias, uttered plaintive appeals to Pippin for help, and even crossed the Alps in the depth of winter to urge his piteous case,

**The Lombards
Driven
From Rome**

and to gratify his patron by a second and solemn coronation. In two successive campaigns—755 and 756—Pippin vanquished the Lombard king, and compelled him to surrender the territories which he had conquered from the empire—known as the Exarchate and Pentapolis—to the Bishop of Rome. Thus was laid the foundation of that temporal power of the Popes, which, through all the Middle Ages, wrote the title “States of the

Church” on a large block of territory in Central and Northern Italy, and which, in fact, was only in the middle of last century shattered by the united arms of Napoleon III. and Victor Emmanuel.

When Pippin died, in 768, his two sons, Charles and Carloman, succeeded without opposition to his royal inheritance. Carloman soon died, and Charles began that career of conquest and imperial organisation which has deservedly won for him the surname of Great, and has caused him to figure in countless poems of romance as the hero Charlemagne. In the first six years of his reign he conquered the Lombards and added the northern half of Italy to his dominions. In a long and stubborn conflict, which lasted thirty years, he subdued the barbarous Saxons, who dwelt in the modern province of Hanover, and forced them to accept the yoke of Christianity and civilisation. The yet more barbarous Avars, whose kingdom included at least half of modern Austria, were conquered before the end of the century; and the north-eastern corner of Spain was also won from the Moors. Thus the dominions

**Charlemagne's
Great
Dominions**

of Charlemagne included all Europe west of the Elbe and the Danube, Italy as far as Naples, and Spain as far as the Ebro. There was no such splendid realm seen again in Europe till the days of the Emperor Napoleon.

On Christmas Day, 800, the seal was set on all this glory by the coronation of Charles the Frank as Emperor of the Romans. Though for nearly four centuries the Roman Empire had been but a shadow as far as Western Europe was concerned, the memory of its greatness had never wholly faded out of the minds of men nor had the people of the West ever heartily accepted the fiction that the true home of that empire was to be found at Constantinople. Now, when the Bishop of Rome had placed the imperial diadem on the head of the mightiest man of the mightiest nation in Europe, and when the citizens of Rome had cried with a loud voice, “Life and victory to Carolus Augustus, crowned by God, mighty and pacific emperor,” it was felt that the waters of the barbarian deluge had indeed subsided and the world had again a prospect of a peaceful and well-ordered life. Such was the second birth of “the Holy Roman Empire.” But the Golden Age had not yet arrived; in fact, the eight



THE ADVENTUROUS VENETIANS ON THE TRACK OF WAR

In the eighth century, when the Lombards, under their ruthless leader Alboin, were conquering Italy, the little city, or group of cities, amid the mudbanks of the Adriatic, afterwards to be known as Venice, was making a bold stand, holding the Lombard barbarians at bay, and steadily increasing in wealth and power. So great did the sea power of the Venetians become, that the enterprising and adventurous republic, from being the admitted "Queen of the Adriatic," rose, in the Middle Ages, to the proud position of "Mistress of the Seas," the maritime colonies of Venice being widespread throughout the Near East, and her influence felt in the remote parts of the mediæval world.

hundreds and nine hundreds, the two centuries after the coronation of Charlemagne at Rome, were in some respects darker than any that had preceded them.

This was partly due to the weakness of the rulers. The descendants of Charlemagne were not nonentities, like the Merovingians, but they were for the most part selfish and turbulent princes; and only a very strong hand grasping the imperial sceptre could have kept the discordant elements of that vast empire in orderly subjection. Such a strong hand was emphatically not possessed by Charlemagne's son and successor Louis the Good-natured. His sons revolted against him and quarrelled among themselves. France, Germany and Italy sprang apart and began those separate lives of theirs which still continue; and not only so, but in each country the principle of disintegration was at work. Counts and barons who should have been mere officials appointed for life or during good behaviour became hereditary nobles; in short, Feudalism was born. Amid all these changes the stately vessel of the Carolingian dynasty went hopelessly to pieces, the last direct descendant of Charlemagne who reigned as emperor in Germany being dethroned in 887, the last who was king of Italy dying in 950, the last who was king of France in 987. Out of the drift-wood of the family, the representatives through females and the illegitimate descendants, almost all the reigning dynasties and a large part of the ducal and baronial houses of Europe have been constructed.

Chief, however, among the causes which made Europe miserable were the ravages of the Scandinavian pirates, who seem at the end of the seven hundreds to have suddenly awakened to the fact that there were fair lands to the south of them with rich booty, which it needed but good seamanship and well-organised robber-

Great Pirate Armies in England

raids to make their own. The *Here*, as the great pirate army was called, visited England at longer or shorter intervals throughout the three centuries from 787, when they first landed in Wessex, till 1066, when Harald Hardrada invaded Yorkshire and fell before his namesake Harold, son of Godwin. It is not necessary here to relate the memorable story of the victories and defeats which marked the struggle of the Danes with Alfred the

Great from 871 to 900, of their subjugation by Edward the Elde and Athelstan from 900 to 940, and of the success with which, under their king, Canute, they fastened the Danish yoke upon the neck of the English, so that it seemed for a time probable that the island would be but a humble member of a great Scandinavian empire, dominating the Baltic and the North Sea.

We must, however, call attention to the fact that in these three centuries of conflict the pirates themselves greatly changed their character, and from barbarous pagans became a Christian and civilised power; also that they settled in large numbers in the north-eastern part of England and added undoubtedly a valuable element to the population of Northumbria and Mercia. Moreover, the fierce attacks of these dreaded invaders helped to unify the Anglo-Saxon state. When all the other kingdoms of the so-called Heptarchy had gone down before the ruthless *Here*, Wessex alone successfully resisted their onslaught, and therefore it is that from the royal house of

The Ravages of the Terrible Northmen

Wessex the present king of England is descended. It is not, perhaps, sufficiently remembered how sorely the scourge of the Danish invasions smote France and Germany as well as England. Wherever there was a broad estuary of a river, there the keels of the Danes might be looked for; the Elbe, the Seine, the Marne, the Loire, the Garonne, all saw the Dragon-standard of the Vikings mirrored in their waters. Aachen, Charlemagne's own capital, was sacked. Rouen was taken. Paris was once taken and once suffered a terrible two years' siege (885-886). In fact, throughout the eight hundreds it would be hard to say whether England or France suffered the most from the ravages of the terrible Northmen.

But in France the most memorable result of the Scandinavian invasions, the settlement of the Northmen in the fruitful lands at the mouth of the Seine, tended eventually to benefit rather than to injure civilisation. In the early nine hundreds Rolf the Northman closed a life of piratical adventure by becoming the "man" of the Frankish king Charles the Simple, and condescending to receive from him the fair province which has ever since borne the name of Normandy. His descendants, appropriately named the "Long-sworded,"



CHARLEMAGNE AND THE SCHOLARS



Succeeding his father, Pippin, as Frankish king, Charles, afterwards to figure in countless poems and in romance as the hero Charlemagne, began a great career of conquest and imperial organisation, winning for himself the title of "the Great." His dominions included all Europe west of the Elbe and Danube, Italy as far as Naples, and Spain as far as the Ebro. Possessed of a learning unusual for the period in which he lived, Charlemagne could speak Latin and read Greek, and he laboured with much earnestness to extend education. In his palace he conducted a school for the sons of his servants, and invited teachers of grammar and arithmetic from Rome to fill his public schools. He was the first Teuton on whom the dignity of Roman Emperor was conferred.

From the painting by Blaas

"the Fearless," and the like, embraced Christianity of the militant type then fashionable, inhaled the new air of chivalry, and became in some respects its typical representatives. The converted Scandinavian pirate seems to have been a finer specimen of humanity, more chaste, more temperate, and more devout than either

his Frankish or his Saxon neighbour; but also more ruthless, more grasping, a "better man of business."

He was the keen, well polished steel, while they were but the clumsy iron weapon. Thus, it was only in the natural order of things that when, in 1066, William the Bastard, Duke of Normandy, landed on the coast of Sussex, his rival, the Saxon Harold, Godwin's son, should fall before him in the battle which bears, not with strict accuracy, the name of Hastings.

But memorable as this Norman conquest, which placed a new dynasty on the throne and introduced a fresh social and political order, must ever be to Englishmen, it is important to remember that it was not by any means the only Norman conquest which Europe witnessed in that age. From the beginning of the ten hundreds, Normans, half pilgrims, half warriors, had been making their way over the Alps and Apennines into Southern Italy. They had mingled as auxiliaries in the endless contests which were going on in that region between Lombards, Greeks and Germans. At length, in the year 1038, William of the Iron Arm, eldest of the twelve sons of a Norman knight, Tancred de Hauteville, made his prowess felt in a battle with the Saracen lords of Sicily. He obtained the dignity of Count of Apulia. One after another the sons of that prolific Norman house appeared upon the scene, eager to share his fortunes. Robert Guiscard, the sixth brother, made himself supreme in Southern Italy, dealt fierce blows at the Eastern Empire,

took the Pope of Rome, Leo IX., prisoner in battle, and soon afterwards became the vassal of his successor. Meanwhile, his brother Roger, the youngest of the tribe, by his victories over the Saracens, was building up a more enduring dominion in Sicily, and preparing the way for a royal dynasty which, in the eleven and twelve hundreds, was powerfully to influence the fortunes of the whole of Europe. And these Norman conquests in the Mediter-

ranean lands were, be it remembered, strictly contemporary with that other Norman Conquest with which we are familiar as forming the greatest landmark in English history.

In order to follow the fortunes of the Northmen, we have come down to the end of our second period; but we must, for a little while, remount the stream of time in order to notice other calamities which were distressing Europe.

In the eight hundreds, the danger to Europe of Mohammedan conquest was more menacing than it had ever been since Charles Martel won the battle of Poitiers. For the Saracens had now become a great sea-power, probably in the decay of the maritime strength of the Eastern Empire, the greatest sea-power of the Mediterranean.

In the year 831 they overran and conquered Sicily, which remained theirs for more than two centuries till, as just related, it was won back for Christianity by Roger the Norman. Fifteen years later they appeared at the mouth of the Tiber; Ostia was taken, the Campagna wasted.

**Great Wars
on Land
and Sea**

St. Peter's itself was desecrated and robbed of the treasures of centuries; St. Paul's Without the Gates shared the same fate; the city of Rome itself only just escaped being handed over to a Mussulman emir and echoing the cry of the muezzin. It really seemed as if Mahomet's, rather than Christ's, was to be the holiest name in all the Mediterranean lands. And this lamentable eclipse of the glory of the new empire was witnessed by a generation, many of whom must have gazed on the living face of Charlemagne.

While the Saracens still threatened by sea, a more terrible, because more barbarous, foe spread desolation by land. Over the vast Danubian plains, where Attila and his Huns once encamped, the Magyars, or Hungarians, a race perhaps remotely connected both with the Huns and with the Turks, now came thundering and destroying. From 880 till 933, when they were defeated by the Emperor Henry the Fowler in the great battle of Riada, the Hungarian squadrons were a nightmare of terror to Europe. They overran Germany, Burgundy, and Southern France, crossed the Alps into Italy, burned Pavia, and threatened, but did not take, Rome. From many a terrified congregation in the churches of Italy went up the heart-



CHARLEMAGNE HOLDING AN AUDIENCE OF HIS PEOPLE
After the drawing by E. Dawant



FRANKISH LEADERS AND THE CLERGY DOING HOMAGE TO THE CHILD KING, CLOVIS II. Clovis II. was only a child six years old when he succeeded his father, Dagobert, as king of Neustria in 638. During his minority the government was carried on by his mother, Nanthildis, but Clovis, of course, was the king on the throne, and, as represented in the illustration, received the homage due to that high office. Under Clovis II. the Frankish Empire was once more united, and he thus became king of the whole of the Franks. He died in 656.

From the painting by Maignan, by permission of Braun, Clement & Cie.

breaking litany: "From the arrows of the terrible Hungarians, good Lord deliver us." By the middle of the nine hundreds, however, they were beaten down into a reasonable frame of mind; they became civilised and Christianised. In the year 1000, a royal saint, Stefan, received from the Pope the title of King of Hungary, and in later centuries the brave and chivalrous Magyar was the great bulwark of Europe against his Mohammedan kinsman the Turk.

Beside the miseries of barbarian invasion, Europe, after the collapse of the dynasty of Charlemagne, suffered from religious terrors. As the years wore on towards the fateful era of the thousandth from the Birth of Christ, a presentiment brooded over the nations that the end of the world was at hand. When they needed most the support of religious faith, their spiritual guides most signally failed them. These centuries, the eight hundreds, the nine hundreds, and the early ten hundreds, are admitted by all historians to

have been the time of the greatest loss of power of the papacy. A long succession of Popes is followed by one man of eminence, perhaps of genius, Pope Formosus (891-896), but he was a strong political partisan, and after his death the legality of his acts was contested and his body was treated with contumely, but Theodorus II. restored it to Christian burial and at a council presided over by John IX. his pontificate was declared valid and all his acts confirmed.

Then came the period of the ascendancy of two women, a mother and a daughter, Theodora and Marozia, who for over sixty years (901-964) influenced the election of their sons and their grandsons to the chair of St. Peter. After an interval the Counts of Tusculum, petty feudal princes in the neighbourhood of Rome, succeeded in controlling the election of successive Popes (1012-1048). With such men as these sitting in the holiest place of Western Christendom, the reverence which in the days of Gregory the

Great had waited upon the lightest word of "the Apostle" was imperilled.

The cure for the worst miseries of this anarchic age came this time from Germany. The old Frankish Empire, it is true, had split into pieces. France especially, after the deposition of Charles the Fat, in 887, had been drawing further and further away from the empire and when, a century later, a new royal dynasty ascended the throne in the person of Hugh Capet she no longer, even nominally, formed part of it. Still, however, the great political fabric founded by the joint action

The "Holy Roman Empire" Maintained

of Charlemagne and Leo kept its proud title, "The Holy Roman Empire," though now it virtually included only the two countries of Germany and Italy, divided into an infinite number of petty feudal principalities, over which "Cæsar"—as the emperor was styled—wielded a strange and not easily defined dominion, strong and stern in the hands of a man of firm will and with the trick of success, shadowy and of little or no account in the hands of a weakling.

To the former class of strong and successful rulers belonged the Saxon emperors, who wore the imperial diadem during the nine hundreds and whose most celebrated representatives were Otto—or Otto the Great, the final vanquisher of the Hungarians, and his son and grandson, who bore his name (Otto I. 936-973; Otto II. 973-983; Otto III. 983-1002). These strong rulers ended the political anarchy which had for a hundred years prevailed in Italy, where petty princes of provence, of Spoleto, of Friuli, in rapid and unremembered succession, had reigned as shadowy kings. In the ecclesiastical realm also they restored a certain measure

of order. In 963 Otto the Great summoned a council to meet in Rome, by which Pope John XII., a headstrong and arbitrary youth, grandson of Marozia, was solemnly deposed, and a layman who had been a papal secretary, Leo VIII., was chosen in his stead. Still, however, the war of Roman factions continued, and one pontiff followed another in rapid succession till, in 996, the boy-emperor, Otto III., placed his cousin, Bruno of Carinthia, little older than himself, but a young man of pure and noble character, on the papal throne. Too good for those surrounding him and the populace of Rome, this German Pope died in the last year of the nine hundreds, the victim, it was said, of poisonous conspiracy. Ere long followed the dynasty of Tusculan Popes to which reference has been already made. It seemed as if nothing could save the people from a succession of endless

quarrels, when help was once more invoked from beyond the Alps, and this time with success. Another German, Bruno, of noble descent was raised to the papacy by the Emperor Henry III. A saint and a mystic, the new Pope, who took the name of Leo IX., did much in his six years of rule (1048-1054) to restore peace and tranquillity on all sides. Unfortunately for him he resorted to carnal weapons for the defence of his territory against the Norman Guiscard, by whom he was defeated and

made prisoner. The vexation of his defeat and the hardships of his captivity probably hastened his end, for he died the year after the battle, but the good which he accomplished survived its author for generations.



THE TRIUMPH OF CLOVIS
From the painting by Joseph Blanc in the Pantheon



ST. BERNARD PREACHING THE SECOND CRUSADE

During the period of the Crusades, from 1096 till 1272, eight great expeditions, besides many smaller ones, set out for the Holy Land to do battle for its recovery from the Turks. Though preached with burning eloquence by the great St. Bernard, the Second Crusade, in 1147-48, did not arouse so much enthusiasm as some of the later enterprises.

WESTERN
EUROPE IN
THE MIDDLE
AGES



GENERAL
SURVEY II
BY
DR. THOMAS
HODGKIN

THE HEROIC AGE OF CHIVALRY

THE CRUSADES TO THE HOLY LAND AND THE DUEL BETWEEN PAPACY AND EMPIRE

THE result of two centuries of anarchy and barbarian invasions, together with the feudalism which they had called into being, was to intensify the military spirit and to bring back into life the old theory of the forest-travelling Germans, that war was the only fitting occupation for a freeman, or, in modern language, for a gentleman. Immured within his massive castle, seeing all the lands up to the horizon cultivated by serfs "tied to the soil" or by men-at-arms, his vassals bound to follow him in war, the knight, or baron, or earl, who was the only really important unit in mediæval society, accepted the excitement of the chase as making life tolerable, but longed for the more glorious excitement of the stern realities of war. Even his religion was of the militant type. As one of the early Teutonic converts said when he heard the sad story of Calvary: "Had I been there with my henchmen, I would never have allowed the Romans to nail Him to the Cross."

Thus the spirit of that age, especially in those countries where the young Norman nation made itself most manifest, might be expressed in two words: *Militant Christianity*. It was almost as if the religion of Christ and the religion of Mahomet had changed places. Faith longed to display itself by deeds, but they must be deeds such as the mail-clad warrior only could perform.

**The Days of
Militant
Christianity** There was a certain nobility of spirit about that brave ignorance. The heroic age of chivalry must certainly be placed in the two centuries which we are about to review rapidly—the centuries of the Crusades. The fuel was all laid ready for the fire when Peter the Hermit, a mean-looking figure riding on an ass, but bearing aloft

the crucifix and breathing the fiery eloquence so often given to men with one idea, went through the cities and villages of France proclaiming the hardships, the humiliations, even the cruelties which Christian pilgrims to the holy places in the East had to endure at the hands of the Mussulmans.

**Peter the
Hermit Starts
the Crusades**

Once comparatively mild, the yoke pressed upon them had become ten times harder since—in the year 1076—the fierce Seljuk Turks from Tartary made themselves masters of the sacred lands. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre had been demolished, the Patriarch of Jerusalem had been dragged along the pavement by his hair and thrown into a prison, from which he was released only on the payment of an enormous ransom; everywhere the Christian pilgrims were being plundered, insulted, maltreated. With all these exasperating stories in men's minds, when Pope Urban II. convened a council at Clermont, in the centre of France, in 1096, and pleaded for an armed expedition to rescue the holy places of Jerusalem from the infidels, promising the forgiveness of all sins to those who should start on such an expedition, and an immediate entry into Paradise for those who should die in its service, the well-known cry "Dieu le veut!" burst from thousands of excited hearers; the badge of the Cross was assumed by all sorts and conditions of men; the Crusades began their chequered and feverish life.

The period of the Crusades lasted for 176 years (1096-1272), and during that time eight great expeditions, besides numberless smaller ones, were launched from Europe against Asia. It will thus be seen that the average interval between each crusade was a little less than the

average length of a generation. That was the time necessary to rekindle in the bosom of the French or Norman knight the enthusiasm which had sent his father to the Holy War. France, which had been the scene of the first proclamation of the crusade, remained the chief supporter of the movement—France and her sister-

Jerusalem Won from the Infidel land of Flanders, and her kinsfolk the Normans of England and Italy. Spain was too much occupied with her own domestic crusades against the Moors, Germany too keenly interested in her long battle with the Popes and the internal dissensions resulting thence, to give her whole mind to the recovery or the defence of the holy places, though three of her emperors at least took some share in a crusade. French or Flemish or Norman remained the chief material forces of the long campaign, and French were its two chief spiritual champions—Peter the Hermit (1093-1099) and Bernard of Clairvaux (1146-1153).

The detailed history of the Crusades belongs to Eastern rather than to Western Europe. The First Crusade, the most successful and the most memorable of the number, that one which inspired the Italian poet to write his epic "*Gerusalemme Liberata*," lasted three years (1096-1099). It saw the Turks defeated in the great battle of Dorylæum, in Bithynia, Antioch taken, and at last, most joyful of triumphs, Jerusalem itself recovered from the infidel in July of 1099. In that holy city, when Godfrey of Boulogne was proclaimed, but not crowned king, a dynasty—a "Latin Christian" dynasty—was established, with laws and polity all its own, the very embodiment of feudalism; and this dynasty lasted with varying fortunes for nearly a hundred years (1099-1187), till it was overthrown by the Mussulman soldier of fortune, Saladin. In this crusade, Robert the Norman, eldest son of William the Conqueror, took an important part, having pawned his Duchy of Normandy to his brother Rufus in order to raise money for the enterprise. The Second Crusade (1147-1148), though pleaded for with enthusiastic eloquence by the great Saint Bernard, was a poor and ineffectual affair, memorable in French history chiefly from the fact that it led to the loss of the province of Aquitaine. Eleanor, the heiress of that goodly land,

Failure of the Second Crusade had brought it as a dowry to her husband, the French king, Louis VII. The young pair went together on crusade, quarrelled, as many other travelling companions have done, and were divorced; Eleanor, marrying a second time, brought to her new husband, Henry Plantagenet, King of England, the right to that splendid inheritance along with her own unrivalled capacity for making her husband's home miserable.

The son of Eleanor of Aquitaine, Richard Lion-Heart of England, was the chief hero of the Third Crusade (1189-1192). He failed to recover the Holy City from the grasp of Saladin, but he captured Acre, and his personal bravery did something to restore in the East the fading lustre of the Christian arms. It is needless to do more than refer to the well-known story of his quarrels with Philip Augustus of France, his captivity in Austria, and the enormous ransom which was extorted from him by the mean-souled German emperor.

The Fourth Crusade (1202-1204) was a tragi-comedy, played with a disastrous disregard to the true interests of Christian civilisation. Venice, Champagne and Flanders furnished the bulk of the Crusaders, who never approached within a thousand miles of Jerusalem, but, instead of fighting the infidel, occupied themselves in overturning the Christian Empire of the East, the barrier which had for six centuries protected Europe from the ravages of Saracen invasion. A shadowy "Latin" Empire was founded when Baldwin, Count of Flanders, was crowned with the diadem in Constantinople, and the Republic of Venice became sovereign of "one-quarter and the half of a quarter of the Roman Empire," and countless principalities, marquisates, and baronies were allotted to French and Flemish knights on the coasts of the Ægean. But none of these stage sovereignties, though picturesque and romantic, had enough inherent vitality to enable them permanently to resist the rising tide of Mussulman conquest. That a Turkish sultan later sat as lord in the palace of Constantine was a direct—we might almost say an inevitable—consequence of the felony of the Fourth Crusade.

The Latin empire of Constantinople had an even shorter life than the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. In 1261 the Greek

emperors were back in their own city, but so weakened and impoverished that we learn with surprise that the final ruin of the empire was postponed for nearly 200 years. From this point onwards the story of the Crusades becomes rather monotonous. There was scarcely any fighting in the Holy Land itself, the Crusaders having apparently decided that the conquest of Palestine must be achieved in Egypt. The Fifth and Seventh Crusades (1216-1221; 1245-1250)—a short notice of the Sixth Crusade (1235-1241) is reserved for a later place in this chapter—were occupied chiefly with operations round Damietta, which was twice taken by the Crusaders, and which might, with a little prudent management, have been exchanged for Jerusalem. The hero, or, rather, the saint and martyr, of this Seventh Crusade was Louis IX. of France, who, after some successes, was taken prisoner by the Egyptian sultan and released only on the payment of an enormous ransom.

Twenty years later—in 1270—St. Louis headed the Eighth Crusade, but died of fever at Tunis at the very beginning of the expedition. Edward, son of Henry III. of England, remained in command, went forward to Palestine, landed at Acre, and took the holy village of Nazareth. His success, however, ended there. He fell sick, narrowly escaped death at the hand of an assassin, and returned to England in 1272 to mount the throne and begin a memorable reign as Edward I. This was virtually the last of the Crusades, and it will be seen that the last, like the first, was connected with the personality of a chivalrous Anglo-Norman prince.

We have seen that the Crusaders were essentially a product of feudalism, but it is also true that their influence was in the end antagonistic to feudalism. Contact with nations of an utterly different type of civilisation, with the Greek, the Egyptian and the Arab, brought new ideas and shook the mail-clad warrior out of his stolid, knightly pride. The multitude of lowly born peasants who flocked to the banner of the Cross loosened the hold of the landowner on his serfs; the impoverishment of the chivalrous classes and the diminution of their numbers increased the relative strength of the crown; above all, the spread of commerce, which was undoubtedly a result of the Crusades, augmented the wealth and power

of the *Communes*, whom we find throughout these centuries rapidly rising into importance, and who were, moreover, often able to buy valuable charters and remissions of obnoxious burdens from a knightly or baronial neighbour, who must have money at any price to enable him to start for the Holy Land.

The influence of the Crusades on the whole was on the side of enlightenment and freedom. It is clear that it put a powerful weapon into the hands of the papacy, which now put an end to teaching in which it detected hostility to Catholicism by declaring its advocates heretics, and proclaiming a Crusade against them. A notable instance of this was furnished by the Crusade against the Albigenses, engineered by Innocent III. (1209-1217), a Crusade which crushed the poetic but free-thinking civilisation of Southern France, and possibly postponed for three centuries the Protestant Reformation.

The German emperors had done a good deed for Christendom by helping to raise the papacy from the position which it occupied, but they had not altogether promoted their own ease or security. Throughout the closing years of our second period the dominant influence in the counsels of the papacy had been wielded by the cardinal sub-deacon Hildebrand. It had ever been his voice which stimulated the Popes, his nominal superiors, to assert the claims of their office against the authority of the emperor. By his advice Pope Alexander II. had commissioned William the Norman to undertake the conquest of England. By his contrivance the momentous change had been made which transferred the election of the Pope from the people of Rome to the bishops and clergy of that city, who bore the rank of cardinals. Now, in the year 1073, the great

pope-maker consented to become himself Pope. The Cardinal Hildebrand began his short but ever memorable papacy under the title of Gregory VII. (1073-1085). There is an old and true proverb that if two men ride on one horse, one must go behind. Such had been for centuries the condition of Europe under the empire founded by Charlemagne, and till now the question had never been fully faced which of the two riders, emperor or Pope,

was to take the hindmost place. One of the two riders claimed to represent the immemorial domination of Rome, to be the successor of Julius, of Augustus, and of Constantine, and to possess all their pre-eminent rights. The other claimed to be the vicar of Jesus Christ, God's vice-regent upon earth, and the claim was generally admitted for all that concerned the religious interests of mankind; but the thought was now finding harbourage in the minds of churchmen that temporal matters ought also to be subjected to the same divinely appointed rule. "Come, then," said Hildebrand to a council of

proud princes, what may not ye do to these their servants?"

The balance of forces at the accession of Gregory VII., in 1073, was indeed, strangely altered from that which prevailed in the previous century. Then there had generally been a pontiff with comparatively little power against a strong, chaste, strenuous emperor. Now there was a stern, austere, monk-pope matched against the dissolute, unstable, though not by any means stupid, young emperor, Henry IV. Each found his worst enemies in his own house. Many Italian bishops were indignant at Gregory's



AN ARMY OF THE CRUSADERS ON THE MARCH

From the picture by Sir John Gilbert, R.A., in the South Kensington Museum

ecclesiastics, "let all the world understand, and know that since ye have power to bind and loose in heaven, ye have power to take away and to grant empires, kingdoms, principalities, duchies, marquisates, counties and the possessions of all men according to their deserts. Ye have often deprived wicked and unworthy men of patriarchates, primacies, archbishoprics, bishoprics, and bestowed them on religious men. If ye then judge in spiritual affairs, how great must be your power in secular; and if ye are to judge angels who rule over

determination to enforce the absolute rule of celibacy on all churchmen; many German nobles resented every attempt which Henry made to convert a nominal into a real supremacy.

In the year 1076 the smouldering antipathy between the two men broke out into open war. Gregory summoned the emperor to appear before him at Rome, there to answer for various breaches of ecclesiastical law. Henry retorted by convoking a synod at Worms at which the bishops, who were his partisans,

formally renounced their allegiance to Gregory and served upon him a summons, couched in insulting terms, to leave the apostolic throne which he had usurped: "I, Henry, by the Grace of God, with all the bishops of my realm, say unto thee—Diet, down!"

The emperor had over-rated his power, as he soon discovered when the Pope replied with his expected counter-stroke, excommunication and deposition from the imperial dignity. The political result of this sentence, the assembling of a hostile diet, the revolt of three of the most powerful dukes, he could perhaps have

To the disgust of his Italian allies, Henry was all for submission, for petitioning the Pope to annul his sentence of deposition; but the Pope was determined not to make forgiveness easy. For three days the emperor, clad in the thin white robe of a penitent, shivered in the courtyard of Canossa. When at length admitted, he received absolution, but on the humiliating terms of submission to the Pope's will—a promise to appear before his judgment seat to answer the charges made against him, and meanwhile to lay aside the marks of his rank and perform none of the functions of royalty.



A FLEET OF THE CRUSADERS CROSSING THE BOSPHORUS

surmounted; but the social results, the loneliness and depression caused by the terrible "boycott" of excommunication—an expressive word must be borrowed from modern politics—were too much for him. In the depth of an unusually severe winter he and a few faithful followers scrambled, at the risk of their lives, over the slippery slopes of Mont Cenis. At his descent into Italy the adversaries of Gregory rallied round him, and the Pope himself retired to the castle of Canossa, a fortress high up in the Apennines, which belonged to his faithful partisan Matilda, Countess of Tuscany.

This is the far-famed pilgrimage to Canossa, which profoundly stirred the minds, not only of contemporaries, but of many succeeding generations, and the echo of which was heard in modern politics in Bismarck's well-known phrase, "We certainly shall not go to Canossa."

It took place in 1077, just eleven years after the battle of Hastings. In this instance it was proved that Gregory had over-strained his power. The humiliation so joyously inflicted on the greatest of its potentates revolted the conscience of Christendom. German pride was wounded by the arrogance of the Italian,

Henry's affairs assumed for the time a more cheerful aspect, a second excommunication fell harmless. Rome was besieged, and saved from capture only by the appearance of those terrible allies, the Normans, who pillaged, burnt and ravaged worse than any of Rome's previous barbarian conquerors. Gregory himself died at

The Great Gregory's Dying Words Salerno in 1085, uttering the memorable words: "I have loved righteousness and hated iniquity; therefore it is I die in exile." The point at issue between the two rival potentates was not merely a personal one, though undoubtedly the natural man's desire for pre-eminence played a great part in the drama. There was also one really difficult question which for more than half a century distracted Christendom, the question of Investitures. The high lords of the Church, her bishops, archbishops, mitred abbots and patriarchs were also, especially in Germany, high lords in the state, rulers of enormous territories and entitled to the obedience of powerful vassals. Here then were two mighty organisations, the ecclesiastical and the feudal. How could these be fitted into one another? On feudal principles, all temporal power involved the feudal tie, lordship over the vassals beneath, vassalage to the lord above, and the lord paramount over all was the king.

But on ecclesiastical principles, as now asserted by Hildebrand, the dignitaries of the Church, deriving their authority from God Himself, were subject to no man, save the Pope, God's vicar. How then could the bishop or archbishop be asked to do homage to any temporal lord, even to the emperor himself? How could the hands which in the sacrifice of the Mass "could create the Creator" be pressed between the hands of a man who was perhaps an adulterer and a murderer? The symbols of the investiture of a prelate were the ring and the pastoral staff—the

Where Pope and Emperor Differed ring to betoken the new bishop's marriage to his diocese, the staff, his duty of shepherding the flock. Where

was the fitness of the bestowal of these on a churchman by an earthly potentate? Yet, on the other hand, if some of the most powerful nobles of the empire could hold their lands subject to no recognition of the emperor's supremacy, what became of feudal subordination? It will therefore be seen that the dispute about Investitures

was no mere strife about words, but that a real contest of principles was involved. At one point of the struggle a Pope—Paschal II.—was actually willing to surrender all the landed domains of the Church if the emperor would give up his claim to grant investiture to her officers; but this sacrifice was too much for his episcopal clients, and negotiations on that footing had to be abandoned.

At last, however, at the Diet of Worms in 1122, a reasonable compromise was effected. Investiture by ring and staff, the religious part of the process, was renounced by the emperor, but the newly-consecrated ecclesiastic must kneel before the emperor and receive from his outstretched sceptre the touch which conveyed to him dominion over the lands attached to his bishopric. The principle of the Concordat of Worms was apparently accepted in the other countries of Western Europe, and in some of them, at any rate, continues in force till this day. When a parish clergyman is selected for promotion to an English bishopric, after he has gone through the ecclesiastical ceremonies of election by the dean and chapter, consecration by his brother-bishops, and enthronement in his cathedral, it is his duty to take the train for Windsor, and there do homage to the Crown for the temporalities of his see.

Though the contest about Investitures was formally closed, abundant materials for strife between emperor and Pope still remained, and, as the eleven hundreds rolled on, a new element—Republicanism—made its appearance in Italy. When men first awoke from the torpor of the dark centuries, remembrances, dim, but majestic, of the mighty republics of old, of Rome, and of all the bright train of her subject sisters, the municipalities of Italy, began to stir in their souls; and now, too, the democratic side of Christianity began to display itself especially to some of the inmates of the cloister. Such a man was Arnold of Brescia (1136-1155), who preached republicanism and the abrogation of the temporal power of the priesthood in language which now sounds strangely modern; and he actually succeeded for a time in setting up a republic in Rome. All over Italy, but especially in the valley of the Po, the cities began to withdraw themselves from the feudal organisation of the empire, or to claim that the feudal rights which remained

should be vested in their own elected magistrates, to whom they generally gave the proud old name of consuls.

This movement inevitably brought them into collision with the man in whom all feudal rights and privileges were summed up, with the man who wore the imperial crown, and that man in the middle of the eleven hundreds was one of all others least likely to forgo a tittle of his rights—Frederic Barbarossa of Hohenstaufen, Duke of Swabia and Emperor of Rome. This great emperor, one of the greatest in the long line of mediæval Cæsars, had some qualities in common with King Edward Plantagenet. Like him, proud, brave, and strong; like him, generally a man of his word, and with a deep conviction of the duties laid upon him by his high office, but, unfortunately, with a tendency to ride his steed, the people under his rule, with too sharp a bit, thus his very virtues were in danger of becoming crimes. His determination to put an end to anarchy and to assert the just claims of the empire degenerated more than once into tyranny and cruelty. The chief quarrel of the

Milan in Ruins emperor was with Milan, that stately city which had often been the residence of the old, the genuine, Augusti. Frederic's chief ally in Italy was the Lombard city of Pavia. Milan, at first rather feebly supported by her sister-cities, drew strength from the support of the Popes—first, that of Hadrian IV., the only Englishman who has ever worn the triple crown, and then that of Alexander III. (1159-1179), who, in his turn, leant upon the somewhat uncertain help of his Norman vassal, William, king of Sicily. After seven years of war, in which the combatants had been growing ever more exasperated against one another, the emperor, having starved Milan into submission, received her unconditional surrender in 1162. He ordered the city to be levelled with the ground, and sent the citizens forth to wander as beggars through the cities of Italy, all save a remnant, who were allowed to live in four villages planted near their old home.

But here the emperor had overshot his mark. The piteous tale told by the banished Milanese roused the sympathies even of their former foes. In 1167 the Lombard League was formed, a confederation which included nearly all the cities of Lombardy; Milan was rebuilt and received again

her old inhabitants; the strong city of Alessandria was built and named after the pope, patron of the league. Frederic's armies were more than once all but annihilated by disease, engendered by summer heats and ill-drained plains; and at last, in 1176, the twenty years' struggle was ended by the battle of Legnano, in

End of Twenty Years' Struggle which the Italians won a complete victory, and Frederic, after witnessing the terrible slaughter of his men, with difficulty escaped from the field. Convinced that it was a hopeless task to overcome the independent spirit of the Lombard republics, Barbarossa now thankfully accepted the mediation of Alexander III.—against whom he had been raising up one anti-pope after another for the preceding ten years—met him at Venice, and humbly kneeling before him, obtained the removal of the ban of excommunication for himself and his adherents. It was on this occasion that, according to a picturesque but untrustworthy legend, the Pope set his foot on the neck of the prostrate emperor, saying, with exultation: "Thou shalt tread upon the lion and adder, the young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under foot."

The emperor then returned into Germany, but in 1183 recrossed the Alps, and meeting the delegates of the Lombard cities at the fair city of Constance, concluded with them a treaty which was the basis of the public law of Italy for centuries. The regalia, or rights of sovereignty, claimed by the emperors, were greatly limited, the right of the cities to levy taxes and to elect their own chief magistrate was recognised; the Lombard League itself was solemnly authorised by the emperor. From this time onwards the dependence of the cities of Italy upon the empire was ever tending to become more precarious and shadowy. Italy and Germany began more and more to trace out

Two Great Powers in Italy their peculiar and separate orbits. During these contests two party-names, which were destined to shed a lurid light over Italian politics for many centuries, first came into being. These were the names of Guelf and Ghibeline. The Dukes of Bavaria and Saxony—from whom, through the electors of Brunswick, England's royal family is descended—bore the name of Guelf; and these, partly from mere antagonism to the other

family, were almost invariably found siding with the Pope against the emperor. On the other hand were the two families of Franconia and Swabia, which between them ruled the whole south-western quarter of Germany, which were connected by close family ties, which ruled the empire for two centuries—the Henries belonging to the

For Pope
or
Emperor?

most part to the Franconian, and the Frederics to the Swabian line; and these were found with equal constancy on the side opposed to the Popes, whom the Church finally recognised, and against whom they raised up innumerable anti-popes.

The Swabian emperors, who are now generally known in history by a surname derived from their castle of Hohenstaufen, seem to have been better known among their contemporaries by the name of Weiblingen, which their Italian subjects, intolerant of the "W," converted into Ghibeline. These two party labels were taken over from German into Italian politics, and had a far longer and more vigorous life in Italy than in their native land. Even so, we may remark in passing, the words "Whig" and "Tory" were imported into English party warfare from Scotland and Ireland respectively. Of course, in the fierce cross-currents of Italian urban strife they often drifted far from their moorings; but, speaking generally, we may say that the Guelf swore by the Pope, and the Ghibeline by the emperor; the Guelf leaned towards republicanism, the Ghibeline towards feudalism; religious democracy was the ideal of the former, the ideal of the latter was knightly loyalty.

This section must close with a sketch of the career of the last and most brilliant of the Hohenstaufen emperors, Frederic II. of Sicily. His grandfather, Frederic Barbarossa, having in his old age embarked on the Third Crusade, was marching

Frederic II.
the Brilliant
Emperor

through Asia Minor, and had already reached its south-eastern corner when, plunging on a day of burning heat into the little Cilician stream, Calycadnus, he caught a sudden chill, resulting in a fever or a stroke of paralysis, by which he was almost immediately carried off. Though he was buried in that far-off Asiatic land, the imagination of the Germans pictured the glorious emperor still living in an enchanted sleep in a cave of the moun-

tains near Salzburg, from which he should one day burst forth in the time of his country's darkest need to champion her cause. Yet Louis XIV. and Napoleon came, and still Barbarossa slumbered.

The son and successor of Barbarossa, Henry VI., emperor from 1190 till 1197, was a man of base and ignoble nature, whose most memorable action was the arrest and imprisonment of Richard Cœur-de-Lion on his return from the Holy Land. He made, however, a most successful matrimonial venture when he married Constantia, who was ultimately the heiress of the Norman kings of Sicily. He thus acquired dominion over the whole south of Italy, and made the house of Hohenstaufen more terrible and more hateful than ever to the papacy, which saw itself girt in on every side, north, east and south, by this inexorable foe. But Henry VI. died in the prime of life, a victim probably to that fatal climate of Italy, which was the keenest of all Guelfic partisans. His wife Constantia, whom he had sorely wounded by many cruelties towards her kindred and her people, died a year after him;

The Famous
Pope
Innocent III.

but before dying left her son, a little boy of four years old, under the guardianship of the Pope. This orphan child was the future Emperor Frederic II. Guardian and ward were each to play a great part on the stage of history, the first in the early, and the second in the central years of the century; but two more diverse characters could hardly be imagined. The Pope who received Constantia's dying charge was none other than the famous Innocent III., greatest of all the Popes but Hildebrand, the man whom we have already met organising the Fourth Crusade and ruthlessly rooting up the heresy of the Albigenses; the man who brought John of England to his feet and made the English kings his vassals; the man, too, who harnessed the enthusiasm of St Francis and St. Dominic to the chariot of the Church. A Roman noble, calm, strong, self-possessed, he showed that the imperial race had not quite forgotten the secret of "ruling the nations," that it could still "spare the fallen and wear down the proud."

The child Frederic, son of a German father and a Norman-Italian mother, grew up to the age of seventeen in his mother's native Sicily, amid many perils, from which he was on the whole faithfully



A TYPE OF THE MIDDLE AGES: THE SOLDIER OF FORTUNE

Men loved fighting in mediæval times, and frequently engaged in war out of pure delight in the combat. But fighting was also a profession; men were hired to fight, just as to-day they are employed for business, and much fighting meant handsome recompense. Mr. Seymour Lucas, A.R.A., here admirably depicts a bluff, hearty soldier of fortune.

shielded by a Pope, the predestined enemy of his race. When his character fully declared itself, when his position as emperor of Rome and king of Sicily was established beyond possibility of question, he was indeed, as he was often called, "stupor mundi," an object of bewildered wonder to the world. The

Frederic's Praise of Sicily

emperors who followed Charlemagne, especially the emperors of the three previous centuries, had been for the most part brave, thick-headed German soldiers, silently despised as "barbarians" by their Italian vassals. But now, behold! the imperial diadem was worn by a man more Italian than the Italians, a man who spoke six languages—Latin, Italian, German, French, Greek, Arabic—and who wrote poetry in one of them—the young "volgare" dialect of Italy. Here was a troubadour upon the throne, yet also a skilled and resolute soldier; a free-thinker, too, in that most orthodox age; a man who consorted with Saracens, and who dared to say: "If the Almighty had ever seen my beautiful Sicily, He would never have given that arid Palestine as a possession to His chosen people." And yet this free-thinking emperor could also be, when it served his purpose, a cruel persecutor of heretics. There is much in the character of Frederic II. to move our just condemnation. We are always fascinated by his brilliant, many-sided personality, but we never quite love him.

By the help of the papacy the young heir of the Hohenstaufen not only preserved his Norman-Sicilian kingdom, but in 1215 won the imperial crown from a competitor, Otto of Bavaria (1198-1215), who, though sprung from a Guelfic family, had incurred the hostility of Innocent III. by his too strenuous advocacy of the rights of the Cæsar. Scarcely, however, was Frederic seated on his throne when dissensions arose between him and his foster-mother the Church. The ostensible ground for these dissensions—a real cause of quarrel between Pope and a Hohenstaufen could never be lacking—was the fact that on the day after his election, Frederic, perhaps in a moment of enthusiasm, had assumed the Cross and taken a vow to deliver Jerusalem from the hands of the infidels. This obligation was solemnly urged upon

him by successive Popes, by the mild and good-tempered Honorius III. (1216-1227), and by the irascible old pontiff Gregory IX. (1227-1241) who, with octogenarian bitterness, launched the thunders of the Church at his devoted head.

It must be admitted that Frederic was exasperating in his behaviour with reference to this Crusade. He was always about to start in two years' time, "if only you will leave me unexcommunicated so long," and always found something to do in crushing Norman barons or Guelfic citizens, which, when the end of the two years came, made it impossible to leave Italy just then. When, at last, in September, 1227, he did set sail from Brindisi, a fatal sickness, the result no doubt of the neglect of sanitary precautions, broke out in his army, carrying off some of the chiefs of the expedition, and attacking the emperor himself, whereupon he, not unnaturally, doffed his armour and returned to his palace in Sicily. The sickness seems to have been genuine, but the Pope chose to consider it feigned, and hurled a furious bull of excommunication

The Pope in a Great Passion

at the offender. There was evidently more of spite than of statesmanship in this proceeding, for when in the following year, 1228, Frederic in good earnest started for the Sixth Crusade, the excommunication remained unrepelled. Every place at which he might land was laid under an interdict, and this interdict was extended even to Jerusalem itself, which Frederic, it must be confessed, by diplomacy rather than by arms, had recovered for Christendom. We have said that the whole conduct of the Pope at this crisis seems to have been dictated by passion rather than by policy. If the Crusade were to have any chance of success it was essential that the Crusaders should be of one heart and one mind and should feel that they had with them the blessing of the Church.

Moreover, Frederic, who had now taken for his second wife Yolande of Brienne, and in right of that marriage had assumed the title of King of Jerusalem, had reasons of his own for making the Crusade a real success, and should surely from the narrowest point of view of the papal interests, have been encouraged to spend as much of his strength as possible in the East, instead of returning to fight the cause of Ghibelinism

in Italy. That, however, was what he actually did ; and the remaining twenty-one years of his life (1229-1250) were one long and deadly duel with the Popes, first with octogenarian Gregory and then with a more subtle, but less venerated foe, Innocent IV. This Pope, in his humbler capacity as Cardinal Fieschi, had been classed among the partisans of the empire, but when Frederic was congratulated on his elevation he answered with too true a presentiment : " I have lost a friend and not gained an ally. No Pope can ever be a Ghibeline."

After the death of Frederic, in 1250,

IV., who happened to be a Frenchman, took the fateful step of inviting one of his countrymen, Charles of Anjou, brother of St. Louis, to enter Italy as the champion of the Guelfic cause and wrest the crown of Sicily from Manfred. He came ; he conquered his opponent on the desperately fought field of Benevento on February 26th, 1266. The body of the excommunicated " Sultan of Lucera," as the victor derisively called him, was buried in unconsecrated ground. The long duel between the Popes and the Hohenstaufen was ended ; the old priest's crosier had beaten the young knight's

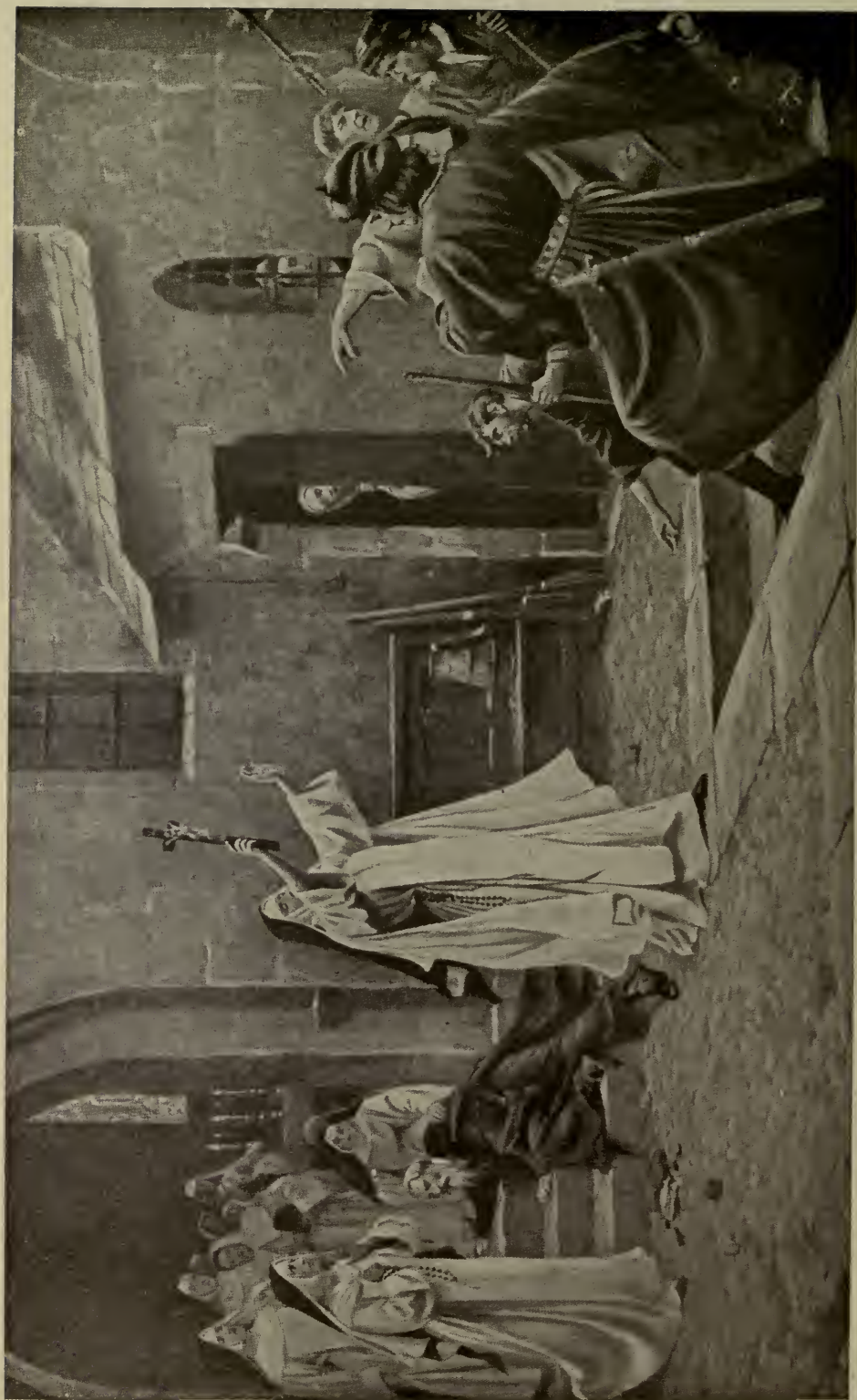


CHARACTERISTIC MARKET SCENE OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

This picture is restored from a window in the Cathedral of Chartres

and the short reign of his son, the Emperor Conrad IV., the young and brilliant Manfred was proclaimed king of Sicily. An illegitimate son of Frederic II., he inherited many of his father's attractive qualities and therewith the undying enmity of the papacy. Like Frederic, he leaned much on the support of a military colony of Saracens established in the fortress of Lucera, whose vast circuit of walls, indicating the great size of the mediæval castle, may still be seen on a hill of Apulia. Under Manfred's able guidance the Ghibeline party in Italy was fast rising into domination, when the Pope, Urban

sword ; or, more literally, the victory seems to have been won by the rapier over the sabre. The French had recently introduced the former weapon, and, while the Italian soldier was lifting his great broadsword for a down-stroke, the agile Frenchman thrust in his rapier's point and let out the life of his antagonist. Here too, virtually ended the battle between the papacy and the empire. Each will have other foes in the portion of history which lies next before us ; but they will not be so directly pitted against one another as they have been for these two centuries.

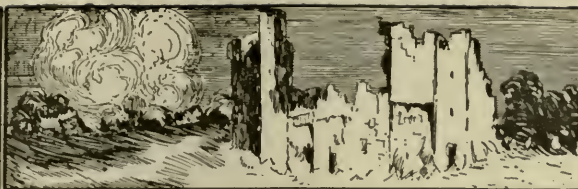


"IN NOMINE CHRISTI": SANCTUARY UNDER THE IMAGE OF THE CROSS OF CHRIST

From the murderous assault of the mob the patriarch seeks sanctuary, and before the image of the Cross, held aloft by the Abbess, the hands of his assailants are stayed.

Reproduced from the painting by E. Blair Leighton, by permission of Sir R. Koper, Bart.

WESTERN
EUROPE IN
THE MIDDLE
AGES



GENERAL
SURVEY III
BY
DR. THOMAS
HODGKIN

PASSING OF THE AGE OF CHIVALRY AND THE PAPAL SUPREMACY RESTORED

THIS period might fitly be called the Autumn of Chivalry and the Spring of Literature and Art. There are no more Crusades; the spirit of knight-errantry is departing; war seems to be often a sordid speculation on the value of the ransoms that may be extorted from wealthy prisoners. On the other hand, the young languages of Europe are beginning to bud and put forth leaves, as the truth dawns upon men that poems and histories may be written in other languages than Latin, that even the despised vernacular is a possible literary instrument. To this period belong the names of Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio in Italy, of Froissart in France, of Chaucer and Langland in England. In the history of art we have a catalogue of illustrious names from Giotto to Fra Angelico; in architecture, though Norman and early English lie behind us, the beautiful decorated and stately perpendicular styles are still to come.

Nor ought we in this connection to forget the services which the fresh enthusiasm of the young Mendicant Orders rendered both to literature and to art. Both Dominic and Francis lived near the end of our third period, but the influence on the intellect of Europe of the orders which they founded was most fully felt after their deaths, and was certainly mighty throughout the later twelve hundreds and the two following centuries. The Friars—as the Mendicants were called

**The Friars
as University
Professors**

to distinguish them from their rivals, the more old-fashioned and conservative monks—chiefly known by their two most popular representatives, the Dominican Black Friars and Franciscan Grey Friars, swarmed into the universities now rising into eminence throughout Europe, and contributed the most celebrated names to the list of professors of scholastic theology, who, however the world may think to have outgrown their teaching,

evidently possessed some of the strongest and keenest intellects of their day. Of the five greatest schoolmen, Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas (the Angelic Doctor) were Dominicans; Buonaventura the Seraphic, Duns Scotus the Subtle, and Occam (the Invincible), were Franciscans. It was from the bosom of the Franciscan Order also that the philosopher sprang who anticipated in some degree that strictly scientific method which, in the hands of his mighty namesake, was one day to vanquish the word-splitting dialectic of the schoolmen, Roger Bacon the

**The Creator
of the House
of Commons**

“Doctor Mirabilis” (1214–1294). In reviewing the course of these two centuries, we may very lightly touch upon the well-known events which took place in England. England under the early Plantagenets had not been a stranger to the storm which had swept over the ecclesiastical sky in Southern Europe. She, too, had found her Hildebrand in Becket, and had witnessed her Canossa when the abject John submitted to declare himself the vassal of the Pope. Perhaps, also, it may be said that she had not been without her Guelfs and Ghibelines when Simon de Montfort, popularly known as the creator of the English House of Commons, vanquished Henry III. at Lewes, and was himself vanquished by Prince Edward at Evesham.

In 1272, six years after the battle of Benevento, Edward Longshanks, greatest of the Plantagenets, ascended the throne. In his reign of thirty-five years, he did many noble deeds both as statesman and as legislator. Even his conquest of Wales, notwithstanding some ungenerous harshness, must be reckoned among his praiseworthy exploits; but his unsuccessful attempt on the liberties of Scotland, his endeavour to convert the friendly superiority which Scotsmen were willing to grant him

into the strictest, harshest tie of feudal vassalage, wrought untold harm to the England which he surely loved. From the year 1296, when the galling acts of Edward drove the luckless John Balliol into revolt, down to 1603, when James Stuart mounted the English throne, it may almost be said that there was never

Scotland the Foe of England lasting peace between the two countries, only wars and precarious truces, raids and counter-raids, and, above all, a continual and most natural tendency on the part of Scotland to ally herself with England's other enemy, France. There was thus always a foe at England's back door who would not have been there had Edward I. shown somewhat less of the qualities of a sharp attorney in his dealings with the sister kingdom.

Though John "Lackland," by his cowardice and cruelty, had lost his father's inheritance of Normandy, the Plantagenets, till the close of our present period, never entirely quitted hold of the magnificent dower which Eleanor of Aquitaine brought to Henry II., and these possessions in the south-west corner of France often furnished a base for the operations which they undertook in what has been forcibly, if not quite accurately, called the Hundred Years' War between England and France. That war began with the invasion of France by Edward III. in 1339, and it ended with the defeat of Talbot before Castillon in 1453, the very year which for another reason has been chosen as the close of our present period. During that age of strife the English won three memorable victories, Crecy, Poitiers and Agincourt.

We are perhaps too much inclined to forget their defeats; that of Beaugé (1421), where the Duke of Clarence, brother of Henry V., was slain; that of Patay (1429), where Lord Talbot was vanquished and made prisoner by the heroic Jeanne D'Arc; his final defeat and overthrow, as above

England's Triumphs over France mentioned, at Castillon. The two proudest days for the English invaders were March 24th, 1359, when, by the Treaty of London, the captive king of France yielded to Edward III. in full sovereignty all that Henry II. had ever ruled as vassal of the French crown, Normandy, Brittany, Anjou, Maine, and Aquitaine—in other words, a full half of France; and, again, December 16th, 1431, when, apparently with the consent of the greater

part of the French nation, weary of the feuds of Armagnacs and Burgundians, the English child, Henry VI., was proclaimed "King of England and France, our sovereign lord." That title, King of France, so soon to be rendered a vain show by the enthusiasm and courage of the Maid of Orleans, was clung to with ludicrous tenacity by many generations of English sovereigns, even by James II., when he was a throneless exile at the court of the real king of France, Louis XIV., and was abandoned only in the days of our grandfathers at a time when there was no king in France, and that country, under a ruler mightier than any of her kings, was engaged in a life and death struggle with England.

The high-water mark of England's dominion in France was soon succeeded by a steady and continuous ebb of the tide. It was by a series of petty reverses more than by any great victories that the English intruders were edged out of France, until at last at the end of our present period Calais only remained to them. But the Hundred Years' War left in one way a favourable impress on

France's Gains from English Invasions France. As the Danish invasions had consolidated England, so the long misery of the English invasions unified and strengthened the national feeling of Frenchmen. When the Hundred Years' War began, the men of Aquitaine scarcely looked upon the Parisians as their fellow-countrymen. When it ended, they recognised the necessity of their position and accepted, if somewhat grudgingly, Charles VII. as their sovereign lord.

The advantage which France won, however painfully, from this struggle for her national existence was to some extent neutralised by the folly of her kings, especially of John and Charles V., in granting enormous "appanages" to members of their family, which made them almost independent sovereigns and tended to keep alive sectional and provincial jealousies. It was owing to this mistaken policy that the rival houses of Burgundy and Orleans were able to distract their country by that fatal feud which, far more than the English valour at Agincourt, laid France prostrate at the feet of Henry V.; and even when peace was restored and the English invader expelled, the reconciled Duke of Burgundy was terrible to his sovereign lord, whose

power he gloomily overshadowed. Lords of Burgundy by inheritance, and of the rich Netherlands by marriage, these mighty seigneurs, whose beautifully carved tombs, a marvel of late mediæval work, are the glory of the cathedral at Dijon, became the traditional enemies of their French cousins, traditional allies of the English kings whose country was closely connected with their country by the ties

proudest of European royalties, was all accomplished in the period now before us. When the mighty house of Hohenstaufen fell (1254) there was for a time anarchy in Central Europe. Phantom emperors, an English prince (Richard Duke of Cornwall), a king of Castile (Alfonso the Wise), and others flitted across the stage; but none of them exercised any real authority, till in 1273 the



ST. LOUIS DISPENSING JUSTICE

Louis IX., king of France, was one of the highest type of rulers produced by the Roman Catholic and feudal world of the Middle Ages. A sincere Catholic, he was very independent, and under his reign the administrative and judicial systems of his country were greatly developed. He died in 1270. of commerce. The very surnames of these men mark their militant position—Philip the Bold, John the Fearless, and Charles the Rash; they were men born to be assassinated or slain in battle.

Eventually, as we shall see, the fortunes of the heirs of Burgundy were closely intertwined with those of the house of Hapsburg. The uprise of this house of Hapsburg, by no means the oldest though one of the

Electors chose for emperor a Swabian knight of respectable position named Rudolf of Hapsburg, who was accordingly crowned with the imperial diadem in Charlemagne's city of Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle). The territories—of very moderate extent—over which Rudolf ruled, as well as his castle of Hapsburg, were situated in the valley of the Aar, in the north-east corner of what is now Switzerland. It is worthy of note that the cradle of that dynasty, which has pre-eminently represented the monarchic principle in Europe, and the cradle of the first, and we might almost say the typical, Teutonic republic were situated within a short day's journey of one another.

Rudolf, who had been chosen partly on account of his very insignificance, proved himself a stronger and abler ruler than had been expected. He humbled to the dust the proud Ottokar, king of Bohemia, in whose court he had once served, and after his second victory over him rent away from his slain rival the duchies of Austria, Styria, Carinthia and Carniola, a goodly inheritance which he bestowed upon his own son, thereby laying the foundation of the greatness of the house of Hapsburg. Unlike his recent predecessors he was on friendliest terms with the Pope; but no invitations or exhortations could induce him to enter Italy, "that lion's cave," into which he saw many footsteps tending, but from which there were none returning.

There was as yet no willingness on the part of the Electors to permit the empire to become hereditary in the Hapsburg

or any other line. With difficulty did Rudolf's son, Albert, win the imperial crown, which he held for a few troubled years; and after his death, in 1308, there was no emperor of the house of Hapsburg reigning with undisputed title for 130 years. For twelve years (1314-1325) Frederic of Austria was endeavouring,

The Emperor After Dante's Heart generally with little success, to vindicate his right to the imperial title against his rival, Louis of Bavaria.

This interval, somewhat tantalising to the student who knows that it will end in the establishment of the empire in the Hapsburg line, was filled chiefly by emperors of the house of Luxemburg, such as Henry VII., the ruler for whose advent into Italy Dante longed, and who, when he came, was crowned emperor in Rome, but after three years' stay in Italy, years of mingled success and failure, died, as men said, from poison administered in a cup of sacramental wine. Henry's son, the blind King John of Bohemia, who fought so bravely at Creçy, was never emperor; but his grandson, Charles IV., the Parson's Emperor, as he was called, because of the ecclesiastical influence which secured his election, by his celebrated Golden Bull (1356) weakened the prerogatives of the Imperial Crown and established the Seven Electors as almost independent sovereigns. These Electors were three ecclesiastical potentates in Rhineland, the Archbishops of Mayence, Cologne, and Treves; and four secular princes, the Count Palatine of the Rhine, the Margrave of Brandenburg, the King of Bohemia (who after 1437 was generally a Hapsburg), and the Duke of Saxony. By this instrument, as Mr. Bryce has well said, Charles IV. "legalised anarchy and called it a constitution." Yet it is interesting to note the prevalence at this date in Central Europe of a form of government which has now entirely disappeared. In the

Experiments in the Art of Government

thirteen hundreds and for some time longer, Germany, Bohemia, Hungary and Poland were all elective monarchies. In other ways at this time some new and interesting experiments were being made in the art of government. Albert of Austria, son of Rudolf, to whose short tenure of the imperial dignity reference has been made, was successfully resisted (1307-1308) by the inhabitants of the four

Forest Cantons which cluster round the Lake of Lucerne. This was the germ of the Swiss Confederation, which at Morgarten in 1315, and at Sempach in 1386, defeated the knights and men at arms sent against them by the Austrian princes, and for ever established the independence of Switzerland.

During the same century, the century of the thirteen hundreds, the confederacy of German merchants known as the Hanse Towns—the chief of them Lübeck, Hamburg, and Bremen—were fitting out fleets and armies, and comporting themselves like sovereign princes on the shores of the Baltic. By the treaty of Stralsund in 1370 they obtained from Waldemar III., king of Denmark, the right to receive for fifteen years two-thirds of the Danish revenues and a provision that thereafter none of his successors should ascend the throne without the consent of the Hansa. When, in 1397, the daughter of this king, Waldemar, Margaret, "the Semiramis of the North," succeeded in uniting Denmark, Sweden, and Norway by the Union of Calmar (1397), the power of the Hanseatic League was somewhat abated; but to the end of the

The Arrogant Claim of Frederic III. period under consideration it remained a most important factor in the politics of the Baltic states.

Returning for a moment to the Hapsburg princes, we have to note that at last, in 1437-1438, a Hapsburg, Albert II., having married the heiress of the house of Luxemburg, was elected king of Bohemia, king of Hungary, and emperor; but he held these dignities only for a short time, dying in 1439. On his death, his cousin, the Duke of Styria, was raised to the empire as Frederic III., and thenceforward the imperial title was borne by none but his descendants for nearly four centuries, at the end of which time the empire itself ceased to be. Frederic III., himself, a dull, slow man, with the heavy under-lip of the Hapsburgs, dabbled in alchemy and astrology, and derived, apparently from these studies, an intense conviction of the proud destiny of his house. This conviction he expressed in the mystic letters A.E.I.O.U., which he caused to be carved abundantly on all his furniture, and which signified "Alles Erdreich Ist Oesterreich Untertan (the whole earth is subject to Austria), which we might paraphrase "All Europe Is Ours Undoubtedly," the equivalent in the fifteenth

century of the nineteenth century song, "Deutschland, Deutschland, über alles."

As that song is now sung chiefly by the Northern Germans, we may here remark that the Hohenzollern princes, who are now represented by the Emperor William II., obtained possession of Brandenburg, which has now been for many centuries the stronghold of their dynasty, in the year 1417. The Hohenzollerns, like the Hohenstaufen and the Hapsburgs, came originally from Swabia, that picturesque south-west corner of Germany, watered by the sharply turning Rhine, which almost alone of the provinces of Germany was once part of the Roman Empire.

We recross the Alps and inquire what are to be the fortunes of Italy now that the Swabian sons of her Norman conquerors are vanished out of the land. Not absolutely, however, did they vanish when Manfred fell at Benevento. In 1268, Manfred's nephew, the gallant youth Conradin, son of the Emperor Conrad IV., descended into Italy with a large army.

For a time fortune smiled upon him, and even when he joined battle with his enemy, King Charles, near Tagliacozzo, under the shadow of the Sabine Mountains, the battle at first went in his favour; but a well-planned ambushade threw his army into disorder. Victory was for Charles, death on the field of battle for a multitude of German knights, the followers of Conradin; a more ignominious death at Naples, by the hands of the executioner, for Conradin, himself a captured fugitive. It was considered a foul and unknighly deed when the Frenchman thus punished the captive lad who had but striven to regain the inheritance of his fathers; and later writers described how from the scaffold he threw his gauntlet down on the pavement of the Piazza del Mercato, crying, "Take that glove to him who will avenge me." Criticism has thrown doubt on this story, but there is no doubt that it was as the avenger of Conradin that his cousin by marriage, Pedro, king of Arragon, Manfred's son-in-law, before long appeared upon the scene.

Charles of Anjou, a hard and hateful man, vexed his subjects with all manner of new taxes rigorously exacted; but even more than by pecuniary oppression the souls of the people, especially the hot-blooded Sicilians, were fired by the insolence of the French soldiers who

swaggered as conquerors among a nation whom they despised. Vengeance slumbered for fourteen years; but during all that time the gauntlet of Conradin—real or metaphorical—was being treasured at the court of Arragon, and when at last, on the evening of Easter Monday (March 30th, 1282) the lewd insults of a French soldier

to a Sicilian matron roused the people of Palermo to revolt, King Pedro was ready to aid them. The massacre of all Frenchmen, which began with the ringing of the vesper bell at Palermo, was accomplished with dreadful thoroughness all over the island, and is known to history as the Sicilian Vespers. Charles of Anjou, of course, did not surrender the beautiful island without a struggle. Messina endured a terrible siege, but survived untaken. Pedro of Arragon was declared king, and successfully established his kingdom, which was held by his descendants down to our own time.

Charles remained king of Naples and of all Southern Italy, which by a legal fiction received also the name of Sicily, and hence came that absurd title, "King of Both the Sicilies," which, when the two kingdoms afterwards came together under descendants of the king of Arragon, was borne by their rulers.

Thus, as far as Sicily was concerned, the arrogant French invader was repelled, but, alas, freedom had to be purchased at the cost of submission to another foreigner, a Spaniard. The conditions were similar to those which inspired Byron's lines addressed to Italy.

"The stranger's sword
Is thy sad weapon of defence, and so,
Victor or vanquished, thou the slave
Of friend or foe."

Thus the fall of the Hohenstaufen brought little peace to Italy. Let us now see how it affected the fortunes of the Hohenstaufens' great enemy, the papacy. In 1294, on the occasion of a papal vacancy,

the cardinals, divided among themselves, and tired of one another's intrigues, took the unexpected step of choosing as Pope a holy hermit in the mountains of the Abruzzi, who most unwillingly donned the papal crown and took the title of Celestine V. It was soon seen, however, that a great saint might make a strange Pope. This wild man from the mountains, with his shaggy beard and vile raiment, though kings held

**Conradin
Dies on the
Scaffold**

**A Hermit
on the
Papal Throne**

the bridle of his ass as he rode into the city of Aquila, could not adapt himself to the splendour of his new position or manage with decent ability the complicated affairs of his world-wide spiritual kingdom. Almost at once he began to meditate abdication and a return to the roots and water of his cell; and one of

**The Pope
Celestine V.
Abdicates**

the cardinals, the astute Benedetto Gaetano, was ever at his ear whispering that this would be his wisest course. In December, 1294, after little more than four months' pontificate, Celestine abdicated—if a Pope could abdicate—his great office, making, as Dante says, "through cowardice the grand refusal," and was succeeded by his benevolent adviser, Gaetano, who took the title Boniface VIII., and before long committed his predecessor to a strict imprisonment in a noisome dungeon, from which, after a few years' captivity, he was released by death.

In the pontificate of Boniface VIII. the papal power seemed to reach its greatest height, only to undergo its most terrible humiliation. He out-Hildebranded Hildebrand in the language which he addressed to kings and emperors. "There are two swords," he said, quoting the words of Christ in the garden. "These are the spiritual and the temporal. One sword

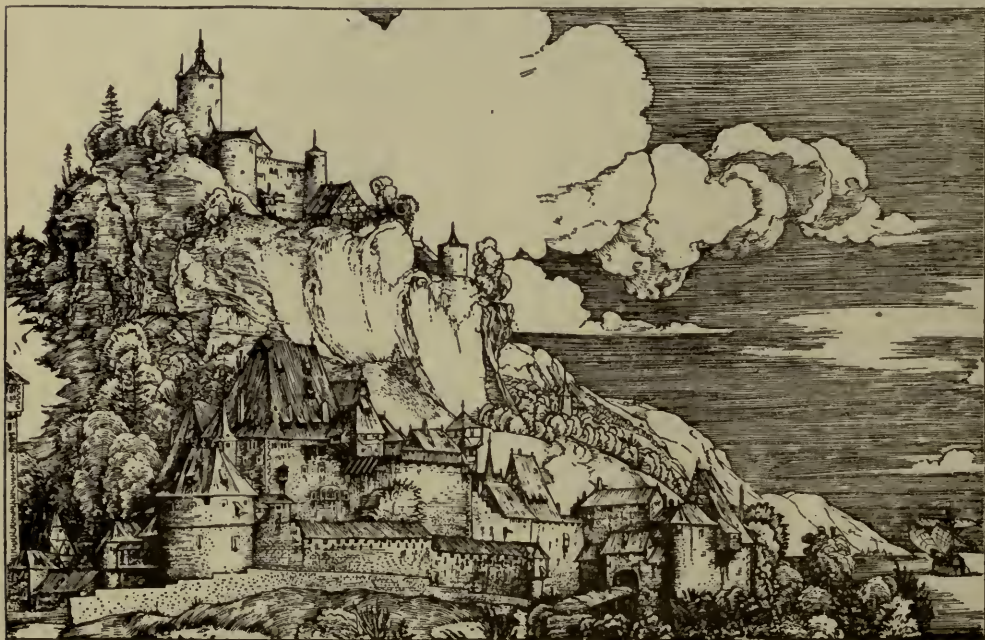
must be under the other, the temporal under the spiritual. The spiritual instituted the temporal power, and judges whether that power is well exercised. We assert, define, and pronounce that it is necessary to salvation to believe that every human being is subject to the Pontiff of Rome."

For a time all went well with the haughty and grasping Boniface. He banished the whole family of the Colonnas, his personal enemies, he razed their fortresses, and forbade their city of Palestrina to be rebuilt. He imposed peace on the warring kings of England and France. He proclaimed a Jubilee in the year 1300; men, women, and children flocked to Rome to obtain eternal salvation; and two priests stood by the altar of St. Peter's with rakes in their hands sweeping in the gold and

**Pilgrims and
their Gold
at St. Peter's**

silver coins offered by the pilgrims. It was said that during this Jubilee Boniface wore an imperial crown as well as the papal, that the purple sandals of the emperor were on his feet, and that two swords, signifying temporal and spiritual power, were borne before him.

But this man, so proud and domineering, met his equal in the king of France, Philip the Fair, grandson of St. Louis, and in all things the opposite of his sainted



A CHARACTERISTIC LANDSCAPE OF THE MIDDLE AGES

From a copperplate by Albert Dürer



FUGITIVES: THE MONASTERY AS A HARBOUR OF REFUGE

This reproduction of a painting by Mr. E. Blair Leighton is wonderfully suggestive. In an age when war was an everyday event, and executions were easy and frequent, no one knew when his or her end might come, and if people felt that enemies were on their track, they escaped while they had the opportunity. Not infrequently the monasteries offered themselves as harbours of refuge, and there fugitives were safe from the dangers that threatened them.

From the painting in the Mackelvie Art Gallery, Auckland

ancestor. Hard, covetous, and revengeful, Philip came into collision with Boniface over his claims to tax the revenues of the Church, and he found his pretensions ably supported by the rising school of lay lawyers, who magnified the office of Cæsar as much as the ecclesiastical lawyers magnified the office of the Vicar of Christ. The Pope thundered forth his bulls; the French king replied with his angry decrees. There were excommunications on one side, outlawry and confiscation on the other; but it was plain that Philip had the majority of his subjects on his part, and that he would not have to go to Canossa or feel on his neck the pressure of the Pontiff's sandal. Far from this, he and his legal advisers began to moot the question of Boniface's own right to the Poppedom, the weak point in which was, of course, his election during the lifetime of his predecessor, and to press for his trial before a general council on some strange and scarcely credible charges of heresy, blasphemy, and immorality. But ere such a council could

be summoned Boniface, who, to avoid the heat of a summer in the city and the turbulence of Roman citizens, had retired to his native town of Agnana, was attacked there by a band of ruffians, headed by one of his old enemies the Colonnas, and by a myrmidon of Philip, William of Nogaret; and by these men and their followers he

Boniface Dies from Assault was so roughly handled that in less than five weeks he expired. The assailants and all but murderers of the Pope were never punished, but, on the other hand, the memory of Boniface was spared that solemn condemnation which Philip longed to inflict. The influence of the French king, however, was now triumphant at the papal court; one Frenchman after another was raised to the papacy and came to nestle under the wing of French royalty at Avignon on the Rhone. Avignon was not at this time actually part of the French territory, though closely bordering upon it. Thus began the Seventy Years' Captivity which amazed and scandalised Europe. For the greater part of the thirteen hundreds,

from 1305 to 1376, during the hottest of the war between Edward III. and the Valois kings, we must think of the Pope as the humble client of the French king, it might be said hardly more than his domestic chaplain.

It was in this position of meek subordination to the king of France that Clement V., the first Avignon Pontiff (1305-1314), sanctioned the suppression of the Order of Knights Templars, on account of their alleged immorality, heresy, and secret practising of obscene and blasphemous rights. For these alleged crimes, mainly on the strength of confessions extracted by torture, the aged Grand Master of the Order, John du Molay, and 113 of the knights were burned in Paris. Hundreds perished in the French prisons. In England the Order was also suppressed, and some of its members appear to have been subjected to the torture, but the punishment was for the most part limited to lifelong seclusion in a convent. The degree of justification for the suppression of the Order of Knights Templars is one of the disputed questions of history, and in some respects resembles the similar question with reference to the suppression of the English monastic orders in the fifteen hundreds.

In both cases large and terrible accusations were brought against the incriminated parties, and it is not easy to understand how these rumours can have arisen absolutely without cause; but in both cases also the chief crime of the accused was evidently their large possessions, which attracted the desires of a greedy and extravagant king, in England, Henry VIII., in France, Philip the Fair. The execution of Grand Master du Molay especially moved the pity of Europe, which heard of the martyr's dying summons to king and Pope to meet him speedily before the bar of the Most High—a summons which was followed by the death of Clement V. within thirteen months and of Philip IV. within twenty-months of the murder of their victim.

King and Pope Answer Dying Summons

The sojourn of the Popes for more than two generations at Avignon is one of the strange paradoxes of mediæval history. How, we ask ourselves, was it possible for ecclesiastics whose sole title to the obedience of the Church lay in the fact that they were Bishops of Rome to spend the

whole of their official lives in a city on the Rhone, a month's journey from the imperial city? Theoretically the position was certainly indefensible. Practically, it is easy to see how the thing came to pass. The French influence having once become strong in the College of Cardinals, tended to become ever stronger, since each French Pope created more and more of his own countrymen. The king of France, not yet engaged in his deadly struggle with England, overshadowed the weak Bohemian emperors of Germany.

Italy, now that the emperor was no longer in any sense arbiter of her destinies, was falling into a state of disorganisation, city warring against city, and almost every city having its own knot of exiled citizens who were yearning to return to their homes and to wreak vengeance upon their opponents. After a short and glorious existence, the Italian republics in the thirteen hundreds were falling one by one under the yoke of tyrants—in the Greek sense, masters of a city which had been free—the Visconti at Milan, the Della Scala at Verona, Castracani at Lucca, and so forth. Florence, the great Guelf city,

Florence Tossed by Faction

it is true, was still free, though sorely tossed by faction, and Venice, that marvel of aristocratic state-craft, had naught to fear in the way of tyranny from her tightly-curbed and muzzled Doges. But elsewhere the Republicanism which had largely prevailed in Italy under the theoretical rule of the Franconian and Swabian emperors was giving place to a form of government which was not feudalism, still less constitutional monarchy, but the irresponsible, unlimited, often cruel *governo d'un solo*. In the states of the Church turbulent barons alternated with turbulent democracies, and both, as opportunity offered, availed themselves of the assistance of those predatory bands of soldiers representing no nationality and responsible to no sovereign, who were called Condottieri, or free companies, and who were, unfortunately, to a large extent the outcome of the long and devastating wars of the Plantagenets in France.

In addition to these troubles came the terrible scourge of the Black Death—perhaps the most awful pestilence that the world has ever seen, which from 1346 to 1368 swept over Europe, destroying in some regions as much as two-thirds of the population, and, on an average, of the



AFTER THE VICTORY OF THE MOORS IN SPAIN
From the painting by Clairin, by permission of Messrs. Braun, Clement & Cie.

whole probably not less than a quarter. From these varied causes the condition of Italy in the middle of the thirteen hundreds was doubtless a sad one, and it is not perhaps surprising that the Pope and his cardinals, for the most part Frenchmen, should have preferred the splendid semi-regal fortress-palace of Avignon and their luxurious villas by the Rhone in beautiful Provence to the fever-haunted streets of alien Rome. For a short time it seemed as if the great absentee landlord would lose his hold upon the property from which he took his title.

**Rienzi
the Meteoric
Reformer**

The splendid dreamer, Nicolas Gabrini, who is known to history by the name of Rienzi, musing on the miserable state of Rome, agitated as she was by the faction fights of turbulent nobles, and comparing it with the calm majesty of the old Roman Republic, as revealed to him by inscriptions in the Forum, and interpreted by the pages of Livy, decided to call his fellow-citizens to revolt, and assumed the historic title of Tribune (1347-1349). He was marvellously successful for a time; the proud nobles, the Orsini and the Colonnas, were awed into silence and submission, and the papal legate found it expedient to be a humble partner in the tribune's administration. But Rienzi's record in history is essentially meteoric. As a meteor he burst upon Europe; as a meteor he fell, the victim partly of his own vain, unstable character. If he had possessed the brave, modest nature of a Garibaldi, he might, perhaps, have changed the course of history and re-established, half a millennium ago, the Roman Republic. But he was only Rienzi, and his meteor light left the sky dark behind it.

The Seventy Years' Captivity at Avignon, itself somewhat of a scandal, died out in the greater scandal of the Forty Years' Schism. Under the earnest pressure of the

**Humble Monk
Raised to the
Pope's Chair**

public opinion of Christendom, as represented by such enthusiasts as Catharine of Siena, Pope Gregory XI. returned to Rome for a visit, which proved to be a farewell visit, for he died there early in 1378. Where the Pope died, there must the Conclave be held. The cardinals assembled in Rome to choose a new Pope, appalled by the furious shouts of the populace, who demanded a Roman, or at least an Italian, Pope, went outside

their own college—more than half of whom were Frenchmen—and elected Bartholomew Prignano, an Italian of low origin, but skilled in the canon law and famed for his piety, who took the title of Urban VI. The humble monk, when raised to the papal throne, developed qualities of strange and unexpected pride some of the manifestations of which seem to indicate a vein of lurking insanity. The luxurious and high-born cardinals found themselves restricted to one dish at dinner, and heard their new master bellow at them such courtesies as: "You have talked long enough," "Hold your tongue," and so forth. Worst of all, the Pope declared his intention of remaining in Rome, and was about to make a large creation of Italian cardinals in order effectually to bar the way of a return to Avignon.

At this, a large party of cardinals, chiefly Frenchmen, broke away from their allegiance, declared the election of Urban invalid, as having been made under duress from the Roman mob, and elected as Pope the high-born soldier-cardinal, Robert of Geneva. He took the name of Clement VII.,

**Rival Popes
and their
Supporters** and ere long found his way back to Avignon, and, though with diminished splendour, kept high court there, like the six Popes before him. His rival remained in Rome, or when frightened thence by the turbulence of the mob or by the soldiers of the Queen of Naples, with whom, though Neapolitan born, he had continued to quarrel, he took up his abode at Genoa, at Lucca, at Perugia, at any Italian city which could give him a constrained welcome.

The chief powers of Europe ranged themselves under one or other of the rival banners. Northern Italy, Germany and England were in obedience to Urban VI. France, Spain, Scotland and Naples were in obedience to Clement of Avignon. It will be seen how large a share national quarrels had in determining ecclesiastical partisanship. France, of course, took the side of the Pope who hankered after pleasant Avignon; Germany and England, as foes to France, took the side of his rival; Scotland, as deadly enemy to England, followed France.

The schism thus begun lasted, as has been said, for nearly forty years. When Clement VII. died, in September, 1394, a successor to him was chosen who took the



POPE URBAN VI. RECITING HIS BREVIARY AT NOCERA

On the death of Pope Gregory XI., in 1378, the populace furiously demanded that a Roman, or at least an Italian, should be raised to the papal throne, and the cardinals, with whom the election rested, appalled by the clamour, chose Bartolommeo Prignani, an Italian of low origin. The new Pope took the title of Urban VI. Hearing of a conspiracy among his cardinals, the Pope invited the ringleaders to his country residence, the Castle of Nocera, and put them to torture in order to extract from them the details of the plot.

Reproduced from the painting by the Hon. John Collier by the artist's permission

title of Benedict XIII. To his rival, who had died five years before, three Popes in succession were elected by the Italian cardinals, the last of these being the octogenarian Gregory XII. (1406-1417). At each election the same professions of earnest desire to end the schism were clamorously repeated, and each successive

Three Popes at the Same Time

pontiff expressed his willingness to abdicate if his rival would do the same. "I would abdicate," said Benedict XIII., before his election, "as easily as I take off my hat." "I long for a conference which shall restore unity," said the venerable Gregory XII. "If there is not a galley to take me to the place of meeting, I will go in a fishing boat. If horses fail for the land journey, I will take my staff in my hand and will go on foot." But practically all yearning after conciliation and compromise resolved itself into a willingness to accept the unconditional surrender of the opponent. Each Pope would graciously allow the anti-pope to kiss his foot, but was invincibly resolved not to perform the converse operation.

The anarchy of the Church reached its climax when, at the Council of Pisa in 1409, both the rival Popes were called upon to resign and a devout Franciscan friar was elected in their stead, under the title of Alexander V. But the existing Popes, though formally deposed, refused to accept their deposition, and it was soon evident that the council, instead of ending the schism, had only widened it by adding a third Pope to the list. More dreadful was the entanglement when, after the short pontificate of Alexander, the tiara was bestowed upon a man who, though a cardinal, was little better than a general of *condottieri*, Baltasare Cossa, who took the title of John XXIII. The well-meant endeavours to end the schism had but ended in the election of one of the most unpopular pontiffs who ever sat in the chair of St. Peter. The

The Famous Council of Constance

extraordinary evil called for an extraordinary remedy. This was none other than the far-famed Council which assembled at Constance under the presidency of Sigismund, last emperor of the house of Luxemburg, and which sat for three years and a half—from November, 1414, till May, 1418. The assembling of this council, at which 29 cardinals, three patriarchs, 33 archbishops, and 2,400 other ecclesiastics from all parts of

Europe were present, besides 100 dukes and earls, 2,400 knights, and 116 representatives of cities, was one of the greatest events of the Middle Ages. Had it corresponded to the jubilant expectations formed of it, the Council might have been their glorious finale.

Much had been hoped for from the assembling of so many grave and learned men, especially in the reformation of abuses which, in the course of ages, had crept into the administration of the Church. What was accomplished? The obliteration of the three obstinate old men, each of whom persisted in calling himself the Vicar of Christ, and the election in their stead of a capable and respectable Italian noble of the house of Colonna, who took the title of Martin V. This was a wise and statesmanlike act, though some think that even after the lapse of three years the Council showed undue haste in electing a Pope before, instead of after, passing those measures of reform which became practically unattainable after it had given itself a master in the person of Pope Martin.

Not so wise or so statesmanlike were the acts by which the Council sought to demonstrate its own orthodoxy, the burning of John Huss and Jerome of Prague, two devout and learned Bohemians who, in the spirit of Wiclif, and partly in consequence of his teaching, had defended what would now be called the Protestant position against the mediæval papacy. In the case of Huss, this murder was especially to be condemned, as he had come to Constance of his own free will, trusting to a safe conduct which he had received from the emperor. Of this fact he reminded Sigismund when he stood before his tribunal to receive his condemnation, and it is said that the emperor blushed with shame. Practically, a Pope elected and two heretics burned were all the outcome of this memorable and long-labouring Council.

Underlying the discussions on temporary points of policy at the Council of Constance was the important question of the constitution of the Church. If the power of an œcumenical council could be magnified, if its sittings could be repeated at short and regular intervals, if it could be made impossible for the Pope to take any important step without its advice, the constitution of the Church would become aristocratic; if Martin V. and his successors

THE PASSING OF THE AGE OF CHIVALRY

could succeed in negating these proposals, and could keep the papacy on the old lines on which it had moved from Hildebrand to Boniface, it would remain monarchical. The second alternative event was that which actually happened. Council after council was held during the thirty years after the Council of Constance; Basle, Ferrara, Florence, each had its council, the first defying the Pope, and even renewing for a time the misery of the schism, the second and third working with the Roman Pope and effecting a

paracy in the centuries that we have been lately traversing is really central in the history of Europe. Financially, the enormous drain of bullion to Rome or to Avignon, in order to meet the demands of the papal-tax-gatherers, diverted the course of commerce, created the profession of bankers, sometimes helped and sometimes hindered the struggles of English parliaments with their kings. And in the purely political domain, in the war of dynasties and the collision of nations the papal question played a most



THE SPANISH INQUISITION: READY FOR THE ACCUSED

This tribunal, established in Spain and Portugal in the Middle Ages for the suppression of heresy, was a terrible instrument. All the inquisitors were churchmen, and one of them, the terrible Torquemada, is said to have condemned no fewer than 9,000 persons during his tenure of office. It was not till 1835 that the Inquisition was finally abolished, and though it still exists as the Holy Office, its function is confined to the detection of heresy in books.

Reproduced from the painting by the Hon. John Collier by the artist's permission

short-lived reconciliation between the Latin and Greek Churches. But all ended in a re-establishment, apparently on a firmer basis than ever, of the papal supremacy; and our fourth period closes with the pontificate of Nicolas V., a lover of peace, a lover of the arts, and one of the best of the mediæval pontiffs. He is said to have died of grief on hearing of the fall of Constantinople.

Let it not be thought that in this brief sketch too large a space has been given to ecclesiastical affairs. The history of the

important part. Anyone, who studies the history of Naples, of Florence, of Milan, of Bohemia and of Hungary, or reads the story of the wars between England and France, will find his steps continually dogged by the Seventy Years Captivity and the Great Schism. It is worthy of note that Agincourt was fought in the first year of the Council of Constance, and that in the interests of his schemes for papal reform Sigismund tried to arrange a three years' truce between France and England.



THE CHURCH'S BLESSING ON THE YOUNG SOLDIER: A CHARACTERISTIC SCENE OF MEDIEVAL LIFE
This painting, "Benedictus Novi Militis," represents the religious service of blessing the young soldier, much in vogue in medieval times, and still observed in the Catholic Church.
From the painting by A. Chevallier Teyler, by permission of the artist

WESTERN
EUROPE IN
THE MIDDLE
AGES



GENERAL
SURVEY IV
BY
DR. THOMAS
HODGKIN

THE BIRTH OF A NEW WORLD AND THE END OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

ENORMOUS as have been the changes in the aspect of the world and in human life which have been wrought by the nineteenth century, it may probably be asserted with truth that at least equal changes were wrought by events which occurred in the last half of the fourteen hundreds.

The first of these was the fall of Constantinople (May 29th, 1453). While emperors and kings were still playing with the question of possible crusades, for which Popes were pleading in deadly earnest, the believers in Islam, reversing the crusading process, crossed the Bosphorus and took the great city which for more than a thousand years had preserved in strange union the two memories of Cæsar and of Christ. Western Christendom was horrified at the news, but did little to stay the onrushing Ottoman tide which for more than 200 years—till the unsuccessful siege of Vienna in 1683—was always more or less of a terror to Europe. But cruel as was the loss to the East, the West was in some sort a gainer, by the dispersion of eminent scholars who reinforced the ranks of the Humanists—the lovers of the illustrious classical literature of bygone ages and the opponents of the schoolmen—both by their oral teaching and by the priceless manuscripts which they preserved from the sack of Constantinople. As was finely said by a modern scholar: "At this time Greece arose from the dead with the New Testament in her hand." This new learning, powerfully aided by the art of printing, which was invented somewhere about 1450, set fermenting in the minds of such men as Erasmus and Luther thoughts which were destined to work marvellous changes in the mental atmosphere of Europe. Geographically, the voyages of discovery which signalised the closing years of our present period were the most

important that were ever made since the first Phœnician mariners pushed through the Pillars of Hercules into the vast and shoreless Atlantic.

Throughout the fourteen hundreds the work of maritime discovery along the east coast of Africa had been entirely undertaken by the Portuguese, who were cheered on their adventurous career by the patronage of their noble prince, Henry the Navigator, a man who had

Portuguese Maritime Discoveries

English blood in his veins, being the grandson, on his mother's side, of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster.

From his eyrie on Cape St. Vincent he watched the departure, in 1419, of two frail vessels which sailed a little beyond the Peak of Teneriffe. Later voyages were much more successful, and before his death, in 1460, the Portuguese discoverers had crept down to the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone, twenty degrees nearer to the Equator than that ominous Cape Nam (Cape No) which, when Prince Henry began his enterprise, had been the southern limit of European navigation.

After the prince's death, his great work went steadily forward. Guinea and the Gold Coast, the mouth of the mighty River Congo, and Angola were discovered, and in 1486 Bartholomew Diaz, a knight of the royal household, with the double hope of discovering a passage to India and meeting with the mythical Prester John, steered due south for many days and discovered the promontory which he called the Cape of Storms, but which the Portuguese king on his return insisted on renaming the Cape of Good Hope. But the long eastward bend of the coast of South Africa seems to have hidden from him and his sailors the real meaning of their discovery. It was not till eleven years later, in 1497, that the illustrious Vasco da Gama succeeded in fairly rounding the southern end of the great

Greece Rises "from the Dead"

Greece arose from the dead with the New Testament in her hand." This new learning, powerfully aided by the art of printing, which was invented somewhere about 1450, set fermenting in the minds of such men as Erasmus and Luther thoughts which were destined to work marvellous changes in the mental atmosphere of Europe. Geographically, the voyages of discovery which signalised the closing years of our present period were the most

continent, and, steering across the Indian Ocean, reached the coast of Hindustan and beheld the Zamorin of Calicut in his palace.

It is a strange thought that the vain hope of doing in another way that which was thus accomplished with comparative ease by Vasco da Gama had driven Christopher

Columbus in 1492, on his desperate voyage westward across the Atlantic. On the well-known circumstances of those memorable months of suspense, which ended on October 11th, when Columbus, standing on the poop of his vessel, saw the moving lights of Guahaní, there is no need to dwell. Only we ought to emphasise to ourselves the change which the discovery of this western world, expanding every year, as it evidently seemed to expand, by the reports of the successors of Columbus, must have wrought in the mind of the ordinary commonplace mediæval European. It is perhaps not too much to say that it was as great as that which would be wrought in us by the discovery of a means of communication with the inhabitants of Mars or Venus.

It was hard that when a Portuguese prince had been the prime mover in this crusade of discovery, the glory and the gain of it accrued chiefly to the Spanish sovereigns. As the well-known motto on the tomb of Columbus, dictated by Ferdinand of Arragon himself, ran :

A Castilla y a Leon
Nuevo Mundo dio Colon.

(To Leon's and to Castile's throne
Columbus brought a world unknown.)

Besides the discovery of America and the riches resulting therefrom, many other causes concurred in the fourteen hundreds to push Spain, hitherto somewhat solitary and self-absorbed, into the front rank, the fighting line of the nations of Europe. In the seven centuries that had elapsed since the Moorish conquest she and the sister state of Portugal had been slowly

Spain's rapid rise to power winning back their country from the Moors. At first the process was a slow one ; but in the twelve hundreds, after the great Christian victory of Navas de Tolosa, in 1212, it went forward with giant strides, and by the middle of that century the only region of Spain left to the Moslems was the fertile but comparatively small province of Granada. There, however, a compact kingdom was

founded which endured for more than 250 years (1238-1492). One reason for its continuance, probably the chief reason for all the long pauses in the Christian advance, was the number of petty kingdoms into which the peninsula was divided. Leon, Castile, Navarre, Barcelona, Arragon, Portugal—all had for long their separate existence, and were frequently at war with one another.

Now, however, at last, by the marriage of Ferdinand of Arragon with Isabella of Castile in 1469, almost the whole of Spain was united in one powerful monarchy. The exception was Navarre, which was not appropriated by Ferdinand till 1512. The actual union of Arragon and Castile did not take place, till 1479, on the death of Isabella's brother, Enrique IV. One of the earliest enterprises of the royal pair after they had come into full possession of their sovereignty was the annexation of Granada. For ten years the war went on, the patient strategy of Ferdinand being greatly aided by domestic quarrels in the Moorish palace, son rebelling against

Granada in the hands of the Christians against nephew. At length, on January 4th, 1492—three months before Columbus set sail from Seville—the last blow was struck. Granada itself, hopelessly blockaded, surrendered to the Christians, and its weeping king, Abu Abdallah, looking his last on its stately pinnacles, rode forth into exile.

The subjugation of the last Mohammedan state in Spain was perhaps regarded by Christendom as some slight compensation for the loss of Constantinople. Unhappily, the Christian sovereigns showed themselves less tolerant towards their conquered subjects of another faith than the Turkish sultan. Ferdinand's promises of toleration for the Mussulman Moors were soon evaded ; forcible conversions were attempted ; the Inquisition put forth its baneful energies—everything was prepared for that disastrous revolt of the Moriscos, disastrously quelled, which inflicted so deep a wound on Spain in the following century.

The "kings" of Arragon and Castile, so fortunate in all else, suffered the disappointment of seeing their male issue expire in their own lifetime. It was evident that their magnificent inheritance must fall to the lot of the descendants of one of their daughters ; and that daughter



CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS IN THE PALACE OF THE KING AND QUEEN OF SPAIN

The life of Christopher Columbus makes a wonderful story of romance. Born in the neighbourhood of Genoa about the year 1435, he went to sea at the early age of fourteen. People laughed at him in after years when he spoke of crossing the Atlantic to India; but instead of reaching India, he actually discovered America. In this picture he is seen in the royal palace of Barcelona, in April, 1493, bringing the news of the discovery of America to the King and Queen of Spain. Columbus was not always thus honoured, and died in poverty.



SEA-GOING NORMAN WARRIORS: ANCESTORS OF ENGLAND'S CONQUERORS

Inhabiting a province of France, the Normans were regarded by their French neighbours as pirates and heathen till the close of the tenth century, yet under Rolf's grandson, Richard the Fearless (942-996), they gradually adopted French Christianity and feudalism. William the Conqueror, the seventh Duke, united Normandy to England in 1066.

eventually proved to be Princess Joanna, wife of Philip of Hapsburg, whose eldest son, Charles, the future Charles V., was born in the last year of the century, the fateful year 1500.

Meanwhile, during the whole of the previous period there had been a growing community of interest between the two peninsulas, the Spanish and the Italian, and a growing tendency in Italian affairs to embitter the relations between Spain and France. Two successive queens of Naples, descendants of Charles of Anjou, Joanna I. and II., both of them women of tainted reputation, had embroiled the politics of Italy by adopting as their heirs both French and Spanish princes. The French claimants, three successive Louis of Anjou, had never succeeded in making good their title for any lengthened period, and the last of the line, "le bon roi René," troubadour and master of pageants, but better known as father of Margaret of Anjou, of fatal memory in the English civil wars, was himself as shadowy a king of

Naples as his forefathers. But in 1442 the great prize fell to another adopted son of the latest Joanna, to Alphonso, king of Arragon, and also king of Sicily. Thus at last was the death of Conradin fully avenged, and the descendant of Frederic II., king of both the Sicilies, possessed the full inheritance of his Norman forefathers. On his death, while his Spanish dominions and Sicily went to his brothers, Naples, which he had won with his sword and with his bow, became subject to his illegitimate son Ferdinand, and thus till near the end of the fourteen hundreds we have the Sicilies again disparted, Naples itself ruled by this Ferdinand, and Sicily by his first cousin, Ferdinand of Spain, the husband of Isabella. And over all hovered the spectral, shadowy claims of the titulars of Anjou, which had bred wars in the past and were likely to be the cause of wars to come.

Notwithstanding these dynastic conflicts, the solid strength of *Il Regno*, as the kingdom of Naples was called, was always looked upon with something of

THE END OF THE MIDDLE AGES

envy and admiration by the northern states of Italy. There almost every city was at war with its nearest neighbour, the trade of the *Condottieri* flourished, and, as before stated, the turbulent freedom of the republics which had leagued against Barbarossa was being crushed under the heel of petty local despots. An Italian patriot surveying the condition of his country in 1453 might well think that the liberation from the yoke of the empire, which had been won by generations of Guelfs, had been after all but a doubtful blessing.

One of the last of the republics to fall into slavery—and even after her fall she struggled up once and again into liberty—was Florence. In 1464 died old Cosmo de Medici, who by the combined influence of wealth, eloquence, liberality, and some real patriotism, aided by the blunders of his opponents, had made himself virtual master of his native city. It was certainly a wonderful story, that of the

Medicean house. They had no claims to feudal nobility; the party which they led was by profession the Liberal party; Cosmo himself with his vast wealth might be looked upon as the Gladstone-Rothschild of Florence; yet he succeeded in leaving to his offspring a power which, in the hands of his grandson, the “Magnificent” Lorenzo, was little less than regal; his collateral descendants for two centuries were grand dukes of Tuscany, and their blood, through the intermarriage of Catharine and Marie de Medici with the kings of France, now flows in half the royal families of Europe.

Lorenzo de Medici died in 1492, the same year which, for other reasons, we have already seen to be indeed *annus mirabilis*. The other great Italian commonwealth, Venice, preserved indeed through all her more than a thousand years of life her republican freedom, but changed her popular character in 1300 by the act known as “the Closing of the



THE DOGE PRESIDING AT A COUNCIL OF WAR IN MEDIÆVAL VENICE

After preserving, in outward form at least, her republican freedom or more than a thousand years, the great Italian commonwealth of Venice changed her popular character in 1300 by the act known as the Closing of the Grand Council. Limiting the right of election to the great offices of state to aristocratic families, the tyranny of the oligarchy was supreme.

From the painting by Sir J. Gilbert, R.A.



THE STATELY PIETY OF THE MIDDLE AGES: AFTER MIDNIGHT MASS IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY
From the painting by George II. Boughlton, R.A.

Grand Council," which limited the right of election to the great offices of state to certain aristocratic families, and she thus became that jealous and suspicious oligarchy whose methods have been so lovingly described by many a tragedian and writer of romance.

In the periods which now lie behind us she had many a bitter struggle with her rival Genoa, in one of which, the war of Chioggia (1378-1381), she all but lost her national life; and the domineering Viscontis of Milan had, especially towards the close of the thirteen hundreds, rolled up dangerously near to her borders.

(Filippo Maria), who died in 1447, leaving no legitimate progeny. Thus were the Sforzas established on the throne of Milan, where they reproduced most of the unamiable characteristics of their Visconti ancestry. In 1492, the year to which so much of our narrative converges, the young prince, Gian Galeazzo Sforza, was nominally reigning in Milan, the real ruler being his uncle Ludovico il Moro—so-named from his swarthy complexion—who was generally believed to be plotting his nephew's murder.

Here, however, as well as in Naples, there was also a French claimant in the



A LADY OF RANK RETURNING FROM CHURCH IN MEDIÆVAL TIMES

In the mediæval ages, hardly less than in the great days of Greece and Rome, the ceremonial observance of rank and power was maintained, and characterised the commonest actions of daily life, no less than the affairs of state. This painting, and that on the opposite page, serve to illustrate the display made by ladies of rank in attending church.

From the painting by George H. Boughton, R.A., in the Guildhall Art Gallery

Since then, however, the tide of conquest had turned; she had become a great land power as well as a sea power, and in the period before us it may be roughly computed that she was mistress of two-thirds of Lombardy, the remaining, the western third, being under the dominion of the dukes of Milan.

Those dukes were no longer Viscontis but Sforzas, the renowned Condottieri general, son of a Romagnole peasant, Francesco Sforza, having succeeded with infinite trouble in winning the hand of Bianca, daughter of the last Visconti

person of the Duke of Orleans, who was descended from a legitimate Visconti princess, while the Sforzas could claim only through Filippo Maria's bastard daughter.

Of the condition of the papacy during the half century now under review it is not easy to speak. Unfortunately Nicolas V. had few successors like-minded with himself. The pontificates of Sixtus IV. (Francesco della Rovere) and Alexander VI. (Rodrigo Borgia) were not beneficial to Christendom; and that of Alexander, which began in 1492, was



A SCENE FROM THE LIFE OF A MEDIAEVAL MONARCH: LOUIS XI. IN THE HOME OF A PEASANT

As king of France, Louis XI. raised his country from the degradation of the Hundred Years' War, and did much to strengthen internal administration. Simple in taste, he frequently wandered in the public streets, and, upon occasion, as represented in the illustration, visited the home of a peasant, sharing in the poor repast of his humble subjects.

From the painting by J. Seymour Lucas, R.A., by the artist's permission

undoubtedly one of the events which prepared the way for the Reformation. It is perhaps a matter of praise rather than blame that all the Popes of this period were eager for the strengthening of the temporal dominion of the Church in Central Italy. After the troubles of the last two hundred years, the turbulence of Rome and the absurdity of the Avignonese "captivity," it was certainly a more sensible policy to try to build up a secure and independent papal state on the basis of the old "donations" than to repeat the obsolete pretensions of a Hildebrand or a Boniface to the deposition of emperors and the government of the world.

Turning now to the northern nations, we find that the later fourteen hundreds were a dreary time for England. In 1445, only two years after England's expulsion from France, began those terrible Wars of the Roses, in which it is difficult not to see the righteous judgment of heaven on the nation which had so wantonly devastated the fair fields of France.

One change, possibly beneficial, was the result of these sixteen years (1455-1471)

The Old Feudal System Broken

of more or less continuous fighting. By them, and by the increasing use of artillery, which made the mediæval castle no longer impregnable, the power of the old feudal baronage was to a great extent broken, and king and people were left practically alone to make what they could of their country's fortunes. The century closed with Henry Tudor, the silent, statesmanlike, unamiable king, hoarding the treasures which were soon to be scattered by his lusty son.

In France a somewhat similar process was going on under the rule of Louis XI. (1461-1483). The characters of these two kings, Henry and Louis, present some points of resemblance, though it would not be fair to put that eminently respectable and devout paterfamilias, Henry Tudor on a level with the unscrupulous Louis of Valois, who hesitated at no crime to attain his ends, and who spent his lonely old age surrounded by his hireling Scottish archers in abject fear of death, "rising up at the voice of a bird" and oscillating between blasphemous irreverence and abject superstition. Yet Louis XI. had also some clear perception of the duty which he owed to the country over which he ruled. He was a most industrious king; he encouraged commerce and learn-

ing, and even in his successful endeavours to free himself from the strait-waistcoat of the feudal nobility, by which at his accession he found himself constrained, he had probably some consciousness that he was working for his people as well as for himself. The first revolt of the nobles against him called itself "The

Ambitions of Charles the Bold

League of the Public Weal." Reviewing his reign at its close he might fairly have said, "At least I did more than they for the public weal to which they professed their devotion."

Chief of all the antagonists of Louis XI. was, of course, the head of the great house of Burgundy, Charles the Bold, who, with his wide domains for which he owed vassal-homage partly to France and partly to the empire, aspired to make himself independent of both realms, and would probably, had he lived and conquered, have founded a middle state, a kingdom of the Rhine, or something of the sort, which might have proved itself a blessing to Europe as a "buffer state" between France and Germany. This, however, was not to be. After years of open or secret conflict with his cousin Louis XI., a war of the Lion against the Fox, in which the Fox once or twice very nearly perished, he became involved in hostilities with his southern neighbours, the peasants of the Switzers' confederation. To the surprise of Europe the Swiss peasants overcame the mighty feudal lord; the stoutly held pike vanquished the battle array of chivalry. In three battles, Granson in 1476, Morat in 1476, and Nancy in 1477, Charles was completely beaten, and after the last a page found his dead body lying covered with wounds in a frozen swamp—the battle was fought on the fourth of January—and the Switzers took it up and bore it into Nancy for burial. In that frozen swamp lay dead the schemes of the aspiring house of

Marriage of Emperor Frederic III.

Burgundy; and yet in a certain sense they rose again when Charles' orphaned daughter Mary gave her hand to the heir of the house of Austria. This heir was Maximilian. The Emperor Frederic III., who slumbered on the imperial throne for fifty-three years (1440-1493), did, at any rate, one sensible thing when he married, in 1452, the clever and beautiful Princess Eleonora of Portugal. The offspring of this union, Maximilian, born in



A GLIMPSE OF VENICE IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

From the painting by Jacques Wagrez, by permission of Messrs. Braun, Clement et Cie

1459, was almost the last of the knights errant of Europe, a versatile and accomplished but somewhat unstable prince, a mighty hunter but an erratic statesman, who was elected king of the Romans in 1486, and who, on the death of his father, obtained the imperial crown.

All this, however, was still in the future, when, soon after the death of Charles the Bold, his daughter, beset with enemies on every side, gladly gave her hand to the goodly young knight Maximilian, saying: "Welcome, thou noble German blood, how has my heart longed for thee." It was a happy union, too soon closed by death—the young duchess died in 1482—but it changed the fate of Europe, for the issue of this marriage were two children, a son and a daughter, and the son, Philip the Handsome, is the prince who, as we have already seen, married Joanna, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, and thus transmitted to his son Charles the heirship to the crowns of Spain and the New World. Let us just consider to what a height the house

The Great Possessions of the Hapsburgs

of Hapsburg, founded by the little Swabian knight only two centuries before, had now reached. They owned the Austrian provinces, Tyrol, Styria, Carinthia, Archducal Austria, etc., by inheritance; they had acquired, by Maximilian's marriage with Mary of Burgundy, the wealthy and populous Low Countries, Holland and Belgium, together with Franche Comté—this, which was called the County of Burgundy, escaped for the time absorption by France. The duchy of Burgundy was successfully assimilated by Louis XI. on the death of Charles the Bold. Spain, too, and the Indies became theirs when Ferdinand and Isabella had gone, and the child born at Ghent in 1500 had a better chance of being elected to the crown of the Holy Roman Empire than any of his contemporaries.

Later on—but this is beyond our present horizon—Bohemia and Hungary fell to a son of the same house, Ferdinand of Austria, by his marriage with Anne, the last descendant of the house of Luxemburg.

Well might other European houses have looked with envy and amazement at the immense possessions earned by this

simple process of marriage, a sort of fortune-hunting in empires. A Latin epigram on the subject may be thus translated:

While other princes wage their toilsome wars,
Thou, lucky Austria, needest but to marry!
Realms which to others are the spoils of Mars
Propitious Venus to thy sons doth carry.

Truly the old emperor's five-vowel motto seemed to be growing near to fulfilment, perilously near for a Europe which might not wish to be altogether the heritage of Austria. It was probably clear to anyone who, with statesmanlike vision, surveyed the political horizon in the year 1500 that there was an inevitable struggle impending between two great states. On the one side was this wide-stretching Hapsburg domain, clutching at France on her southern, eastern, and north-eastern borders, ruling a large part of Eastern Europe, and possessing, for whatever it might be worth, the magic title of Holy Roman Empire, possessing also territories of unknown expanse beyond the Atlantic—truly a boa constrictor of an empire. On the other side was France, far smaller, but compact, rich in natural gifts and strong in the national spirit, which had been begotten in her by the hundred years of war with England. Such a contest, in truth, was the dominating factor in European politics for three centuries, strangely complicated and interfered with by another conflict which was to be born of thoughts already tentatively expressed by the middle-aged Erasmus, but which had not yet begun to germinate in the brain of the "poor scholar," Luther.

Italy was to be the prize for which the two great powers were first to strive, and the lists were, in fact, opened in 1494 by the Neapolitan expedition of Charles VIII., son of Louis IX. But the story of that expedition connects itself most naturally with the Italian wars of the following century. It seems better, in the words of Hallam, "here, while Italy is still untouched, and before as yet the first lances of France gleam along the defiles of the Alps, to close the history of the Middle Ages."

THOMAS HODGKIN



MEDIEVAL ANCESTORS OF BRITAIN'S ROYAL HOUSE: DRAWING LOTS FOR THE GULF SUCCESSION

In accordance with the wishes of their father, and for the interests of the house, the seven sons of William the Pious agreed that only one of them should marry and continue the succession, and they decided to draw lots. This took place in 1592. Into the reputed helmet of their famous ancestor, William the Lion, six silver balls and one gold ball were placed and drawn for. The prize fell to George, the second youngest, who became grandfather to George I. of England. The above is reproduced from the painting by Eyre Crowe, A.R.A.



THE PEOPLES OF WESTERN EUROPE

THE ORIGINS OF THE TEUTONS

RISE OF THE GERMANIC RACES AND THE COMING OF THE BARBARIANS

THE original home of the Indo-Germanic races is not yet definitely known, notwithstanding many hypotheses proposed by experts. The comparative philology of these races provides no special reason for placing it in Scandinavia. While the proofs adduced by supporters of the theory are little to the point, the history of "prehistoric" civilisation can produce many contrary arguments. It is true that in their earliest home the Indo-Germanic races saw the phenomena of winter, such as snow; they knew the beech and birch-trees, the wolf and the bear, but no animals belonging definitely to a southern climate.

It remains to be explained how it was that the Indo-Germanic tribes left the wide continent of Asia to other races, and established themselves upon a line to the south of the Black and Caspian Seas and of Lake Ural, extending thence to India, thus occupying primarily the Asiatic district of south-east Europe and forcing their way among other races; it must be explained, again, how they contrived to conquer Europe, and to drive back or to hem in the primitive inhabitants in possession. Again, linguistic evidence contradicts the theory of a northern settlement, and the general picture of Indo-Germanic distribution points to some early centre which was situated in Europe itself and must be sought rather in the south. But, in plain terms, it is not at present possible to claim anything more than plausibility for any particular

**Whence Came
the Indo-
Germanic Tribes**

picture of Indo-Germanic distribution points to some early centre which was situated in Europe itself and must be sought rather in the south. But, in plain terms, it is not at present possible to claim anything more than plausibility for any particular

theory which professes to have located the original cradle of the Aryan peoples.

Among the Aryan peoples, the Teutons form a definite separable group. The phonetics and grammar of their language and its vocabulary, their science, their household implements, their mode of life and constitution, their legal conceptions and their religious ideas display three distinctive facts. In the first place, they were merely developing materials which were the common property of all Indo-Germanic tribes; in the second place, they shared a civilisation always distinctive of west Indo-Germanic unity; and, in the third place, they maintained their old connection for a long period with the Slavo-Lithuanians on the one side and with the Kelts on the other, and it was from these groups that they broke away last of all. Further, they never reached a complete and self-contained unity, afterwards differentiated by further disruption. On the contrary, they grew as an incoherent group, always united by a bond of connection, and upon occasion by the special tie of relationship, but never attaining complete domestic uniformity, for the reason that their numbers prevented the rapid acquisition of any such ideal, and because their wide extension allowed the old underlying differences to revive and to complete the disruption of the whole group, when reinforced by new points of difference developed in a later stage of progress.

**Where
the Teutons
Failed**

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These unifying and differentiating processes continue, neither gaining the preponderance, throughout the further stages of Teutonic history, and remain to the present day as forces operative upon the Teutonic nationality by way of opposition and contradiction. As civilisation increased, other conditions of difficulty were added to those of mere spatial distance; these were primarily political, and made themselves felt, for instance, in distinctions arising from differences of dialect and the desire to secure a written language.

Tribes in Search of Settlements

During the distribution of the Indo-Germanic tribes we find the Kelts advancing from the south and west and preceding the Teutons and Slavs upon routes which had been unquestionably marked out from early antiquity. The Slavs, on the other hand, are found to the east of the Teutonic tribes, which thus stand between the two. These Teutons reached the sea upon the shores of the Baltic, while the Indo-Iranians, the Greeks, the Illyrians, and the Italians reached it upon the south. We do not know how far they came into collision with the Kelts, and with the non-Aryan Finnish tribes lying to the west upon the northern line of advance. At any rate, they reached the Baltic long before the Slavs, and settled there as the western neighbours of the Finnish group.

The chronology of this movement is entirely unknown. We cannot say when the interchange of civilisation began which sprang up between the Teutons and the Finns, and continued until historical times. Possibly some more accurate evidence may be obtained by the science of comparative philology. Such inquiries will show what Teutonic or what Finnish elements were the earliest or came into closest connection. The Finns, at any rate, have retained a number of Teutonic words in extremely ancient form, corresponding almost precisely with the "Primitive Teutonic" which philologists have restored. On the other hand, this Finnish tendency to form loan-words from Teutonic has continued to a recent period; for instance, the Roman word *caupo*, the innkeeper whose inn was used as a shop by the simple Teutons, reappeared among the Finns in the form *kauppias*. Further evidence of the kind is the fact

Civilisation of Finns and Teutons

that about the period when Tacitus wrote, and afterwards, the Germans showed far more interest in the Finns than in the Slavs, and Roman authors and geographers obtained much information from them concerning the Finns. This information contained errors such as Germans would make. A branch of the Finns called themselves Quæns, while the Germans called them Finns, in their terminology. Originally, indeed, groups of peoples had no special appellation of their own. It was their neighbours who felt the necessity of discovering and popularising such appellations. In this way such terms as Welsh, German, Negro, Indian, Finn have arisen. The Germans called these Quæns by their own name Quen—the English Queen—and popular etymology then explained the word by supposing a female supremacy to exist among the Finns; this is accepted by Tacitus who gives full respect to all that he hears, but himself makes a fresh confusion of names. The debt owed by the Teutons to their intercourse with the Finns can probably be determined only by the excavations of the archaeologists, who have recently discovered a new mode of tracing foreign influence by comparing the style and workmanship of domestic utensils; this clue takes us back through the Teutonic north of Europe to the Finno-Ugrian districts and to the primitive mines of the Ural and Siberia.

Prehistoric Mines in Siberia

As yet we are not aware whether the Teutons reached the Baltic at the point where this coast turns to the north or to the south. As evidence for the first supposition we can hardly regard the fact that the southern Teutons at a later period, with their "protective clothing," their mode of house construction, their astonishing powers of endurance, and many other preferences and customs, appear as a nation living much as the present inhabitants of the north, standing in this respect in a certain contrast to those who lived upon the same isothermal lines. There is, however, no doubt that the settlement of Scandinavia was not accomplished from this point, but only when the South-west Baltic was reached, though we cannot venture to say that the question is solved by supposing an early ignorance of navigation. It has been shown elsewhere that the ship is one of the earliest means of transport known to mankind. It is,



THE TEUTONS ON THE MARCH

in fact, far easier to travel along the coasts and to cross even open stretches of sea in simple vessels than to advance overland through uncleared forests and swamps with cattle and carts. This is an experience that forces itself upon the notice of any traveller who visits a forest country or archipelago washed by the sea and not

The First Inhabitants of Denmark yet open to civilisation. From their food it has certainly been concluded that those first inhabitants of Denmark,

who left behind them the famous mussel heaps, or "kitchen-middens," were deep-sea fishers and mariners. Confirmatory evidence is afforded by the boldness with which these Germanic tribes, who afterwards belonged to the Frankish and Saxon alliances, ravaged during the first millennium of our era Britain and even more distant shores and coast lines of the Roman Empire. We know, again, how the Vikings, who harassed the Frankish kingdom, crossed the great North Sea upon vessels which could be rowed up rivers. We know what bold mariners were the Goths when they reached the Black Sea in the third century; even bolder at a later date were the Vandals of Africa; while later again the Scandinavian Waräger (Väringjar, Varinja, Varanger), who were thorough representatives of the old Teutonic civilisation, crossed the Baltic eastwards and reached the Finns, travelling as "rowers." They journeyed by river as far as the Black Sea, and even greater distances, dragging their ships from the Dwina to the Dnieper. There is no reason why the early Teutons should not have borne this character. Water communication wherever it exists is readily used, and a civilisation speedily arises astonishing in its complexity. The collections of antiquities from Stralsund, Schwerin, Kiel, Copenhagen and Stockholm display a civilisation with which no inland culture could compare. The similar impression of

Prehistoric Memorials on the Baltic

an early settlement relatively close and endowed with strong vitality is forced upon anyone who makes a personal acquaintance with the coast lands and islands of the Baltic; the old and remarkable prehistoric memorials and remains which are to be found around this sea far surpass anything of the kind upon the mainland. Their dispersion over the extensive districts of the Baltic produced an effect upon the Teutons corresponding to that

of the Indo-Germanic dispersion. Local communication, which would have favoured the process of unification, was replaced by disintegrating influences; a unity that was never uniform, but in course of transition, began to break into subordinate groups. These were not formed instantaneously, but they began to arise, and we can speak of north Teutons and south Teutons. The latter are fundamentally identical with the so-called west Teutons, and these we know to be the same as the Germans.

To the north Teutons belong the modern Scandinavian tribes, where they are not of Finnish or Lappish origin, and the Danes, whose early settlements were also upon the southern portion of the Scandinavian peninsula. At the dawn of history the southern Germans are to be found upon the south coast of the Baltic, both in Mecklenburg, in West Pomerania, and further south, and also upon the peninsula of Schleswig-Holstein and Jutland, which for simplicity will henceforth be referred to as Jutland. The traditions of the peoples themselves must be

Kelts and Teutons as Neighbours

accepted as evidence with the greatest caution, and certainly cannot be regarded as providing proof upon problems of such remote antiquity. At the same time, the powers of memory in nations which possessed no writing have been proved to be remarkable; in their simple poems, composed under the reverent and critical examination of the whole community, they created "annals" for themselves, as Tacitus calls them, and we may therefore refer to the fact that the south Teutons, in contrast to their related tribes, know nothing of any sudden change of abode; as Tacitus learnt, they regarded themselves as indigenous. The fact would be true if the original home of the Indo-Germanic tribes was actually about the Baltic and the North Sea; and they certainly were native to the soil in so far as they did not pass the Baltic.

Teutonic borrowings from the Kelts are obvious. The Kelts were early neighbours of the Teutons; they had retained their sympathy with Mediterranean culture, and especially with the Italians, and had advanced to the North Sea at an early period from the other side. In the case of the many points of linguistic contact between the Kelts and the Teutons, we must naturally separate

those elements which are due to common association in late Indo-Germanic times, and the borrowings of a later period, when the Germans came into contact with the Kelts in a second intimacy, and with newly acquired wishes for civilisation. Naturally the absence of any permanent geographical division from the neighbouring settlers, and German desire for instruction and capacity to learn, both perhaps acting as alternate influences, made this nation especially inclined from the outset to borrow from others. The Kelts thus first acted as the tutors of the Germans, and this to a remarkable extent, until the Romans relieved them of the task; the Germans then transmitted part of these acquisitions to the remaining Teutonic tribes, and also to the Slavo-Lithuanians.

Among a large number of borrowings from Keltish etymology were many terms dealing with war and settlement, and especially with means of transport, also the word "riks" = "commander." The Germans, indeed, as a result of their peculiar political system, made no proper use of the term; but the word became

**How the
Germans Got
Their Names**

popular as an element in the proper names of distinguished people; for instance, Bojorix among the Cimbri (the later termination "-rich" in Friedrich or Frederic, etc., is the same). Teutonic name-formations of various kinds point to close connection with these recently discovered Keltic sources. At a later period we find names like Flavius, Claudius, Civilis, Serapion; at the time of the Hunnish supremacy we find Hunwulf, Hunigais, with other similar borrowings throughout German history to the time of Jean, Louis, Henry and Harry, wherever foreign fashion overmastered the Teutons; similarly, in the earliest period, we find the formation of proper names under Keltic influence. From time to time, however, the Germans were obliged to find names for larger or smaller groups of people; at a later period they do not disdain to borrow from vulgar Latin—for instance, Ribuarii, Ripuarii, afterwards Germanised as Reiffer and Reifferscheid. So, on the Teutonic side, we can show phonetic similarity or parallel formation between Gaulish and German tribal names. Such instances as Brigantes and Burgundians, both appellations of a mountaineering people, explain the fact, though such cases may again be due to chance.

The Teutons received but few elements of civilisation from the Lithuanian group during their immediate neighbourhood, and equally little from the Slavs when these latter gradually advanced to their immediate frontiers. On the other hand, Lithuanians and Slavs received much from the Teutons. Their relationship is analo-

**Influence of
Teutons
on the Slavs**

gous to that of the Teutons and Kelts. Among other things they gained from the Teutons expressions for the idea of lordship, and received the Keltic term "riks" and the Teutonic "-walt" and "kuningass." "Kuningass" became the Lithuanian "kuningas," and was used as a distinctive title of superiority, which was applied to the priest at a later date; in Slavonic this latter form was reduced to "kuas" and "kneese." Eventually "karol(us)" also became "kral" and "kroll" ("krull"). The Slavonic method of forming proper names was also influenced by Teutonic methods; "vladimir" corresponds exactly with the "walt-" and "-mero" of Teutonic names, and "-mero" (Segimer, Sigmar, Ingwimer, etc.) appears to correspond with the frequent Keltic termination "-marus," used in proper names. Finally, the Slavo-Lithuanians received from the Teutons a considerable number of expressions dealing with intercommunication and economic facts.

Between the south Germans, next to the Kelts and the Slavo-Lithuanians, were settled for some time, apart from the Finnish peoples, another branch of the Teutonic group—namely, the east Teutons. The name has been chosen by philologists, whose researches are founded upon the Gothic translation of the Bible by Ulfilas, other literary works of an ecclesiastical nature, a few inscriptions upon domestic articles, some scattered words in Latin texts, and numerous proper names belonging to kindred nationalities. These

**Gothic
Translation
of the Bible**

latter lost their original characteristics or disappeared at an earlier or later date. In the seventeenth century we hear of the last east Teutons—namely, the Crimean Goths. Philology regards as east Teutons those Teutons of the mainland who were linguistically more nearly related to the Scandinavians than to the Germans. At the same time the east Teutons on the continent lost all sense of connection with their northern relatives, and either

developed independently, or under the strong influence of the west Teutons. On philological grounds, east Teutons include the Goths, together with the Gepids, Rugians, Skires, Vandals, Burgundians, Herulians, and perhaps some earlier ethnographical unities. The pioneer work of Julius Ficker has thrown light upon these problems from the side of comparative jurisprudence—a more valuable, because a more conservative source of information.

A comparison of the common elements in the earliest legal codes has shown that, besides the Goths and Burgundians, the Lombards and Frisians possessed a system of tribal law closely related to that of the north Teutons. Where the sciences of philology and comparative law proceed side by side in this matter, they support one another entirely, and no contradictory points are apparent. It must only be remembered that the linguistic development of the groups proceeds upon geographical principles and not according to "genealogical relationship," which for historical purposes is practically useless.

If at the present day we carefully consider as a whole the legal, philological, geographical and literary evidence, and any other points of the kind, no doubt can be felt as to the origin of the east Teutons. They are emigrants from Scandinavia, who settled upon the continent. They broke away from the north Teutons, and, in fact, are nothing more than the early Vikings, who went out as colonists in historical times, attempted to establish themselves, and while they succeeded in some districts they were driven back in others.

A certain number at least of these old east Teutons are by no means a nation which emigrated as a whole, but represent discontented fragments broken away from original

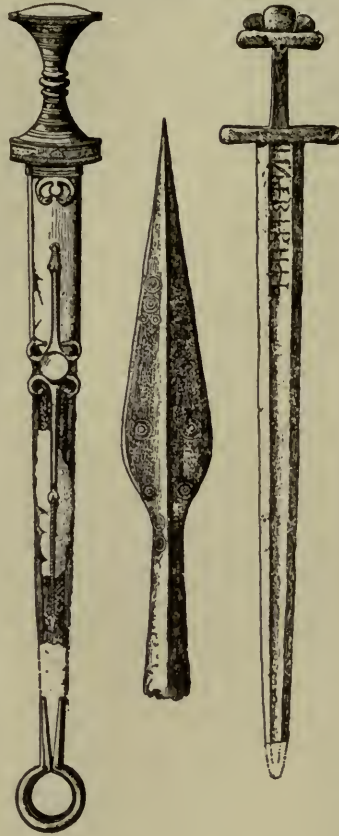
communities; they are thus emigrants in the true sense of the term, seeking wider and fairer districts than the rocky forest-land of Sweden could offer. So far as we possess their native legends, we find mention of this emigration from Scandinavia, which is thus a useful confirmation of existing evidence.

Upon the question as to the manner in which the emigration was performed, we have evidence at hand both for a maritime and for a land route. General experience of other cases would lead us to conclude that the ship was the more usual means of transport. At the same time there is no doubt that the land route through the Danish islands and through Jutland also played some part.

This question concerns us in the case of the Goths, whose recollections of Scandinavia are preserved by their historian Jordanes in the sixth century A.D., who used earlier Gothic narratives; and also in the work of Cassiodorus the Senator, the chancellor and chronicler of Theoderic the Great. The name which was originally spelled "Gutans" is preserved in the modern Götarike, found in the extensive districts to the south of the old Swedish territories and in the name of the island of Gothland.

At the time when the Roman narrative was written the emigrant east Teutonic Goths were settled on the coast of the continent in the Baltic districts of the Vistula and about Gutalus. The legal code of Gothland and that of

Götarike in later centuries display some points of resemblance; the same may be said of the mediæval Spanish legal codes, which are fundamentally west Gothic. Jordanes mentions the Greutungs, who formed one section of the historical Ostrogoths, and were also included among the Scandinavian peoples as Greotungi. Double



GERMAN WEAPONS OF WAR

These ancient instruments of warfare were in use by the Teutons in their early struggles, and are of great historic interest. The first is a long iron sword with heavy handle, encased in an ornamental sheath of brass or bronze. The sharp iron point of a lance is represented in the second figure, while the third is that of an iron sword, with Runic inscription, belonging to a somewhat later period than the other two weapons shown.

appellations of this kind are by no means uncommon among the eastern and northern Teutons.

It is supposed that the Goths reached the mainland in part by crossing the Baltic. Evidence, however, of somewhat doubtful value—it is, indeed, our earliest reference to the Teutons—points to a more complicated route. At the time of Alexander the Great, Pytheas of Massilia, the tin merchant and navigator, reached the “Gulf of Ocean,” near the amber island Abalos, upon his famous voyage to the north, and encountered the Gutones; this name would correspond with the Gutans, if the emendation be correct. Pliny’s manuscript, which has alone preserved to us the accounts of Pytheas, has the word “Guiones.” The island of Abalos is most probably to be sought on the north coast of Frisia, where much amber was found; the soldiers of Germanicus also knew of an amber island in that part, known as Glæsaria or Austeravia, the east island. Both of these are Teutonic words. The Romans changed the Teutonic for amber into *glæsum*, and *avia* is the old German

au, the connotation of which was eventually limited by a loan word for “island.” Hence the “Gulf of Ocean” must be that off the Elbe, and the narrator Pytheas must have found the Goths after their migration to the continent. The west Teutons, who were defending their settlements, must have left the Goths in peace, for the moment, upon their east side.

The Rugi once occupied Rügen, and gave it this name. Perhaps it was in consequence of their stay in that island that, as Jordanes tells us, they bore the name Holm-Rügen. Holm is a northern word for island. Jordanes also speaks of Etelrugi instead of Ethelrugi, which is the form we should expect; the phonetic spelling of names by Jordanes in the manuscript of his work is of no philological value. In Scandinavia are to be found Rygir and Holmrygir. The Rugi

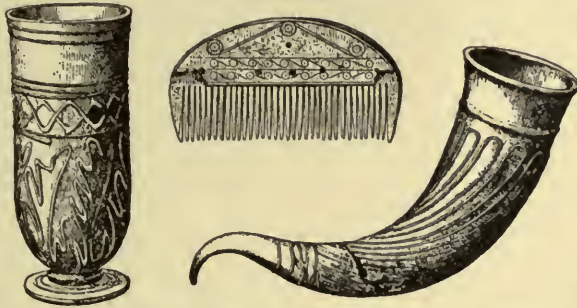
also shared in the historical settlement of Britain, and the record has been preserved to us in the name of “Surrey.” Gothic tradition tells us that the Goths came into conflict with the Holm-Rügen in the course of their settlement upon the mainland; the scene of the struggle must be sought at the mouth of the Oder.

The earlier history of the Vandals is even more obscure. The various phonetic spellings of their name by the Romans and Greeks show that the accent must have been on the first syllable. About the year 100 A.D. they were settled to the north, between the Elbe and the Vistula, and thence advanced by the line of the Oder.

The name “Burgundians” implies mountain inhabitants. Burg, a secondary form of Berg, first attained this connotation at a later period, owing to the fact that the Teutonic art of fortification clung to the old methods of retirement to the mountains for purposes of defence. Hence we cannot be surprised at the word “Teutoburg” for a mountain range. The Burgundians have left behind them the names of Borgundar-

holm and Bornholm in memory of their former geographical position. At a later period they were settled upon the Vistula and in the district of the Netze to the south of the Goths, where their character as mountaineers could no longer be preserved.

The Herulians followed the remaining east Teutons at a comparatively late date, for the reason that they were driven out by the Danes in Scandinavia. Of the continental Teutons they remained the most original, by the preservation of their old customs and by the bold, defiant childishness of their national character. Legend or popular tradition is wanting in their case, as in those of the Rugi, the Vandals, and the Burgundians; there are, however, several signs that their Scandinavian recollections were preserved. Towards the end of the migratory period



HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS OF THE TEUTONS

The use of these articles is obvious at a glance. Both vessels were used for drinking purposes, the one being a glass goblet and the other a glass drinking horn, while the middle object is a toilet comb.

they were involved in the troubles of their neighbours and reduced to an unsettled, wandering life. Part of them eventually reached the North Sea, crossing a mountainous country, and thence travelled to Scandinavia, where in the modern Sweden they found a hospitable reception at the hands of the Götes. We

**Herulians
Find a Home
in Sweden**

have several pieces of evidence that they reserved their right to return in case their migration should prove fruitless, and that the despatch of successive parties was continued as a regular arrangement. Thus the Vandals, at the time when their African kingdom was flourishing, did not permit their compatriots who had been left behind in Pannonia to occupy the districts reserved for the emigrants in the event of their return.

It would be bad criticism to regard the somewhat meagre traditions of the Lombards as unworthy of critical examination. According to these traditions they regarded themselves as a third part of the people of the Winiles—"the warriors" or "the battle-loving"—of Scandinavia. Their legal code most nearly resembles those of the Frisians and the Saxons—that is, the isolated group known to philologists as Anglo-Frisians, who form the connecting link between the south and the north Teutons, who had advanced to the north at an early date. During the first century A.D. we find a people settled on the banks of the Lower Elbe under the name of the Bards or Langobards, thus named from the battle-axe with which they were armed. Velleius Paterculus said that "they even surpass the usual Teutonic ferocity," and Tacitus observes that "they are respected for their scanty numbers, as they can make head in battle against far stronger neighbours." About the year 165 they left their homes and migrated to Pomerania; thence, about 200, they crossed to the right bank of the

**Tacitus
on the
Lombards**

Vistula, which the Goths had already abandoned, and entered the district of Galinden. About 380 they proceeded through the district of the Lithuanian Jatwings to the land of the Antes north of the Carpathians. Had no Lombard elements remained upon the Lower Elbe—they were afterwards amalgamated with the Saxons—there would probably have been no local names compounded with Barden, and certainly no Bardengau in the

Elbe district about Bardowieck. To sum up, east Teutons, in the general sense of the term, were therefore the Goths, the Gepids, the Rugi, the Skiri, the Vandals, and the Burgundians. That they and the west Goths were conscious of any fundamental difference between these groups is impossible. The political and ethnographical ideas of the old Teutons were extremely simple; they were narrow, and yet open-hearted. That the east Teutons were ready to learn from the west Teutons was a possibility not prevented by any admitted opposition between the two groups, but not necessarily forwarded by any feeling of relationship. The civilisation handed on by the Germans to the east Teutons is in no way different from that given to the Finnish peoples and afterwards to the Slavo-Lithuanians. At an early period the Frisians arrived at the sea by that westerly path which was afterwards closed to the Lombards. It was not until a later date that they extended eastward and northward to their near relatives, the Angles and the Jutes, chiefly upon the islands of the North Sea.

**Legends
of the
Saxons**

Their exclusive connection with the south Teutons produced similarity between their language and the dialect of that branch, and since the discovery of Frisian linguistic memorials a steady absorption of the Frisian by the Low German dialect has been observed. In other words, the Frisians became part of the west Teutons, or Germans, in consequence of that course of linguistic and political development which they pursued.

The Saxons, who also took their name from their favourite weapon, preserved legends relating to the arrival of their earliest ancestors upon the continent, which must be considered in connection with the Anglo-Frisian position, which they shared, as intermediary between the south and north Teutons. Though the Saxons were not west Teutons from the outset, they entered the west Teutonic group at a comparatively early date, and helped towards the foundation of a special German nationality. With the south Teutons of modern North Germany they formed that permanent confederation to which they have given their name; this confederacy again was subjugated to the Frankish monarchy, while the empire exercised an increasing influence upon the solidarity of the Saxons, as upon the Frisians.



THE RISING TIDE OF TEUTON POWER AND ROME'S VAIN ATTEMPT TO STAY IT

BEFORE Romans or Teutons learned anything of one another the Germans had been borrowing civilisation from the Kelts, upon whom they pressed with slow but irresistible expansion. Unfortunately, no Keltic Livy or Tacitus has written a history of these events. The sources of our knowledge lie hidden in language, in geographical names, or in the specimens of archaeological collections; at the same time, we cannot always share the confidence of those who explain these memorials. Only when the movement happens to touch some nerve in the old Mediterranean civilisation does the light of literature flame up and illumine some fragments of the advancing Teutonic band, or of its pioneers and scouts. Then these fleeting events are again shrouded in the prevailing obscurity. Until the time of Cæsar we have only scattered notices of the general migratory movements of the Teutons, and chance fragments or poems pointing to place and time. Such a fragmentary record may be found in the report of Pytheas, and we may thence conclude that the western Germans of the Teutonic advance had reached the mouth of the Rhine about 30 B.C. The next mark of this concentric expansion is to be found on the south side; after 200 B.C. the Bastarnæ, indisputably a Germanic tribe, had reached the Carpathians, and part of them were taken into the service of the Macedonian kings as auxiliaries against Rome. The next phenomenon related by Roman contemporaries is the advance of the Cimbri. Then comes Ariovistus.

The Teutons Hired to Fight Rome

Of this great advance against the Keltic nationality, shrouded in darkness as it is, we may at least say this: where the Teutons found good arable land they advanced with steady determination and left no room for the previous inhabitants except for those subjugated members who were bound to pay tribute. The central

mountain district of Germany attracted them neither to form definite settlements nor to enter on a serious struggle; they attempted to move onward. Hence, we may explain the wide wanderings of such tribes. Their household goods and property, animate or inanimate, were carried with them, and their one desire was to secure a permanent settlement upon good arable ground; this was an indispensable condition. Hence, too, we may explain

the unusual characteristics of that portion of the Suevi who advanced from the east. Cæsar describes them as undecided, supporting themselves with great difficulty, and going back to an earlier form of communism. Thus advancing from the mountain lands on the right bank of the Rhine, they disturbed the population in the neighbourhood, and made no difficulty in retiring before Cæsar's two advances across the line. The case was otherwise in the year 16 A.D. with the Cherusci, who conceived, though they did not execute, the idea of evacuating the country and retiring beyond the Elbe, only after they had suffered a military defeat.

The details of this great and general movement are manifold. Sometimes a few emigrants separate from their compatriots. At other times whole populations or federated populations set forth voluntarily; this latter is the rarer case, and was due to the compulsion of war and not to want of land. While some went abroad to seek their fortunes, others, if they felt themselves strong, attempted to found a settlement at their neighbour's expense.

Either they conquer, and the tribes they expel are forced to emigrate, or they are driven back by the peoples they menace, who defend themselves in isolation or in alliance until the attempt is given up or the assailants are annihilated, as were the Ambisvari. The general result of these individual movements, which are repeated at

many points, and continually disturb the settled populations, is the map of the Teuton peoples as depicted by the Roman geographers and by Tacitus. Any attempt to form from their description an accurate picture of the distribution of the prehistoric groups must be given up as practically hopeless. The confusion and interconnection of the German tribes is extraordinarily complex, and all attempts to arrange chronological tables will end at least a decade out of date. The method of grouping upon the basis of Ingwäones, the Istwäones, and Erminones as the "old tribes," which has recently been revived, must be abandoned. It is ethnologically valueless, and it is useful only as showing the legendary connection between nations, based as it is upon those early yearnings for legends of primeval origin which are manifest in all nations who think themselves of any account. The German tribes do not descend, but are formed in the course of history, are brought together by the stress of political circumstances, and then attempt to secure a unity by mutual accommodation.

Blending of the Tribes

Anyone who wishes to examine the recent, and therefore more intelligible, evidence may consider the people of Würtemberg, or of the Netherlands, who have broken away from their old nationalities and have become fresh unities by the amalgamation of very different elements: or the Bavarians of modern Bavaria, who are in the course of this development. At a previous date the Germans who migrated eastward beyond the Elbe, though of most varied origin, thus coalesced in the districts of the Mark, Silesia, Mecklenburg, Pomerania, and Prussia. Long before came the Anglo-Saxons; before them again the Saxons, the Franks, Alamanni, Baiuarii; before them again the Belgæ and others. In later periods foreign oppression, dynastic policy, and deliberate alliances have done much to accelerate such amalgamations. In their historical periods the Germans are seen with no special political or ethnical appellation other than those which belong to their component nationalities, or to their transitory and often fortuitous and fragile federations for political purposes. The nationality is the final great conception of unity, known as the "folk," or "diet." With this alone is connected the idea of a common language,

and of mutual understanding in habitual association. When fragments of this nationality emigrate, in certain cases they retain the name of their parent stock throughout their wanderings, as is the case with the Goths or the Cimbri, or the Charudes, who came from the peninsula of Jutland to Ariovistus. If they become newly settled in an independent unity, they generally assume fresh titles, such as were taken by the Lombards, who were offshoots of the Winiles, and by the Batavi. These were members of the Chatti, who reached the great river island (Au, Ava) between the Rhine and the Waal during the general movements before Cæsar's period, and settled there.

From this island, the Bat-Au, the modern Betuwe, they called themselves Batavi, although they retained the ancestral nomenclature when afterwards providing names for individual settlements in their territory; these names thus begin with "kat." Their legal code is also that of the Chatti. But the two peoples ceased to hold intercourse; the Chatti shared in the phonetic shifting of the second High-

The Iron Girdle of Rome

German transition, while the Batavi retain their older phonetic system even to the present day, as in the name Katwijk. In this later process of name-giving, changing geographical conditions play an important part; we may mention only the further examples of the Ambisvari, who took their name from the Ems, or of the Sigambri on the Sieg, river names which are older and of Keltic origin. These local appellations come into general use only when a settlement has determined upon permanent residence. While Cæsar's Suevi were wandering vaguely on the right bank of the Rhine, or Ariovistus was attempting to found a supremacy on the Upper Rhine and in Gaul with fragments of the Suevi and other adherents, individual tribal names lost their material character and were all, or chiefly, absorbed in the great and famous federation of the Suevi in the districts upon the Elbe and Havel; all these people called themselves and were called Suevi. But when the iron girdle of the Roman Empire and of Roman policy forced the Suevi to abandon their advance, to leave their neighbours in peace, and to settle perforce in the hill country on the right bank of the Rhine, we meet with their separate tribal names in place of the general term "Suevi."

Factors in Tribal Unions

While the Cimbri were migrating, we hear of no other name than that borne by their original stock ; but the remnant of them who stayed in Gaul became Aduatuci.

From the North Sea to Bohemia and the Beskides, the Keltic nationality was spread at first along the whole line of the Teuton advance, and the Teutons themselves perceived that it was with this nationality they had to reckon. They required some word to connote the totality of the Kelts, and for this purpose they generalised the national name of the Keltic "Volcae," as the Romans afterwards wrote it, in the form "Walchen." The Kelts already possessed fortified places, which the Germans attacked in vain, owing to their defective skill in fortification and siege work. They had finer and better made weapons, which the Teutons could obtain only by importation, which proved more or less profitable ; for instance, the Cimbri eagerly possessed themselves of these weapons, and considered them valuable objects of plunder. The public life of the Kelts was more advanced, and their military spirit was stronger ; in all these respects the Teutons could learn much from them. In spite of these advantages, the Kelts gave way before the more primitive and humbler nation, and retired, as in later years the warrior Germans retreated before the advancing wave of the frugal Slavs. The Teutons, who found their North German plains too narrow, advanced by the course of the Weser, and drove back to the Ruhr Mountains from the Thuringian forest a set of tribes whom archaeologists have regarded as forming a comparatively recent Keltic outpost. With far greater vigour than in the hill country of Central Germany they crossed the Lower Rhine and proceeded to occupy the Keltic territory. They were not wholly able to expel all the inhabitants, or afterwards to absorb them. They became masters of the country as far as the Schelde, the Upper Maas, and the confluence of the Saar and Moselle ; between them, however, remained many Keltic settlements, either in independence or in subjugation, and the invaders began to be absorbed by the Keltic nationality, as afterwards happened to the Franks, the advance guard of the second Teutonic wave of conquest and domination. They became Belgæ, numbering twenty-seven nationalities in Cæsar's time, and still

conscious of their Teutonic origin, though only five of the Belgian nationalities living near the Rhine were then actually Teutons. The Batavi formed the connecting link between these Belgæ and the Teutons on the right bank of the Rhine.

With these events in the Netherlands and Gaul the rise of the name "German"

is connected. As we have already seen elsewhere, the Germans themselves did not produce this appellation for their nationality, but the Kelts, who felt the need for some such general term. The "Germans" have not, to the present day, developed any general feeling for the necessity of any special designation denoting their philological totality—Germans, English and Scandinavians. Those scientists who feel the necessity are contented with the old Keltic term, which the Romans adopted, and which German scholars borrowed from them. The Keltic origin of the word "German" is beyond doubt, though its etymological significance is not certain. All that can be said is that it was an expression suitable to denote non-Keltic nations, for the Kelts also applied it to their Iberian neighbours, the Oretani. On the Rhine they gave this name, as Tacitus reports, to the Tungri, who were the first to cross. "Thus the word was extended from its original application to a tribe to cover a whole nation," wrote Tacitus, and this tribe, first temporarily known as German, resumed its name of Tungri.

Cæsar, like Tacitus at a later period, closely examined the general relationship of the peoples established in Belgium, and with the care of an ethnographer, whose researches were guided by the wide political outlook of a rising power, was the first to point out the accurate lines of distinction between Gauls and Germans. Meanwhile it has gradually become clear that the Cimbri also belonged to that mysterious wave of peoples which the Gauls called Germans. Not until after the Cimbrian war, about the period of the great Servile war, does the opinion become clear in Rome, for which Cæsar was the first to give the desired and necessary evidence.

The migration of the Cimbri is one of the numerous subordinate movements among the Teutonic tribes. Its importance is due to the fact that it led to the first

**The Kelts
Give Way to
the Teutons**

**Cæsar's
Work of
Research**

immediate collision between Teutons and Romans, and obliged the latter henceforward to devote careful attention to the nations appearing upon the geographical and political horizon to the north of the Alps. It is impossible to dispute the fact of the later existence of a nation of the Cimbri upon the Cimbrian peninsula by

**Romans
on
the Elbe**

which the wandering bands were absorbed. The inhabitants of this peninsula were in relations with Augustus, surrendered to him the plunder which they had received from the migrating Cimbri, and were settled in a district which was by no means an *ultima thule* for the Romans, whose fleets then sailed the Elbe, who had gained the Frisians for allies, and who were considerably successful in their efforts to acquire a geographical knowledge of the whole Teutonic nationality, including the Scandinavian portion. When, however, these emigrants found their home too small, at what date they started out, how much time they spent in travelling or fighting their way through the Germans upon the south, through modern Central and Upper Germany, and through the Keltic nations there established are questions entirely shrouded in obscurity. It is not until the last years of the second century B.C. that we gain any information upon the nature of their migrations.

In the year 113 B.C. the Cimbri had reached the north frontier of the Alps; commercial and political considerations had already turned the attention of the Romans in this direction. It was in the process of dividing the Keltic territories that the Romans and Teutons collided for the first time. The Cimbri considered that the world was wide enough for them both, and that the Keltic districts were extensive enough to suffer division into a Roman and Teuton sphere of interest. The same views are afterwards expressed by Ariovistus, and in either case there is

**The Cimbri's
Victories
Over Rome**

no direct intention of challenging or attacking the deeply respected power of Rome. The Cimbri respectfully informed the Romans that they had heard of their victories over the Kelts, and were therefore anxious to secure a friendly accommodation. Whether they are treacherously surprised or openly attacked, the Cimbri gain victory after victory over the Roman armies; at the same time they are ever ready to make peace, send ambassadors

to Rome, and continually urge that the Roman government should not oppose their establishment at a suitable point in the Keltic districts. Rome, on the other hand, which had suddenly become conscious of this Keltic question, though not knowing who the disturbers really were, declined to admit their requests, drove away the compliant emigrants from the north frontier of the Alps, and gave them no rest, even in Gaul.

At that point the Cimbri met with companions in misfortune, the Teutones, a great horde of emigrants like themselves, with the exception that those homeless Teutones were more probably of Keltic than of Teutonic origin. Their attempts to find settlements in Gaul, either in the dominions of the Romans or in those of the brave Belgi, had proved fruitless. An invasion of the Cimbri into Spain had led to equally little result, and the two hordes, recognising the unity of their purpose, resolved to march upon Italy. The Teutones chose the road over the western Alps, the Cimbri returned by way of Noricum, which was better known to

**Great
March on
Italy**

them, across the Brenner Pass. Closer examination shows that there is more reason to suppose some rivalry between them than any project of military co-operation, such as Rome with her political ideas naturally imagined.

It is impossible to say whether the Cimbri were pursuing any definite plan, whether they had resolved with greater determination than before upon the conquest of Upper Italy, the most fruitful of the Keltic districts, the occupation of which the Romans had recently begun, or whether they merely wished to compel Rome to buy off their menaces at the price of some final concessions in Gaul. Further, the fact that the Cimbri left their baggage in Northern Gaul in the care of a detachment left behind for the purpose seemed to show that they merely intended a threat. Moreover, when they had driven the German armies out and secured a footing, instead of entering Gallia Cispadana, they spent much time in irresolute wanderings in the district of Gallia Transpadana, which was not yet entirely subjugated by Rome.

When Caius Marius at length confronted them they again demanded from him permission to found a settlement for themselves and for the Teutones, as otherwise it would

be impossible for them to make peace. It was only by the scornful answer of Marius that they learned of the previous destruction of the Teutones at Aquæ Sextiæ. On the Raudian plain before Vercellæ, Marius inflicted equal destruction upon them. Of the migrating Cimbri there remained only the detachment which had been left in Gaul; these people secured a settlement among the Belgæ, and their amalgamation with the Tungri produced the Belgian nationality of the Aduatuci.

The Cimbri were followed by other emigrants, who advanced within the Roman Empire in their northern search for settlements. At the point where the Rhine crosses the fruitful plains and the temperate region to the north of the Alps, Germanic peoples forced their way and settled as the advance guards of the Germanic settlements around the old Keltic towns; the Nemeti appear about Speyer, the Vangiones about Worms, the Triboci about Strassburg. The great river of Keltic name now flowed, as regards its middle and upper reaches, no longer through Keltic territory, or only through scanty

**The Teutons
in Search of
an Easy Life**

portions of it. Throughout the districts of the Main and the Danube the Kelts were thrown into disturbance by the Teutons, were forced into movement, and collided with one another. From the Main to the Alps they retreated before the Teutons and surrendered their country, even before the invaders had determined upon its capture or retention.

Thus in the angle of the Rhine, about the modern Baden and Württemberg, the southward advance of the Helvetii created the "Helvetian Desert," and in this form the land about the Black Forest to the east remained ownerless for a long period. The Teutons were more than ever anxious to secure a settlement where the soil and the climate would produce a rich and easy life. They were not then the patient agriculturists of later centuries; to that point they were educated only by the necessity for self-content. Their character at this time is rather arbitrary and pugnacious than hardworking or laborious.

While we proceed to base these events upon motives and interests of low standard, we must not judge them with too narrow a mind, or forget that migration begets the desire for wandering. The plains of the Upper Rhine attracted the advance guard of the conquerors with far

greater force than the mountains of Upper Germany, and the sunlit civilisation of the west and south also proved an enticement. More successful than the Cimbri two generations earlier, Ariovistus and the bands of Suevi which he led were able to make themselves masters of Sequani to the south of the Triboci, to seize the plains on the Upper Rhine and on the south, and thence to extend westward towards Jura and the Doubs. The process of Belgian occupation in North Gaul began to repeat itself in the centre of the country.

**Cæsar's
Pacific
Policy**

Rome had been greatly paralysed by domestic dissension, and it was high time for her to resume the Teutonic policy which she had carried out against the Cimbri and to secure the pacification of the Keltic district. Cæsar appeared as the great leader of this policy; he began by repelling the Helvetii, who had found life uncomfortable in their contracted settlements, which were invaded by other Keltic tribes; exploring bands of Teutons increased their anxieties, and they were therefore seeking a settlement in Gaul to the west. Cæsar's victories drove them back, and he was able to use them as a buffer against the Germans. Ariovistus gave them no help; under the consulate of Cæsar, Rome had sent him presents of honour with royal insignia and had given him the title of a friendly king. When the Helvetian question had been settled, Cæsar turned against him. The conference between the two leaders led to no result, and is remarkable only for the fact that Ariovistus was willing to lead his men as Roman auxiliaries if they might remain peacefully in their settlements among the Sequani. But Cæsar was not only anxious to drive them out, but was compelled to do so; their expulsion was necessary, not only for the sake of the Gauls, but also for

**Cæsar in
Pursuit of a
Great Object**

that of the remaining Teutonic tribes. An appeal to arms resulted in his favour, as in the case of his great-uncle Marius, whose triumphal monument he had admired in his youth.

Cæsar was now able to pursue his great object; he proposed to solve the Keltic problem definitely by closing Gaul to any Teutons whatsoever, and making the Rhine a frontier of the Roman Empire. He had preferred not to venture on the experiment of including Ariovistus within

the province he was about to create ; but this policy he followed in the case of the Belgæ, who had lost their Teutonic nationality and become Gauls, although they offered the bravest resistance. The Belgæ were necessary to him to complete his work ; he wished to make them the bulwark of his great province of Gaul, and not to leave them as a standing danger and a basis for marauding raids upon Gallia Minor. He was able to win over the Teutonic Ubii with greater ease ; this tribe felt the need of such support, as they were continually struggling against wandering bands of Suevi and other neighbours.

When Cæsar closed the inlets of Gaul, these Teutonic struggles upon the Rhine naturally grew more intense. Such Teutonic bands as crossed the Rhine were destroyed by Cæsar with an utter disregard of his pledged word, even when they were the victims of those same Suevi, whom he regarded as the origin of these disturbances. Against the Suevi he undertook his two expeditions on the right bank of the Rhine, which merely forced that tribe to retire to the interior ; these attempts were speedily ended by Cæsar before any disaster could occur. The Rhine frontier, however defective as a boundary, was retained throughout the decade following Cæsar's supreme command in Gaul. When the Teutons, who had been finally driven from their habitations, were admitted to the west bank—as, for instance, the Ubii—permission was given them to settle in definite form. Moreover, during the revolt of Vercingetorix Cæsar had opened a new profession to dissatisfied and restless Teutons by admitting them into the Roman service as auxiliary troops ; it was a profession which speedily rose to repute, and was regarded as analogous to the German system of war bands.

It remained to repeat Cæsar's policy on the Rhine, and on the Danube also, before the Teutons reached and crossed that river. This was done by Cæsar's intellectual and political heir, Augustus, through the creation of the provinces of Noricum and Rætia ; the task was carried out without disturbance from the Teutons, whose main body had advanced no further than the Main. New and more portentous incursions and disturbances broke out in the Rhine

district. Rome did not care to remain content with the inadequate frontier line afforded by the river. When a world-empire is on the rise and its neighbours are in a state of political unrest there is an unconscious tendency to push the frontier forward. Cæsar had secured Gaul ; Augustus and his followers attempted to protect the three divisions of Gaul by means of the provinces of Germania.

The first and second provinces of Germania were easily and rapidly created, as they were situated upon the left bank of the Rhine and composed of the German settlements already in existence ; it remained to secure the third Germania province by carrying the eagles of Rome to the Elbe, and thus following the lines of commercial intercourse which had been opened by traders in the frontier districts. Then in the year 16 B.C. the incompetency of the legate M. Lollius produced a general resumption of hostilities.

Nero Claudius Drusus had made the Rhine frontier a strong basis of operations by providing a full supply of forts and garrisons even upon the right bank ;

Mainz was the central point, while the construction of the Fossa Drusi had made the navigation possible at the mouth of the river in the larger delta of the Rhine, which then lay further eastward than at the present time. He had won over the Batavi and the Frisians to accept a position of subjugation similar to that of the Belgæ, under Roman supremacy, had sent a fleet to the coasts of the North Sea and up the German rivers, and had traversed the future province in various directions with his army. Tiberius Claudius Nero, the brother and successor of Drusus, who died upon his return from the last great expedition in 9 B.C., pursued the same policy. Experience had, however, shown him that the Teutons were most easily Romanised if they were allowed to go their own way, were compelled to acknowledge Roman supremacy, and were left to offer their support, whereas a series of campaigns and premature plans of subjugation were more likely to turn their attention to their own powers and prospects of union.

This policy proved, as might have been expected, so successful, that the third German province was for a time brought into actual existence. There was but one opponent to its permanency—Marbod,

king of the Suevi, whose name is Latinised as Maroboduas; but a second arose in consequence of the blundering whereby P. Quinctilius Varus destroyed the achievements of Tiberius in the year 9 A.D. Marbod, like Arminius, would not accommodate himself to the short-sighted policy or to the ancestral institutions of the Teutonic tribes. It may be asserted that had it not been for the political and general education gained by the young Teutons in the Roman service there would have been no "German Liberator," and that the Teutonic characteristics would not have proved sufficiently strong to resist the process of absorption within the Roman Empire.

The "Kindred" (*Sippe*) is a conception which the Teutons derived from their Indo-Germanic ancestors. It existed in embryo in all Indo-Germanic societies, though it was not developed until the period of separation, with the result that the characteristics and even the designation of a Kindred are not the same in every case. Among the Teutons the Kindred is rather democratic than patriarchal; it is a union of related families or households on the basis of equal rights, and authority exercised by the heads of families.

The thorough conservatism under which Teutonic constitutional forms have developed has but little modified the old purposes and arrangements of the Kindred even in historical times. In primitive and in later times it remains a defensive alliance, never asking whether a member is "guilty" or "innocent," but protecting him in feuds, blood quarrels, legal processes, oaths, and accepting the responsibility for his actions as long as he is not formally deprived of membership. The Kindred is a coherent armed community, and as such forms the smallest unit of the army. It is an industrial and economic guild; the individual household has personal possession only of implements and movable property, among which the house was for a long time included, just as tent poles and coverings were among nomadic tribes.

This economic unity forms collectively with its inhabitants a village, which consequently in later times bore the name of the Kindred, just as during the periods of migration resting places and encampments may have been named after the tribe that used them. Thus, the patronymic followed by suffixing "-ton," "-ford,"

"-ham," etc., is very familiar in England.

The district which was occupied by the Kindred or its settlement, the village mark, was the property of the community, which was thus a "mark corporation." The distribution of the ground which was carried out at stated periods gave the temporary usufruct to individuals, provided that they observed the conditions imposed on the community; pasture land and forest were for a long time enjoyed in common. The affairs of individual families also came within the purview of the Kindred in its character as an economic corporation, so far as families could affect the common possession of property or of labour; thus, for instance, the Kindred exercised a right of confirming marriage contracts, and the appointments of guardians. Hence the separation of the individual from his kin, or opposition between the individual and the kin, was an unexampled occurrence at the outset of the historical Teutonic period.

About the beginning of the Christian era these conditions in other respects were of a very primitive character; a general organisation existed only in the form of Kindreds within the mass of Teutonic tribes who were connected by a common nationality and language. This organisation was first extended by the necessity of concluding and of turning to practical account alliances of peace between the tribes. Thus federations combining several Kindreds arose; these acted as corporations upon important occasions, and these corporations were a kind of judicial court. It was not a court which could decide or pronounce upon points of law, but it could hear arguments upon questions of compensation, when such questions arose and the Kindred concerned were not in a state of antagonism. In such cases the court provided that the Kindred upon which compensation or performance was obligatory should perform its duty; there was as yet no conception of a penal code.

The old name for this larger conjunction of Kindreds is the "Hundred," or, in the northern provinces, herad, herred, harde. The term is derived from the numeral "hund," a hundred, probably the highest number which the original Teutons possessed. We cannot, however, venture to conclude from this term the existence

of a numerical limit to the corporation. Any attempt of the kind is met by the most obvious contradictions ; for instance, the Hundreds are not extended or contracted in correspondence with the change in population.

The term "hundred" was merely an indefinite expression, which might connote ten multiplied by twelve just as much as ten multiplied by ten (the Teutons also possessed the term "great hundred"); the term is no more mathematically accurate than the usage of our more educated age, when it sends a thousand kind remembrances or speaks of millions.

The state, or, as the Teutons said, the *Folk*, was formed at some date which we cannot determine. For the latter expression the term "army" is practically equivalent. Both were formed only gradually and slowly. The *Folk* originated like the Kindred and the Hundred, though in another manner and direction, from the need for peace and mutual help. Hence its origin is not to be regarded as instantaneous or uniform, or its organisation as entirely systematic. It grew slowly and simply ; in the historical period we find Teutonic races with this organisation only in midway process of development. A number of neighbouring and related Kindreds and Hundreds united to discuss the ways and means which should enable them to protect their territory and property against foreign enemies, and also, if occasion arose, to improve their position at the expense of others, by some common attack. The object of the *Folk* is therefore wholly military.

It is upon this basis that all its organisation is founded ; the council which deliberates and frames proposals, the popular assembly (*folk-moot*) of the men capable of bearing arms, the law of crime—cowardice, desertion, and treachery—and the consequent rise of a criminal court and of punitive power. This new criminal code has no connection with the Hundred courts, which are essentially different.

The assembly of the *Folk* is injured in its military capacity by such transgressions ; it becomes a court, and proceeds to find a suitable means of executing punishments—by the hand of the priest. The transference of punitive rights to the Hundred courts is a far later regulation of the state, when it had become a regulating and

highly organised power. At the moment the earlier corporate elements, the Kindred and the Hundred, are used only to forward its military objects as component parts of the "army."

To put the matter another way, the Kindred and the Hundred exist as military elements, and there is neither opportunity nor reason for any other mode of division. On the other hand, in order to subserve the military purpose, the Kindred permitted certain interference by the state with the rights of guardianship reserved to themselves and to their families by pronouncing youths to be capable of bearing arms before the popular assembly—that is to say, capable of being enlisted in the army upon the occasion of its muster. At the same time there is no actual interference of the state with the family power of the household ; capacity to bear arms and patriarchal power are totally different characteristics.

With these creations we reach the ideas of people and patriotism, or, as we should say, of state and citizenship. Here, again, there is no settled system or line of demarcation. We find members of a nationality breaking away, founding new settlements and becoming independent peoples, as in the case of the Batavi and the Mattiaci, who were fragments of the Chatti. Had Ariovistus been permanently successful, the seven fragments of different nationalities which, at the least, he led, together with the several thousands of the Charudes who followed him, would have grown into one nation.

We find remnants or fragments of one nation absorbed into others ; for instance, the Aduatuci, a remnant of the Cimbri, amalgamated with the Tungri, who had "first" come to Belgium ; the Sigambri, again, absorbed the remnants of the Usipetes and Tencteri. Sometimes there is merely a temporary amalgamation, and a later dissolution or attempt to dissolve ; thus the Rugi, whom Theoderic had led to Italy, attempted, after the murder of Ildebad, to choose a king of their own, and broke away from the Ostrogoth nationality. Thus the history of the old Teutonic nationality is for these reasons, as well as for their continual migrations, far too complicated a period to be represented for more than a moment by maps or general views. For the same reason, it is impossible to use the

**How the
"Folk"
Originated**

**The Priest
in a
New Rôle**

**Mixing
of the
Nations**

information at hand as a basis for speculations about unknown prehistoric times.

A repetition of the process of Folk formation can be observed, though taking place upon a higher plane and in wider form. The co-operation of the Folk naturally did not abolish war from the world, but separated war and peace somewhat more clearly from mere disorder, and made the difference of more importance. Thus the impulse which had led to the formation of the Folk remained operative, and conjunction was no less necessary than before. As formerly a number of tribes and hundreds were forced to combine, so now Folk unions were driven to union. Hence the corporate character of Teutonic history as a whole regards the peoples as a transition form of the corporation, next in point of greatness to the allied state. This body, again, produces a transition to the "nation," in which the modern Teutons have arranged themselves, both to-day and at an earlier period, if at the cost of great effort.

This movement, which concerns the Folk unions, began in prehistoric times, but it remains in constant and steady progress at the outset of German history. The possibility of achievement depends upon the equalisation of competitive concurrent forces. The existence of the Folk union also exercises a retrograde influence. It is everywhere existent and recognised; its objects and its independence have overshadowed the individual of flesh and blood, just as the modern Mecklenburger or Westphalian is forgotten in his general German nationality. Thus the Bructeri or Cherusci as such did not forget the desirability of conjunction with others, but only when confronted with immediate danger did this possibility become urgent in their eyes; they must first become accustomed to a wider political outlook and do not care to see their customary traditions diminished in importance.

Thus at the time of primitive German history we find the Germans in a condition of more or less transitory federation, and only gradually do we find individual federations becoming permanent associations in the form of states. Possessions of the Folk as such are not straightway abandoned to the federation when a Folk enters into an alliance with others; it remains an independent and political community, and will have nothing to do with any federal institutions

except the federal assembly, which for practical reasons is indispensable and generally employed. Under these circumstances some compensating element was required to guarantee fidelity to alliances, and this end was gained by oaths, religious forms, the union of divinities, and the subjugation of the alliance to the rule of the divine deities. When an

The Folk's Religious Festivities Amphictyony thus formed has remained some time in existence, a federal name, used for definite purposes, takes the place of the individual folk names.

The need for an earlier historical origin is then felt, and finds expression in the form of epic legends, or, what is a different process, in artificial ethnogonies and other fancies of the kind. Many alliances survive the course of only one campaign, while others remain in existence only in intention, and can be aroused by the impact of some strong collision. There is evidence to show that the federal religious festivities once celebrated were not necessarily allowed to collapse—the gods are not to be offended—though the political meaning of the federation may have passed away. We find, moreover, alliances which may have remained operative for a long time, perhaps for centuries, though they at least remember their great importance only in its after effects and tradition; this is true of the Suevi at the time of Tacitus. Apart from this we shall hardly be able to connect the isolated tracks which wind between different groupings of the German nations, or to gather any fruitful or definite result from the traditional fragments of ethnogonic ideas. Similarly, only in a few cases can we venture to say whether later states have grown up out of individual folks or from the remnants of alliances.

To form and keep alliances in permanent connection, to secure the adherence of allies, and in this way to unify diverse tribes, remained the privilege of the kings and princes. The rise and formation of their houses was naturally based upon the individual Folk. Any federation, no matter how democratic its basis, which pursues military and political objects, stands in need of leadership, not only in war, but also in deliberation. On the other hand, every man who desired power, or to work for the general welfare, was obliged, by the special character of the

Leaders of the "Folk" in Peace and War

of the kings and princes. The rise and formation of their houses was naturally based

old Teutonic kin organisation, to act upon every occasion in concert with his Kindred. He exists only for the Kindred, and his every performance is open to discussion. Without the Kindred he cannot rise to pre-eminence, and it is not himself, but his kin, that he brings into the foreground and makes the leader upon national questions. The question thus requires examination upon this side, when we find leading personalities and their policies, however democratic and well founded, involved in domestic difficulties and overwhelmed by them.

**Annals
of
Tacitus**

On the other hand, at the period covered by the Annals of Tacitus—an excellent source of constitutional information—we find at times within an individual Folk a leading Kindred, with its precedence secured in a surprising measure—provided, in fact, with a special legitimacy, which it carefully preserves in such cases as marriage contracts, which are confined to members of equal rank, in those instances which we can fully examine. “*Stirps regia*” is the name given by Tacitus to such a family—the noble family of any specific nationality. This family provides the princes, from whom generals are chosen according to their capacity. These leading men, known as “*kuninge*,” from their membership of the kuni, or noble Kindred, regarded as a family, are as yet far removed from any monarchical power or sovereignty; the latter belongs in all things to the general assembly.

The princes settle only unimportant matters by mutual discussion, in accordance with a custom which arose for obvious reasons of convenience, and their decisions are subject to the consent of military, national, or popular assemblies. To the latter they have to bring their decision on the more important matters that have arisen in their own discussions. They are leaders in this assembly, and naturally the most important orators, though anybody may speak who has the prospect of getting a hearing. In view of the solemnity with which even savages conduct debate, no doubt shyness forbade attempts to speak in most cases. All this is excellently described by Tacitus, who also shows how the princes ruled “*auctoritate suadendi magis quam jubendi potestate*”—“by the influence which persuades rather

**The Wise
Rule of
the Princes**

than by the power which commands.”

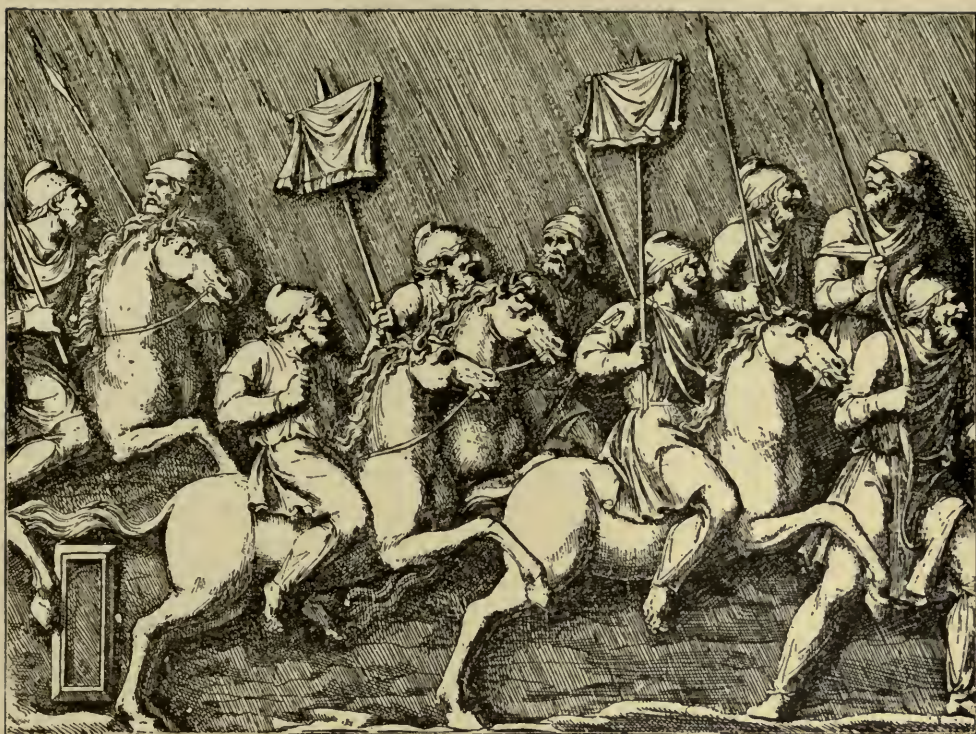
For leadership in war and military expeditions the appointment of definite persons was a necessity. A chief, whom Tacitus calls *dux*, rendered “duke,” was appointed, or sometimes two dukes. But the latter system was tried only in primitive times and was not always successful. The holder of the office is drawn from the noble families in every case of which history speaks. Tacitus is in agreement with this statement, though Beda emphasises the princely character of the dukes among the Saxons in Britain. But even in face of the enemy their power is by no means unlimited, and their careful plans are occasionally overthrown by the jealousy of their blood relations and the success of these in persuading the military assembly, which met for executive purposes as the Folk.

The process by which a particular Kindred took a leading part and became a noble family of historical import cannot be explained in full detail. There is some evidence to show that the noble family was able to pledge the credit of the whole, as the conceptions *adal* (noble) and *odal* (property) differ only by a distinction of vowels. Again, the

**Dividing
the Plunder
of War**

princes in the time of Tacitus received gifts in virtue of their leading position, voluntarily given by their tribal associates; as such Tacitus mentions animals and field produce. It is, however, especially important that the manager of the general assembly should be in communication with the all-powerful gods. The members of the noble Kindred provided the national priest or priests, built, administered, and maintained the sanctuaries of the gods, which we must imagine as buildings provided with subordinate offices, sheep, cattle, and pasture, and an adequate temple precinct, notwithstanding a passage in the “*Germania*” which Tacitus himself contradicts in the “*Annals*.”

The division of the plunder taken in war remained the privilege of the popular assembly until Merovingian times, though no doubt the leaders gained certain preferences in this respect. A somewhat larger share of prisoners of war—that is, slave labour—was assigned to the leading Kindred, and enabled them correspondingly to extend their agricultural operations and their property. Thus their capacity and their public work



GERMAN RIDERS IN THE ROMAN ARMY

From a relief on the Colonna Antonina at Rome

received not only a social and political return from the whole community, but also secured an increase in property which steadily consolidated their position. Moreover, the formation of the above-mentioned ideas of a penal code threw the execution of punishment into their hands, as they were the priests who offered to the gods the sacrifices which appeased their wrath and secured their friendship; they alone could attack the person or the life of the Teuton.

A further advance in power which began at the time of Tacitus may be seen in the fact that they not merely conduct the popular assembly, but also divide among themselves the right to visit and conduct the assemblies of the Hundreds. We must not under-estimate the high power which was given them by the system of retainers, or by their right of training the young to the use of arms where their parents or blood relations were unable to perform this duty. Here we have already in embryo the later right of tutelage exercised by the crown.

The Kindred Advance in Power

Hitherto we have spoken only of the princes as members of a noble Kindred. As regards their mutual rank and position,

they are all able to raise equal claims in point of right. Flavius, the brother of Arminius, renounces the royal position which belongs to him among the Cherusci as he is remaining in the service of the Romans; but his son Italicus, who was brought up as a Roman, afterwards concentrates in his person all the rights of the Kindred of which he was the sole remaining representative. These rights were respected as long as possible

New Royal Families from the Kindred

by the nationality, which was especially mistrustful of new men and of innovations. Only in very special cases did the Teutons raise a new royal family by choice from one of the other Kindreds in opposition to the old family.

The overthrow of Marbod or Ermanaric, with its consequent confusion, does not prevent the resumption of their hereditary privileges. By the elevation of Witichis the Ostrogoths broke away from the younger house of the Amali, which had become alienated from the people; at the same time one of the first acts of Witichis was to secure a kind of right to share the legitimacy of the Amali by his marriage with Mataswinta. Though every member of the royal

Kindred had the right to come forward as prince, we find in numerous cases that not all of them actually exercised this right or would have had any prospect of success. The different blood relations of Segestes and Arminius are politically without any public reputation, although they enjoy not only princely rights, but also the princely title (*princeps*, in Tacitus). The same remark is true of the brother of Segestes and of his son, although his noble birth and consequent right to act as national priest induced the Romans to call him from the third Germania to act as, priest at the Ara Ubiorum, which had been set up at Cologne for the three Germanias, and corresponded to the altars of Rome and Augustus, set up at Lyons over the three Gauls. The father of Arminius, who outlived the greatness of his son, was of no political importance whatever.

This narrower clique of principes—among the Cherusci, Segestes, Arminius, and his uncle Inguimerus—who busied themselves with public affairs, attempted to determine the decisions of the people, and thus arrived at an attitude of mutual jealousy more or less pronounced. The majority of the popular assembly follows now one, now another, of these leaders, according as he has been successful or represents the most popular view. No one of the

nobles, or künige, was able to become the sole and privileged ruler in the later sense of the term, with definite and political privileges assured to him for a definite time; they were continual rivals, attempting to secure the momentary and fickle approval of the majority.

None the less, individual personalities appeared, sufficiently powerful to break through the restraints of the Kindred and to concentrate its collective rights within themselves. Ariovistus is not exactly a prince of this character. He succeeded in securing permanence for his personal position as prince and duke to an extent unusual, and not in accordance with the principle of tribal constitution. This he achieved by securing definite authority over the Gauls and also from Rome. Marbod, on the other hand, is an overthrower of tribal legitimacy after the manner of the Cæsars.

Marcomanni in the Place of Danger

The Marcomanni, who belonged to that portion of the Suevi which had entered the Rhine district, had settled in the Lower Maine, and were there stationed when Augustus and Drusus began that policy which brought them between two hostile frontiers from Mainz and Rætia. Marbod then led his people up the Maine to the comparative seclusion of Bohemia, which had been



BATTLE BETWEEN THE ROMANS AND MARCOMANNI

The Marcomanni, a Germanic tribe that originally dwelt between the Rhine and the Danube, expelled the Boii from Bohemia and part of Bavaria early in the Christian era, and founded a kingdom which reached to the Danube.

From a relief on the Colonna Antonina at Rome

abandoned by the Boii. Marbod had become a politician in the school of the Roman military service. He attempted to make himself a power equal to the Romans. He was a man of high importance, who, attempting to break through the restrictions of his native birth, had developed his capacity, driven away his blood relations, absorbed their rights, and founded the continuance of his supremacy on a basis of militarism, and also upon the predominance of the Marcomanni over other Teutonic peoples. His rule was obeyed over an area extending even to the Lombards at the mouth of the Elbe. Thus he appeared as a rival acting against the Romans on the east front of the Teutons to secure supremacy for the Teuton sphere of influence, and his rivalry was the more formidable as the existence of such despotism generally depends upon unceasing effort and extension.

Formerly it had been important for Rome to save the Keltic districts from the hands of the Teutons, who, though an incoherent force, were advancing upon every side; and so now the question arose whether the district occupied by the loosely united

Three Years' Revolt in Pannonia

Teutonic peoples between the Rhine and the Elbe should belong to Rome or to Marbod.

Such being the situation and the opponent, the former policy of Tiberius, to overcome the Teutons by peace and not by the challenge of campaigns, proved inapplicable. After careful plans and preparatory expeditions through Germania, which showed him that the popular opinion of the Germans was inclined to support Rome and its policy rather than the supremacy of Marbod, he began his double attack upon the kingdom of the Marcomanni by a simultaneous advance from the Danube and the Rhine in the year 6 A.D. At this dangerous moment for Marbod, a revolt broke out in Pannonia and Dalmatia, and Tiberius was occupied with its suppression until the year 9 A.D. Marbod, who could hardly have survived had he not given some diplomatic assistance to this revolt, calmly reverted to his old relationship to Rome, as a supreme king of equal weight with the emperor, and pursuing a like policy.

The third province of Germania was not to be lost to Rome on that account. Augustus had been able undisturbed to place the garrisons on the Rhine at the

disposal of Tiberius for the subjugation of Pannonia. In Germany, on the right bank of the Rhine, the diminished Roman troops held their winter or summer camps in time of peace; the surrounding tribes and their princes who could be won over by the grant of empty distinctions admitted the claim of Roman supremacy,

and the governor exercised the rights of levying taxes and of summary jurisdiction.

The action of P. Quinctilius Varus, however, in either of these departments, went far beyond anything that the patient Teutonic tribes had hitherto borne in the way of pressure. Hence it became possible for Arminius to rise in opposition to Segestes, the friend of Rome, to deprive the latter of the leadership of the Cherusci, to secure the alliance of the other peoples on the right bank of the Rhine, to lead them cleverly against the position of Varus, and to destroy that leader with his army of Roman soldiers and Teutonic auxiliaries—from the peoples of the North Sea—in the Teutoberg forest in 9 A.D.

Arminius had returned no long time previously from the Roman service. C. Julius Cæsar, to whom the south Teutonic relations with Rome owe their beginning, had introduced the custom of using German troops as Roman auxiliaries. We must remember to distinguish between migrating tribes in search of land and the adventurous raids of bold companies. Cæsar was acquainted with Teutonic invasions of Gaul in both of these forms. When he discovered the urgent need for cavalry to deal with the last great revolt, he had employed the enterprising spirits of certain mounted troops of young Teutons. Whether or not this was really intended as a last resource in time of need, from that time forward German auxiliaries become a regular and extending branch of the Roman service. Thus, while the Roman state crushed the Teutons or

Barbarians as Roman Officers

attempted to confine them within boundaries, it opened its armies to this nationality by the offer of employment.

Leaders of such barbarians became Roman officers, generals, administrators and high officials. The Roman armies gradually lost their nationality, and became a foreign force, consisting chiefly of Teutonic troops, paid by Romans, fighting for Rome, but unable to prevent the overthrow and disruption of the empire, and destined one

day to seize Italy, the last remaining province of the empire, for themselves under the leadership of Odoacer.

At the moment the use made by the German nobles—that is, by the members of the leading kindreds among individual peoples—of the instruction which they gained in the Roman service and brought home with them is sufficiently remarkable.

Arminius in the Hour of Triumph We have already spoken of Marbod. The "eques Romanus," Arminius, when he led the revolt against Varus, had no intention of following the precedent of the Cimbri and Ariovistus by requesting the Romans to settle a time and place for a battle or for a judicial decision by the judgment of God. War, indeed, was *orlog* or *ur-lag*, and *lag* means law. Arminius, however, had been trained in the Roman school, and he paid his teachers in full for all their treacherous attacks since Noreja.

We know but very little of the ideas which inspired Arminius, but if in the joy of his triumph he had cherished the ambitions of Marbod, his capacity would have been unable to cope with the mass of opposition which he encountered. The prestige of Segestes revived, and the rivalry between himself and Arminius continued for many years with varying success. The younger man was helped to recover his preponderance by the indefatigable efforts of Germanicus, the son of Drusus, who held command upon the Rhine, to repair the defeat of Varus by campaigns against the Teutons.

Segestes was eventually forced to take refuge with the Romans, together with his relation and adherents, who were obliged to follow him, and to abandon the field to Arminius. Germanicus might lead Segestes, whose company he had not compelled, in triumphal procession, but the fact that his ally was no longer in his own country was a wholly unexpected result of this struggle for Rome. Such was the opinion of Tiberius, who was now upon the imperial throne and saw this fresh confirmation of his old theories as to Teutonic policy. He put an end to the campaign, considering that if the third Germania was to be reconquered it could be better secured by peace than by war.

Tiberius on the Imperial Throne The province, however, remained lost to Rome; and this was, as Tacitus says, "without doubt" the personal achievement of Arminius. He saved the Germans on the

right bank of the Rhine from becoming Roman provincials, as those upon the left had become, in which process large and capable numbers of the German population were lost to Germany; and thus he actually became, not merely the liberator, but actually the saviour of German nationality and of German history.

The Roman abandonment of punitive measures left Arminius triumphant during his own time. "In battles against Germanicus he fought with varying success, but as a leader of war he was unconquered"—thus Tacitus summarises his achievements. The tribes on the right of the Rhine were free, and owed their liberty to him. Among the Cherusci he had but one serious opponent, Inguiomerus. He now put forward the claim of supremacy over the Cherusci, and as Segestes had formerly gone into exile, so now Inguiomerus took to flight and went to Marbod. This fact expresses the whole change in the political situation.

In place of the Romans, who had given up the conflict, Marbod led the opposition against Arminius, who was also confronted by Marbod's championship of the "freedom" of the country between the Rhine and the Elbe; the people who had hitherto obeyed Marbod now deserted to Arminius.

An appeal to arms led to no clear decision. Marbod, however, was not triumphant; his despotism had begun to totter, and soon collapsed entirely. One of the nobles whom he had driven out, Katwalda, returned from exile and seized his position, but only to fall himself the more rapidly. Katwalda was soon living at Fréjus under Roman protection, as was Marbod at Ravenna, while their respective adherents had left the country and were settled by the Romans in the frontier district on the Danube. The "kings," however, of these Suevi—the name which they now resumed—were chosen by the Roman emperors themselves. Thus we meet with a new and clever system, introduced by Rome; the evils of tribal supremacy were utilised by Rome, by the help of her power and the weight of her name, to raise one man to high positions, who now became the "rex," though entirely dependent upon Roman patronage, in place of the Stirps, the princely family, which was a continual source of disturbance. In this way the Romans gained considerable successes

to the north of the Danube, even among the Quadi and Marcomanni. This German kingship was not, however, based upon the Roman policy, but upon the slow and systematic disregard of common family claims—a process which could be achieved only after centuries had elapsed. On the other hand, it will be perceived that this Roman policy was extremely likely to stimulate ambitious Teutonic nobles to secure a despotism with—or better without—Roman help, though such supremacy could be secured only for individual persons and was not necessarily transmitted by inheritance to their children.

Among the Cherusci also the Romans were able to introduce their king. After the fall of Marbod, Arminius found no obstacle to the task of making his leadership and his policy a permanent basis of settlement. He wished to “become king,” in the words of Tacitus, who speaks of him as “regnum adfectans.” In the course of this attempt Arminius was overthrown by the existing members of the noble Kindred, whose rights were infringed by his efforts. The principles of public right and the actual state of affairs were in opposition to

his personal claims. However, German tradition long remained faithful to the liberator, and at the time of Tacitus his fame was sung beyond the limits of the Cherusci in those epic poems in which the Teutons, for want of a written language, preserved their history.

At the death of Arminius a generation of conflict within the noble family confused the succession until the year 47 A.D. The only remaining representative of that house was Italicus, the son of Flavius, who had been brought up among the Romans. The invincible ideas of legitimacy raised this last member of the family, the nephew of Arminius, to the leadership of the nation, and, with the support of the Romans, Italicus entered the district of the Weser, which he had never before seen; he was now personally a “rex,” as the “stirps regia” depended entirely upon him; he was sole king because there was no other “kuning,” no other man belonging to the noble family (kuni). But the cessation of political faction was an inconceivable result. Misunderstandings arose, and partisans from the struggles before the year 47 rose against Italicus. In vain did Italicus urge their want of nobility, as Tacitus expressly explains,

and show that no right existed except that concentrated in himself; struggles began, and Italicus was forced to flee to the Lombards, who were then settled on the Lower Elbe, to secure their interference. Further events are unknown to us.

Our scanty knowledge of the history of Italicus shows plainly enough the embarrasments which inevitably arose from the well-devised Roman policy of protecting dependent kings, in view of the fact that the kings themselves did not stop at considerations of legitimacy. Even when the Romans fought with the Chatti and other Teutons in the course of the first century, no great achievement was ever attained, and the triumphs which the emperors celebrated before the senate and people of the capital were but too plainly fictitious. The true inwardness of the Roman policy consists not in these struggles, but in the great technical labour, which lasted for decades, of establishing or protecting the lines of frontier. The several lines of the Rhine and the Danube, regarded as frontiers, were isolated unities and as yet unconnected; in the district of the Upper Danube, on the wooded heights of the Baar and the Black Forest, which were as yet occupied by neither Romans nor Teutons, and also in the fair plains of the Breisgau, the ownership of the land was a doubtful question, and its occupants always changing. The angle formed at the north-east by the Upper Danube and the Rhine formed a deep wedge between Rætia and Upper Germania. While the world-empire was still advancing, or while advance was contemplated, indecision on this point could be settled by a general advance of Roman authority either to the Elbe or elsewhere. When the intention of advance had been abandoned, it was necessary, before the Teutons reached the old Celtic territory, which was now ownerless, to close this wedge-shaped opening and the “Helvetian Desert,” since known as the Agri Decumates, and to make the Danube and the Rhine the common frontier line from Pannonia to the North Sea. Such was the purpose and the meaning of the line of communication drawn from Kelheim to Rheinbrohl; the separate fortifications and protected lands were eventually united into one great fortified boundary line.

**Fictitious
Triumphs of
the Romans**

**German
History in
Epic Poetry**

**Rome's
Ambitious
Plans**



THE GOTHS IN ITALY

From the painting by P. F. Pezze, R.A. by permission of the Manchester Art Gallery



THE GREAT TEUTONIC DELUGE

GOTHS IN CONFLICT WITH THE ROMAN EMPIRE

ROME had now established her frontiers ; the time of expansion, of attack and counter attack, had ended, and a respite follows. Then comes a period of defence and loss. From the Black Sea to the North Sea the Teutonic nationality surges over the frontier and breaks through the boundaries erected in Dacia and in the coast lands of the Black Sea ; some rapid advances are driven back, but they remain a presage foreboding the inexorable rise and advance of a current that can no longer be checked. The material cause of these movements is not, as before, an increase of population which has grown too dense to be supported by the rude forms of pastoral life and primitive agriculture, and is therefore forced to send out migrating bodies ; in this case we have to deal with a general advance from the east, which can be recognised by its effects and by contemporary accounts. It resulted in a general shifting of nations, and eventually brought the whole Teutonic world into movement.

Signs of this movement became evident from Rhætia, against which the Chatti made a disturbing advance, to Pannonia and Dacia. The Teutonic world was in a ferment throughout its southern boundary—an effect which points to a great number of previous changes in the unknown interior. The Marcomanni advanced to the Danube ; the Lombards had left the Lower Elbe for the most part, and were following an easterly direction ;

**Aurelius
Fighting the
Teutons**

the Vandals, who were formerly settled in Silesia, also started out. Marcus Aurelius spent half a generation fighting against these Teutons and the still more obstinate Jazyges of Sarmatia, with the result that the proposed organisation of a Sarmatian province was abandoned, and Commodus permitted the settlement of Teutons in the frontier districts of the empire on the Danube. The " pores of the empire " were beginning to open to the Teutons.

The Goths, again, who before the year 200 A.D. had been driven from the Lower Vistula, had gone up-stream and turned to the east about the Carpathians ; about the year 200 they appear on the Black Sea and on the frontier of Dacia. After a decade of struggle by land and by sea, Rome surrendered Dacia to the Goths after an expensive defence, and the first great province was lost to the Roman Empire. Aurelian was forced to surrender it, as Rome itself was threatened by the Alamanni, whose marauding bands passed through Rhætia into the peninsula itself. The policy of using the Teutonic tribes as a buffer was now shown to be purposeless and inconsistent.

After a momentary attempt to cross the Vistula, the Lombards turned to the south-east and thus joined hands with the east Teutons, while the forces of the Alamanni advanced from the south-west. They came forth from the districts on the Elbe above the Lombard settlements and also from those upon the Havel and Spree. For a wide distance round the Elbe and to the right of it the country was abandoned by the Teutons, and room was made for the Slavs, who desired it. The Alamanni were the nucleus and the remnant of the old Suevian federation and clung closely to this name, though they did not meet with recognition by other tribes on this account. In the first place the Alamanni no longer represented the old confederacy as such ; during the migration other nationalities, who were not members, had joined them. Moreover, there were besides themselves many other Germans, who had also been Suevi, extending from the Marcomanni and Danubian Suevi in the south-east, along the whole line of the Roman frontier, to the hill country of the Rhine. These double titles have remained to the present day, and the name Alamanni has never been adopted by the Suevi, or Swabians,

themselves, except under the influence of scholars in later times.

The Alamanni marched towards the frontier of Upper Germania, while the East Teutonic Burgundians followed in their path. These two nations pushed the Chatti and their adherents to the north, after driving them to abandon their previous attempts upon Rætia and destroying their prospects in the south-west. In consequence, the Chatti became a member of, if not the principal nation in, the union of the "Franks," which extended from the Central Rhine to the North Sea, and appeared as the rivals of the Alamanni throughout the westward advance upon the Roman Empire.

The year 213 marks the beginning of the struggle upon the frontier line itself; two generations later the Alamanni overran the Agri Decumates and settled there. In that country they formed a denser population, as is shown by old local names, than in their previous settlements to the east of the boundary; they had now reached the land, under Roman administration, which had already been under cultivation, and found, in consequence, a larger extent of arable land, and probably learned a more productive form of agriculture. But at the beginning of the fourth century this temporary satisfaction came to an end. Bands of Alamanni had long before been making raids beyond the Rhine into Gaul; large bodies now, advancing for purposes of occupation, overran the province of Alsace and the district of the Vosges. Once again the military power of Julian drove them across the Rhine by his great victory of 357. But Julian's death soon followed, and Rome was unable to prevent their return.

The Alamanni of the fourth century certainly formed a confederacy. Their several component nationalities pursued, upon the whole, a similar policy; but they had methods of war and peace peculiar to themselves, and even in their chief undertakings against the Romans they did not appear absolutely united. In the case of the individual peoples the leadership is at one time in the hands of one man, and is at another conducted by a commission of near relatives; in general, the administrative and selective power within the *Stirps regia* had advanced considerably, compared with the time of

Arminius. By what process a uniform nation was produced from this confederacy of the Alamanni we do not know. In any case, this further development began before the period when they were subject to Clovis. The districts occupied by the component nationalities are in the course of becoming districts, "Gaue," of the nation of the Alamanni; for instance, in place of the district of the Lentienses we find a "Linzgau," and the whole is ruled by a kingdom.

The details of the process by which such a federation became a coherent nation are known to us only in the case of the Franks. They also advanced steadily from the left bank of the Rhine in the fourth century. They, too, were checked, though not driven back, by Julian; notwithstanding his victory at Tòxandria, he left them in possession of the country between the Scheldt and the Maas, which they had occupied a short time previously. In the third century the Franks had proved a burden and a danger to the Romans by the incredible boldness and extent of their maritime enterprises. Now, however, they

Raiders on the Roman Coasts appeared in forces confined almost entirely to land; in other words, marauding raids had been given up in favour of permanent occupation. The Franks themselves had been driven back by the Saxons, the third of these important and recently formed federations of the west Teutons. The origin of the federation and its name must apparently be looked for in Nordalbingia. The federation extended so far westward that it embraced the old Cherusci, and from thence it turned northward towards the Rhine, at the expense of the Eastern Franks, and almost reached that river. The traditional task of maritime raids upon the Roman coasts, which made the process of conquest a maritime affair, became a monopoly of the Saxons; they were thus employed to a far greater extent than the Frisian coast dwellers, who formed a settled people, and were content with coasting voyages.

To return to the Franks, the characteristics of their federation and constitution corresponded with those of the Alamanni. The intermediate step between the federation of nationalities and a uniform nation is seen in the fourth century; it is the cohesion of two allied nationalities, the Ribuarii on the Rhine, and the Salic

Franks nearer the sea. In the fifth century we find the Ribuarii alone provided with a royal dynasty of their own.

The emperors of the house of Constantine, and at a later date the regent of the Roman Empire, including the Ribuarian Frank, Arbogast, fought against the Rhine Teutons incessantly and often with ferocity. Chiefly on this account the imperial residence was temporarily transferred to Trèves. The abandonment of this residence and the surrender of Gaul to the Alamanni and Franks, and of Britain to the Saxons, was not forced upon the empire until the time of Stilicho, and this

and the rivalry of individual tribal princes, for as yet the old tribal elements of the Tervinges, Taisales, etc., had not been entirely absorbed by the Gothic nationality. Among the Ostrogoths, on the other hand, the noble family of the Amalunges or Amalinges—the old language made no difference between *i* and *u* in this termination—had produced a powerful national chief, by name Ermanaric or Hermanrich. His power is said to have extended over the Goths and the related east Teutons, over the Slavs and the nations of that Ural group to which, among others, the Esthonians and Finns



IN COMMEMORATION OF A GREAT WAR

The inscription on the rock on the banks of the Danube, shown in the illustration, records the great conquest of the Roman Emperor Trajan over the Dacians in A.D. 103. This hard-won victory completed the triumph of Rome, and through it the Greek cities on the Pontus were at last delivered from the oppression of the Dacian powers.

retreat was due to the action of other Teutonic tribes, and to the approach of danger in another quarter. The action of the Alamanni had formerly thrown Dacia open to the Goths, and the Goths now became the agency which opened Eastern and Northern Gaul to the Alamanni and the Franks.

The Goths, who were divided into the subordinate divisions of the Visigoths and Ostrogoths, had extended greatly in their settlements on the Lower Danube about the north-west and north of the Black Sea. So late as 375 the Visigoths were still suffering under the neighbourhood

belong, to the shores of the Arctic Ocean. So wide an empire could never be coherent, and the invasion of the Huns in 375 shattered it at one blow. The unity of the Ostrogoths was broken by repeated dissensions between the remaining Amali and other noble princes, in the course of which the Huns appeared, now as adversaries and now as allies, and secured the mastery of all the Ostrogoths without trouble.

The Visigoths had made a vain attempt to prevent the Huns from crossing the Dniester. Athanaric, the prince who had hitherto possessed the greatest prestige

and power, retired to the mountains of Transylvania with a number of his people, while the princes who had attempted to revolt and maintain themselves against Athanaric with the help of Christianity, which was making its way into the country, asked and secured from the Roman Empire treaties guaranteeing the reception

**Roman Army
Defeated by
Barbarians**

of themselves and their people within the empire. Bands of Visigoth converts to Christianity, who had been driven from their homes, had already entered the empire at an earlier date. The empire undertook to provide for their maintenance until they could begin agricultural operations and reap their harvests. This opportunity was turned to scandalous account by the Roman administrative officials, who strove to enrich themselves indefinitely at the expense of the Goths; the straits to which the settlers were reduced eventually brought about the Gothic revolt, which proved successful, and ended with the slaughter of Valens on the battlefield of Adrianople in 378. Thus a great Roman army had been defeated on Roman soil by barbarians hard by the capital of Constantinople, and for the first time for centuries a triumphant enemy was in the midst of the country.

Though the Goths met with no open resistance in the Balkan Peninsula, they were unable to capture any towns. At the same time, this does not necessarily prove that they had any intention of making themselves masters of the country. In this situation the West Roman Empire succeeded through the *Magister militum*, or Captain-general, Theodosius, in resettling the Goths within the boundary of the empire as peaceful peasants performing military service. With the help of their forces, Theodosius, who had been appointed co-emperor, starting from Aquileia in the east, conquered Arbogast, the regent who held the imperial power in the west, and

**Theodosius
Establishes
Unity**

established the unity of the empire. This result endured only for his lifetime. In both halves of the empire, both Greek and Latin, he was succeeded by regents acting for his sons; these were Rufinus in the east, and in the west the Vandal Stilicho.

Alaric, of the Visigothic noble family of the Balthi, the leader of the Visigoths in the Battle of Aquileia, was the first to impress upon his nation the knowledge

of the fact that Rome no longer had power to command the Goths, but was in their hands. He had been the originator of the plan "of founding kingdoms with his own forces instead of obeying strangers." The consent and approval of his nation made him military king; noble families, who had formerly claimed to lead, retired to the background and did not reappear until after his death. The first enterprises of the Visigoths, who revolted against East Rome, proved fruitless. Alaric was in the same position as Frigidern; he was able to march through the peninsula without resistance, but could not tell what to do with the power he had gained. In fact, he suddenly betrayed a certain timorousness before the vast fabric of this Old World civilisation, which even in its weakness appeared invincible.

Stilicho did not allow to pass the opportunity of acting as champion for the helpless Roman Empire; he did not, however, propose to free the hands of the Byzantine government by any decisive victory over Alaric. With the assistance

**The Goths
Settled
in Illyria**

of Byzantium he concluded a compact by the terms of which Alaric and his followers were to be settled in Illyria, Alaric himself becoming commander-in-chief in that imperial prefecture. Thus the Goths were thrust in between Western and Eastern Rome, and Stilicho might expect to have their forces ready at his disposal, especially against the east, should necessity arise.

The situation, however, was entirely changed by the difficulties which the West Roman court threw in the way of the regent's policy. Stilicho had ordered Alaric to prepare for an attack upon East Rome, but was obliged to countermand his orders at the command of the emperor. Alaric demanded compensation; Stilicho championed his request, but the emperor declined, whereupon Alaric led his people, who were under arms, against Italy. The result was a wholly unintentional co-operation and connection between the Gothic enterprises in the east and those of the Alamanni and Franks on the Upper Danube and Rhine. The western half of the empire, the political outlook of which had for a long time been limited by the jealousy of the east, was suddenly confronted by the danger of immediate destruction at the hands of barbaric

hordes. The capital of Rome, which had been recently fortified by Aurelian against the marauding raids of the Alamanni was abandoned by the court, which transferred its residence to the almost impregnable sea fortress of Ravenna. Once again Stilicho drove Alaric and the Goths out of the plains of the Po, which they had overrun almost to the western Alps. This success was secured only at a dangerous price, involving, perhaps, permanent loss, as Gaul and Britain were almost entirely deprived of their garrisons, of which they were in urgent need.

Shortly afterwards, Stilicho with the same troops destroyed the bands of Radagais, to whom Alaric's advance had pointed out the way; they were a gigantic army of emigrants, composed of East Teutons and Swabian Germans, who had already crossed the Apennines and reached Fiesole. This band had reached the Central Danube in a state of unrest, the reasons for which apparently continued. As, however, the invasion of Italy was a failure, other bodies of the same kind advanced by the Danube, broke through the position of the

Alamanni, and crossed the Rhine in 406, some of them remaining in Gaul, while the main body reached Spain, where they founded the kingdom of the Vandals, the Alans, and the Suevi. Their forcible passage through the territory of the Alamanni proved a benefit to the Burgundians, who had long been hostile neighbours of the Alamanni and had been prevented by them from advancing. They now followed this band to the Rhine, where they stopped, and founded a kingdom about Worms, one of the few tangible historical events in this general history of change and migration, which has, however, found a special and tragical illustration in legend and poetry.

Stilicho was unable to use his victories for the restoration of the West Roman prestige, or to take new measures to secure the northern provinces, which had been abandoned owing to force of circumstances. He ended his life in the course of a court intrigue in 408, and a contemptible paroxysm of panic against the Teutons ended in the massacre of the women and children of the very troops who had just saved Italy. The warriors who had suffered under this visitation then turned to Alaric, who now found no army to oppose him. On several



STILICHO: GOVERNOR AT ROME

Of Vandal origin, Stilicho rose to be commander-in-chief of the Roman army, and married the emperor's niece, Serena. In 394, Theodosius appointed him governor at Rome. After defeating Alaric, king of the Goths, in two great battles, in 402 and 403, Stilicho aimed at making himself master of the empire, but latterly his own soldiers turned against him. He died in 408, in the course of a court intrigue.



TRIUMPHAL PROCESSION OF THEODOSIUS INTO ROME

To Theodosius, as emperor of the East Roman Empire, was entrusted the conduct of the war against the Goths, who finally yielded. In 383 Theodosius suppressed the revolting Maximus, and the following year he entered the imperial city in triumph. That great triumphal procession is represented in the illustration, which is reproduced from the Theodosius Column, erected by the Kaiser Arcadius, in 410, at Constantinople, and demolished in 1695.

occasions he made himself master of Rome and of the whole peninsula as far as Ravenna. If he wished to occupy Italy permanently, it was necessary to secure his possession of the corn provinces of Sicily and Africa, without which Italy might well be starved out, under the stress of opposition from the East Roman Empire. On a journey to the Straits of Messina the Visigothic king died in the year 410.

After some hesitation his brother-in-law Athaulf gave up an attempt to found, as he expressed it, a *Gotia* in place of a *Romania*—a fact which points to some similar idea entertained by Alaric. Athaulf was convinced that the “unredeemed simplicity” of his Goths made it impossible for them to follow the Romans as masters of a civilised empire. Thus a convention was concluded with Ravenna; the imperial court which had seen Gaul overrun by Burgundians, Vandals and Alans, and partially absorbed by Franks and Alamanni, placed the Visigoths in the south of this province. Gaul, which was now to receive the “unredeemed simplicity” of the Goths, was at least upon an equality with the Italy of those days in point of culture; many characteristics of civilisation which had decayed and died in Italy, especially literature, were still cultivated in Gaul. Athaulf’s ideas were largely influenced by the emperor’s clever

sister, Placidia, who became the wife of the Goth, and was especially anxious to see Honorius master of Italy. It was intended that the Visigoths should receive their province in South Gaul as federal allies; Rome then might persuade herself that she was acting for the protection of this province, then threatened upon every side. After some months of internal and bloody confusion among the Visigoths, and after a barbarian reaction against the relations of Athaulf with the Romans and their emperor, which ended in his death, an arrangement was concluded upon these lines. This arrangement rather favoured than prevented the possibility that the Visigoth community might develop into an independent empire, side by side with the West Roman court, which ruled Italy from Ravenna.

Their settlement in Gaul and a certain understanding with the policy of Ravenna had turned the Visigoths against Spain and the Teutonic powers in that country. But before these questions could become acute, the Vandals under King Geiserich evacuated the peninsula, and left only their name, *Vandalusia*, to the southern districts which they had inhabited. The far-seeing Geiserich then availed himself of the hostility existing between the imperial regent, Aëtius, and the African governor, Bonifacius. This latter, as commander of the only province which had as yet been

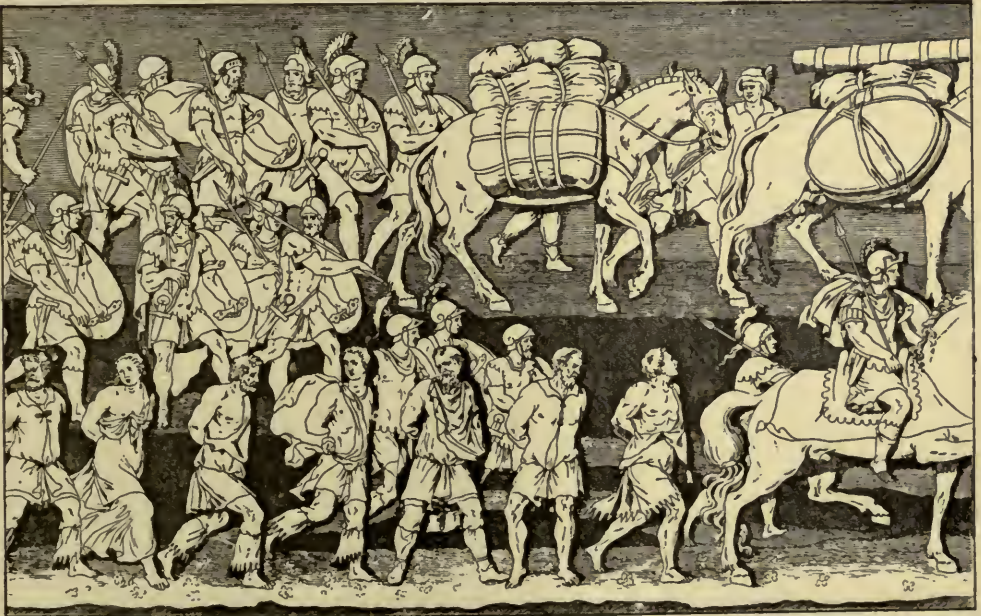
spared invasion, counted himself at least as important and supreme as the master of the other provinces; Italy was to him no more than a province, owing to her dependence upon Africa for her corn supply.

In 429 the Vandals crossed the straits; they soon overran the country, and finally conquered Carthage. They occupied the Balearic and Tyrrhenian islands, and made a footing on the shores of Sicily, while their fleet was supreme in the Mediterranean. It seemed that the Mediterranean and Atlantic coasts were steadily falling into the hands of the Teutonic nations. The retirement of the Vandals from Spain proved of advantage neither to a revival of Roman power in that country, nor to the little kingdom of the Suevi, but placed the Visigoths in the position of future masters. Rome was again in that position which she had occupied before the Punic wars, with the difference that her power was now upon the decline.

Rome, however, still possessed the tradition of a policy superior to that of the barbarians, if wielded by a clever hand; she could replace the decaying forces of her citizens by mercenaries. In view of the horrifying loss of Africa and in opposition to the East Teutonic power that was there rising, Aëtius felt the need for some temporary success of the Roman

arms. For this purpose the Burgundian kingdom of Worms appeared weak enough, and it was certain that neither the Alamanni nor the Franks would help it, as it had pushed itself between them. An occasion for war was easily provided by some infringement of Roman rights in Gaul. With the help of the Hunnish bands Aëtius destroyed the aged king Gundikar and his kingdom in 437. The homeless remnants of the Burgundian people might become a source of general disturbance in East Gaul, while the Gallic problem could be settled only by their complete subjugation; the Roman ruler was therefore obliged to give personal consideration to the matter, and after some years settled them as federal allies in Sabaudia on the Lake of Geneva at the frontier of the Alamannic conquests on the south-west.

The Huns had now but a short way to go in order to reach the Rhine. They were already masters of the Teutonic peoples on the Noric Danube, so far as these had not retreated before them, under pressure from the expeditions of Radagais and the Gallic invasions of the Vandals and Danubian Suevi; certain Vandals still remained in Pannonia among other tribes in subjugation to the Huns. Their employment against the Burgundians had



GOTHIC PRISONERS IN THE TRIUMPHAL PROCESSION OF THEODOSIUS

already shown the Huns the road westward. This same employment, however, had inspired Geiserich with the idea of inviting the Hun forces westward, to further his own political aims. Geiserich recognised that the Visigoths even now might become the principal opponents of the Vandal empire; they were a rising and a conquest-loving nation, and as all other directions had more or less been closed to them by the Teutons, they would be forced to expand along that line which the Vandals had followed forty-five years previously.

Attila's Famous Advance

Thus the famous advance into Europe of Attila, the leader of the Huns and allied peoples, during the year 451, was chiefly due to the diplomacy of Geiserich. In accordance with this policy the Visigoths and Aëtius formed the main line of resistance. Notwithstanding the indecisive result of the battle on the plains of Mauriazen, Attila speedily abandoned his attempt. The plundering raid which he undertook upon Italy in the following year, which was opposed by Aëtius and not by the Visigoths, displayed even greater indecision. No definite plan of changing the situation in Central Europe seems to have been entertained by the Hun monarch. On the death of Attila, in 453, the empire of the Huns speedily collapsed. The subjugated East Teutons and Suevi secured their freedom under the leadership of the Gepids, while the East Roman Empire recovered its courage for offensive measures.

Geiserich remained master of the situation in the west. In the confusion which followed the fall of Aëtius in 454 he appeared in Rome as arbitrator. As if he were gathering plunder from subjugated territories for his capital, he shipped objects of value, works of art, and trophies from Rome to Carthage.

Between East Rome and Africa, Italy now appears as a province the fate of which had not been definitely decided.

While the East Roman Empire was anxious to secure the existence of a West Roman emperor who should in reality be East Roman governor in Italy, the Teutons simply occupied the country as they pleased. No attempt of the kind was made by the Vandals, who would only have hampered their action by such occupation, but

only by the Teutons, who formed the standing army in Italy.

The undiminished continuance of the Roman Empire and of its universal supremacy remained not only unquestioned by Italian ideas, but also by the Teutons in Italy. The Byzantine emperors had recently wielded the *imperialium*, which existed unimpaired. The Byzantine government had despatched Julius Nepos as emperor of Italy; he, however, was obliged to retire to Dalmatia before the adroit upstart Orestes, the successful maker of emperors, and Patricius, the father of Romulus Augustulus.

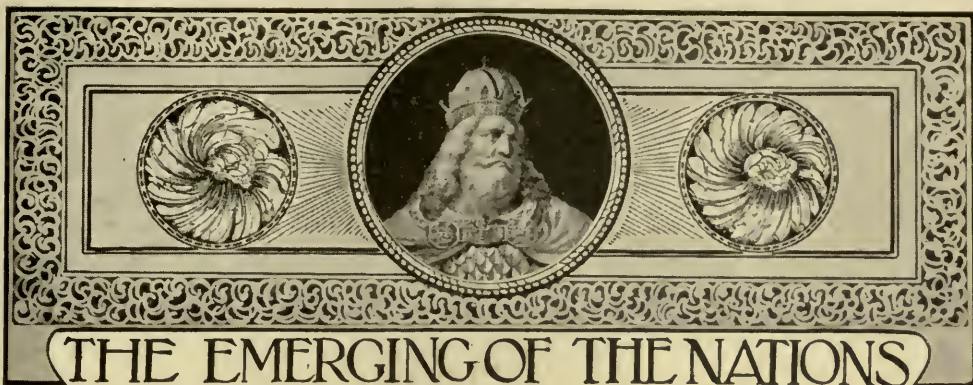
The fact that Odoacer now secured the fall of Orestes was but another satisfaction to Byzantium, though there was no prospect of restoring Nepos to Italy. It was necessary to conclude a treaty with Odoacer recognising him as dependent king, as formerly with Athaulf and Wallia, to whom the empire had previously abandoned parts of Gaul; but an attempt was made to secure some theoretical supremacy over Italy. Through Odoacer the senate proclaimed

Odoacer's
Great
Achievements

the abolition of the Italian imperial dignity, which had always been more or less dependent on East Rome. By way of compensation East Rome was asked to grant Odoacer the title of Patricius and admit the legitimacy of his position with regard to the Italians.

Odoacer never suspected that his achievement in overthrowing the West Roman Empire would be the starting-point of a great historical period and that historical science would treat his reign as a landmark. The importance of the events of 476 is not merely confined to the replacing of Nepos and Orestes by Odoacer, but is accentuated by a long series of previous events and by the possibilities which were laid open for the future. Moreover, as the remaining Teutons recognised in Italy a Teutonic and not an imperial court, many obstacles to their development were removed; as Odoacer was not a supreme authority over them, the quondam West Roman province seemed for the first time to be left in isolation, or abandoned to those who desired to extend their power. Thus the settlement of the old Roman-Teutonic army in Italy is connected with further changes in West and Central Europe.

EDUARD HEYCK



THE EMERGING OF THE NATIONS

ITALY AND THE LOMBARDS

AND THE DAWN OF FRANKISH SUPREMACY

AFTER the confusions of the Visigoth and Vandal invasions, Italy enjoyed a period of comparatively settled government under Odoacer and his Heruli. Odoacer had never entertained any thoughts of an imperial policy; he wished to take the place of the Western emperor only over Italy itself and its Roman inhabitants, and as the viceroy of East Rome. He certainly defeated the Rugii, who had established themselves in Noricum, a province still remaining to Italy; but after his success, he abandoned the province and transferred the Roman population to Italy.

Odoacer's campaign in Noricum had been caused by the intrigues of Byzantium with the Rugii. Byzantium, indeed, was extremely reluctant to see this upstart upon the throne of Italy; if a Teuton were to reign there at all, it would be better to have a king who was bound to the imperial court by respect and friendship, and who would consequently act in full compliance with Byzantium. Such a character was Theoderic, an Ostrogoth, of the family of the Amali from Pannonia. He had grown up in Byzantium as a hostage, with full knowledge of and a high respect for Roman civilisation; he had now united in his

**Byzantium's
Choice
of a Ruler**

own person the power of his father and his two uncles, and also that of a prince who was not of the Amal kindred. If he entered Italy he would be exactly the ruler whom Byzantium would wish to see; moreover, the Ostrogoths would then leave Pannonia, where they had established themselves after the collapse of the Hun supremacy, and where they might

easily become inconvenient to Eastern Rome. Here the Emperor Zeno invested Theoderic with full powers, and the remnants of the Rugii were to follow the Ostrogoth to Italy. Odoacer's action a short time previously—in 448, when he

**Theoderic
on the Throne
of Italy**

surrendered and evacuated Noricum, the province neighbouring on Pannonia—was a vain attempt to avert the coming storm. In that same year the Goths and the Rugii started, and reached Italy in 489. A year later the supremacy of Odoacer had collapsed, though the sea fortress of Ravenna protected the king until he could be blockaded with a naval force. In 493 Odoacer surrendered on condition that he should be left as joint ruler in Italy; Theoderic speedily freed himself from this embarrassment by murdering his rival. Thus he reigned alone over the peninsula as patricius; the capital and many Romans regarded him from the outset as a conqueror, who was justified in recovering Italy for the emperor; his Goths settled upon the allotments occupied by the troops of Odoacer, who remained subject to him.

Theoderic's rule is to be understood from two special points of view; in the first place, he restored their former conditions of life to the Romans in the country after the government of Odoacer, which they considered as a foreign usurpation; in the second place, his reign implied a renewal of western imperial supremacy over its former province of the West Roman Empire. The policy implied in the first point of view, and the consequent consideration which Theoderic showed for

Roman customs in general, was increased and developed to a remarkable care for the prosperity of the country. He introduced an economic revival and provided Italy with new or improved material appliances. He constructed buildings greater than any emperor had built for a long period; he encouraged a later growth of the native antique philosophy, and in every respect was ready to consider Roman claims as much as Gothic.

As regards the revival of the supremacy of the West Roman Empire, we find a curious state of double dealing; Theoderic acknowledged the imperial rights of Byzantium and its supremacy over himself, but on the other hand his chancery documents, delivered to the court of Thuringia in the silence of the Teutonic interior, referred to himself and the house of Amali as free and independent heirs of the West Roman emperors. Thus, Theoderic, probably with complete success, after the manner of Aëtius, regarded the whole of the west, including old Germania and the Africa of the Vandals, as contained in the political purview of the western imperial power which he represented, and in every political event or transformation, throughout Central and Western Europe, he felt bound to declare his position. Thus, when the rising power of the Franks, under Clovis, defeated King Gibuld, and deprived his people of their independence, and when the loss of a king had left them without a leader, Theoderic proceeded to exercise his supremacy over Rhætia in the old province of Italy and over the Alamanni there settled, who had been in the course of migration.

Theoderic, relying partly upon ties of kinship, attempted to hold in connection the Visigoths, Vandals, Burgundians, Thuringians, Heruli, and Varini in one great friendly federation, managed from Ravenna and turned against the restless Franks; he was also anxious to gain

influence over his brother-in-law, Clovis, by overtures of friendship. His efforts proved fruitless. In the year 507 the Merovingians advanced to the attack upon the Visigoths, a conflict which the world had anxiously awaited for many years. The Burgundians were allied with the Franks during the struggle, and the other tribes remained neutral. Theoderic, who was thrown upon his own resources, saw the defeat of his son-in-law, Alaric II.,

while in the next year, 508, his dangerous ally subjugated almost the whole Gallic portion of the Visigoth empire. Only in Spain, which, after the elevation of Odoacer, the Visigoths had rapidly conquered as far as the Suevic Galicia, did the Visigoths and Alaric's son, Theoderic's grandson, who had taken refuge there, find themselves safe.

The struggle in the west was followed with close attention, and with the foresight of a superior ruler by a yet earlier power, that of Byzantium. The politeness of Theoderic, his loyal recognition of his position as the vassal of East Rome, his care and consideration for Roman civilisation, could not prevent the existence of a deeper hostility between the two powers than had ever existed in the old period of joint imperial rule. The great point of variance was the fact that the East Romans hated the Goths as Arians and as heretics ruling Catholic Rome. Hence Clovis, King of the Franks, had been, since his baptism, regarded by Byzantium as Theoderic had

formerly been, when the destruction of Odoacer was a desired object.

While Clovis marched against Alaric II., an East Roman fleet had attacked Lower Italy without any open declaration of war. When Clovis returned from his victorious campaign he met envoys from Byzantium, who invested him with the dignity of Roman Consul, which he accepted with the greatest respect and with a show of outward solemnity.



"LAST OF THE ROMANS"

Boethius, Theoderic's Minister, has been described by Gibbon as "the last of the Romans whom Cato or Tully could have acknowledged for their countrymen." He was accused of treason, and was executed, without a trial, in 525.

Byzantium then helped to check the advance of that Teutonic power which alone among the new conquering states maintained close connection with the districts of pure Teutonic nationality, and, in consequence, alone seemed capable of creating a future for the Germans.

Such being the state of affairs, Theoderic abandoned his position of neutrality so far as to send an army across the Alps, the success of which secured him a certain share in the plunder; he conquered the country between the Durance and the sea, which the Visigoths had occupied at the time of Odoacer, and which Clovis had handed over to the Burgundians as the price of their help. The Franks, on the other hand, retained Auvergne, Aquitania, and the territory north of the Garonne, and, south of it, Gascony, including Toulouse. Thus the Visigothic

the destruction of other Frankish noble tribes by Clovis, and the despotic institution of a general Frankish federation, or imperial supremacy of the Merovingians, Gregory of Tours has, indeed, no chronology to give, as he borrowed his narrative of these events from the epic legends of the time; he therefore adds the events to which he can give dates as an appendix. He also adds a further



THE TOMB OF THEODERIC

isolated notice of the fact that Clovis murdered his own nearest blood relations. The weakness of the more developed Teutonic states still consisted in the lack of any monarchical succession, and in the old traditional rights of the royal house. Two powerful rulers attempted to avert this danger in favour of the monarch. Geiserich created the right of seniority—that is, the right of the oldest member of the family to the succession, an idea calculated to



THE PALACE OF KING THEODERIC AT RAVENNA

kingdom of Spain retained in Gaul only that strip of coast-line, with the town of Narbonne, which is known as Septimania. The Ostrogoth and Visigoth kingdoms were connected by the geographical line of passage over the Tyrrhenian Sea. Moreover, the Franks allowed Theoderic to exercise for the moment a supervisory power over the Visigoths. As regards

offend as little as possible the theory of family right; an institution through which the Vandal Empire perished. Clovis, with characteristic disregard of theoretical definitions, but with full practical effect, "not sparing his own near relatives," secured the result that of all the Merovingians he alone remained in existence for the moment, and the succession was

afterwards secured to his sons to the number of four. Even this means naturally proved ineffectual in the future. Thus family right continued to retain its power, even among the Franks. Both the later Merovingians and the Carolingians were able to limit its influence only by reducing the number of claimants by murder or

Four Kings of the Franks other violent measures of exclusion. Of these two great Teutonic contemporaries, the West Teuton and practical politician, Clovis, was the first to die, in 511. His kingdom was not divided, but after their father's death his four sons all became kings of the Franks and of the subject peoples. Their working arrangements regulated only the amount of their income and the limitations of their administrative power. The result was by no means to produce four ruling houses. On the contrary, when the death of one brother occurred the survivors took particular care to reduce the extension of the ruling power and to exclude the sons of the deceased from any share in the government. The policy was successful upon one occasion, on the death of Chlodomer, but fruitless on the death of Theoderic, the governor of the pure Teutonic subjects of the empire, who had his capital at Metz. The rights of the royal family as a whole, which in early German history had been subject to the practical effects of personal influence, were thereby driven back a step; the actual governor became more strongly distinguished from hereditary claimants, partly as a result of his own course of aggrandisement and partly under the influence of the manifold responsibilities of the kingdoms which now represented the supremacy of the Franks over other nations and over Roman subjects.

Consequently the foreign policy of the Franks and of their kings followed the common and federal interests, and in the course of it the most strongly interested brothers appeared as the leading and guiding powers. Among the Burgundians, Sigismund, the son of the deceased Gundobad, attempted to repair his position by adopting Catholicism and courting the favour of Byzantium, with the result that he exposed himself helplessly to the attacks both of Ostrogoths and Franks. Theoderic was strengthened by the domestic difficulties which hampered the Frankish government, and when the

Franks deposed and killed King Sigismund in 523, he annexed new parts of the Burgundian territory; the Merovingians, on the other hand, were obliged to spare the Burgundian kingdom under Sigismund's brother, Godomer, and not until 532 were they able to overthrow and to incorporate it with their own.

Theoderic died in 526, saddened by the knowledge that his policy of care and reconciliation had proved fruitless, and that he had only stimulated the tendency of the Italian Romans and their Catholic Church towards the Eastern Empire. The epic poems of popular tradition, in their picture of his character, concerned themselves but little with these concluding events, of which they were in any case not likely to take account. They have depicted the main feature of his fame as resting upon the fact that he became perforce an arbitrator and the greatest of the heroes who have governed the Teutons and restrained both the Siegfrieds and the Hagens among the Franks. The picture will in any case remain the more striking as, after his death, no one arose to prevent the Franks from disturbing the

Destruction of Vandal Kingdom Burgundians, the Thuringians, the Alamanni in Rhætia, and the Baiuarii in Rhætia and Noricum. In Byzantium that strong, energetic, and prudent ruler Justinian had succeeded to the throne about the time when the successor of Theoderic, the queen-regent, Amalaswintha, began to grow alienated from the Goths, owing to her ungovernable preference for everything Roman. Her government was only legitimised by her son Athalaric, who died in 534; but a short time previously she had been able to perform important services to the East Roman emperor and his generals upon the occasion of the African expedition which had begun after long hesitation, and ended in the destruction of the Vandal kingdom. Having secured his power in Africa and upon the Tyrrhenian islands, the emperor of the Balkan Peninsula could not avoid the obvious necessity of finally destroying the intermediate Gothic position in Italy.

An outward reason for war was afforded by the fact that his ally, Amalaswintha, was murdered by an Amalian, Theodahad, who became king after the death of Athalaric, in 535. After Theodahad, who was by no means a ruler to the

liking of the Teutonic nation, had fully displayed his incompetence in the field against Belisarius, Justinian's general and the conqueror of the Vandals, the Goths considered themselves justified by circumstances in breaking away from the alienated and degenerate family of the Amali. In their council, or *thing*, upon the open field they elected a new king and leader, Witichis, who had distinguished himself by his bravery in a war with the Gepids. The Italian war of Justinian was regarded with favour by the Franks, as they hoped to derive advantage both from their old friends the East Romans and also from the expelled Ostrogoths, to whom they owed a debt of assistance. Witichis left to them the concessions which Theodahad had already made, the districts of Southern Gaul, formerly occupied by Theoderic.

But Frankish policy was cherishing bolder plans. Theudebert, the son of Theuderic, an energetic character, was ruling at Metz. It was he who proposed the carefully planned attack, in alliance with the Lombards and Gepids, upon the superior power of East Rome, and who removed the figure of the emperor from his gold coins and placed on them the word Augustus after his own name. At the moment when Witichis succeeded in involving Justinian in a war with the Persians in 539, Theudebert invaded Italy with a great army, and fought both against the Goths and against the Byzantine troops, who were intended for further employment in Asia. A supremacy over the West was indeed inconceivable without

a position of predominance at the old centre of the empire, the more so as Theoderic the Great had strengthened the theory that the two conceptions were inseparable. Carolingian history thus announces itself in the person of this ambitious Austrasian. As it proved, however, he was not able to inspire his peasant infantry with a permanent enthusiasm for his imperial policy, and sickness among his troops forced him to retire from the Apennine peninsula.

At a later period the Merovingians renewed their attempts to gain by diplomatic means some territorial concessions in Italy.

The majority of the Ostrogoths abandoned Witichis in consequence of his lack of success. Belisarius, whose policy recalls that of Wallenstein, threw away the opportunity afforded by his command of the war in Italy, and the royal position among the Goths was characteristically given to a relation of Witichis, his uncle Uraja. He, however, was advanced in years and advised the choice of Hildebad, who had bravely and nobly defended



GOLDEN CROWNS OF THE VISIGOTH KINGS
 These beautifully worked emblems of power, belonging to the Visigoth kings of the seventh century, were found near Toledo, in Spain.

the important town of Verona against Belisarius, and who was of noble birth, as the nephew of the Visigoth king Theudis. He began not unsuccessfully to reconcentrate and reorganise the confused Gothic kingdom, but jealousy broke out between his family and that of Uraja, in which he took the wrong side, lost much of his prestige, and was finally murdered to satisfy private revenge. At this moment the Rugii, who were settled in isolation from the Goths, set up a king of their own,

Eraric, while the Goths remained for months without a leader, or accepted the rule of the Rugic king.

Eventually Badvila, or Totila, a nephew of Hildebad, was appointed king, and Eraric, who had attempted to consolidate his position by recognising the imperial supremacy and accepting the dignity of

**Ostrogoths
Weak in Face
of Danger**

patricius was murdered. The Goths once again gained an interval of twelve years for unity, recovery and hope.

King Badvila regarded Justinian's actions in 550 as dangerous, when he attempted to play off against him the old royal rights of the Amali. Theoderic's granddaughter, Amalaswintha, was still living in Byzantium. Witichis, who had formerly been elected king by the people, had prudently married her. At the present moment she was the wife of Germanus, the emperor's nephew, whose capacity and wealth determined Justinian to make an expedition to Italy. Germanus was then suddenly carried off by sickness while he was collecting Teutonic light troops in Illyria for his enterprise; as a matter of fact, the Ostrogoths showed much indecision and weakness before this danger.

Once again Badvila gathered his forces for a determined advance, upon the appointment of Narses, who had already held a command under Belisarius. His fleet, however, met with disaster at Sinigaglia, and the rude Danubian Teutons, who formed the flower of Narses' troops, surrounded Badvila and conquered him at Taginæ (Gualdo Tadino). The Gothic king received his death wound from the Gepid leader in 552.

Thereupon the Goths entrusted the political power to Teja, who commanded a considerable force as Badvila's general, though his troops had not arrived in time for the battle, and therefore remained intact. In the battle of Vesuvius in 553 Teja was unable to save the Gothic

**The Great
Battle of
Vesuvius**

Empire, though he preserved the inextinguishable honour of their armies, which was not the case upon the downfall of the Vandals. The remnant of the Goths in the town garrisons of Upper Italy now sent for the Frank Theudbald, a son of Theudebert. But this youthful king (548-555) died so early that he was unable to exert any personal influence upon the course of affairs in Italy. On the other hand, two West Teutonic "dukes" of Alamannic

origin, the brothers Leuthari and Butilin, invaded Italy, unchecked by the Frankish government, with 72,000 Alamanni and Franks. They were joined by the remnant of the Teutonic nationality, and seriously threatened the position of Narses for a considerable time. The Arian East Teutons were also divided by dissension of every kind from the Catholic Franks and the Alamanni, who were chiefly heathen. The usual summer maladies broke out among the Germans, and Narses was master of them all until the spring of 555. The danger of the government of a Radagais or of an Odoacer in Italy was averted. The last warriors of Teja had marched northwards across the Alps at an earlier period. Other thousands of the Goths were now transferred to the East Roman Empire. The commander of the Heruli, who had held a post under Narses, Sindwal—probably Sindwolt—attempted to establish himself on the Etsch. He, however, was overthrown and executed by his former master. To the Goths eventually succeeded, in 568, the wider empire of the Lombards.

**Empire
of the
Lombards**

In the course of long migrations and changes of settlement the Lombards had become a strong military power. Their final victory over the Gepids of Pannonia in 566, though gained with the help of the Avars, had given them sufficient self-confidence to venture upon the conquest of Italy. This enterprise was, however, by no means entirely successful. Alboin is rather to be regarded as the first of the long roll of Italian petty princes which most clearly displays, for thirteen hundred years, the political disruption of the peninsula.

For the moment, the Roman or Byzantine garrisons retired from the valley of the Po, from Piedmont, Emilia, and Northern Tuscany, to the coast, in almost every case. After the surrender of Milan, on September 4th, 569, Pavia, then known as Ticinum, which had offered a bold resistance for several years, was captured in 572 and became Alboin's capital. At that period, however, any thorough foundation of an empire was out of the question. The wanderings of the Lombards from the Lower Elbe to the Lower Vistula, from this again to the Central Danube, and thence over Monte San Michele, at Gradisca, to the Po, and the severe struggles which were often a matter of life



THE RETREAT OF THE GOTHS AFTER THE BATTLE OF VESUVIUS IN 553

When the Gothic king Badvila was killed in battle, in 552, the Goths entrusted the political power to Teja, who had been Badvila's general. He encountered the Romans, under Narses, at the battle of Vesuvius, in 553, and, though he was unable to save the Gothic Empire, he preserved the honour of their armies. The illustration shows the retreat of the Goths, bearing the corpse of Teja, after their defeat at Vesuvius, and the weird ceremony attending the procession

or death to their nationality, were influences by no means calculated to raise them from their semi-barbarous condition. Nor were their travelling companions and allies any more civilised than themselves; these were the remnants of the Gepids, the East Slavs and West Teutons, and the 20,000 Saxons who had accompanied them. Hence their invasion

Italy was more formidable in character than the occupation of a third of the country by the Ostrogoths of Theoderic or than the invasions of the Visigoths, who indeed entered the imperial service. The movement thus forms the culmination of the barbarian invasions.

Alboin enjoyed his success for no long period; in the early summer of 572 he fell a victim to the vengeance of his second wife, the Gepid Rosamund. A similar fate befell his successor, Clepho or Kleph, in 574, after a reign of eighteen months. The leaders of the tribes had become military commanders and members of the royal retinue, under the supremacy of the king, towards the end of the period of migration; at a comparatively early date they became dukes, ruling a definite tract of territory, and exercising jurisdiction according to the customary law over a certain number of Lombard tribes. By this process the subjugation of Italy was completed; consequently it could never become a settlement carried out in due form. The old territorial owners fled, if they had not first been killed. Before the intimidated Roman element could turn to its own advantage the mistakes of an over-centralised royal power, such bold and ambitious leaders as Faroald and Zotto rapidly formed, even in Central Italy, the two great duchies of Spoleto and Benevento. Narses, the conqueror of the Goths, had been dead for some considerable time, while Byzantium was threatened by the Avars and Persians;

Destruction in the Train of Barbarians the imperial leader Baduarius was repulsed between 575 and 576 near the strong fortress of Ravenna. The process of Lombard-Arian conquest was marked by the devastation or extermination of the Catholic priesthood, and its wild destruction of episcopal sees has been unmistakably proved by statistics. The old capital towns of Ravenna and Naples rose almost in complete isolation above this inundation, and were able to defy the untrained

barbarian hordes by means of their fortifications. Even in these quarters, however, attempts were already being made to secure Frankish help. Austrasia in particular was induced to aid in the expulsion of the heretical invaders in 582, by means of a magnificent present from the Emperor Maurice. Byzantine bribery also secured the transference of individual Lombard dukes to the imperial service in 584.

These ten years of selfish ambition were brought to an end by the view that a stronger king was required, if the Lombard nationality was to maintain its ground in Italy; the majority of the dukes chose for this purpose Authari, the son of Kleph. The new government was forced to struggle desperately in order to extort recognition from such of the dukes as refused submission; together with the *gastalds*, who administered the scattered portions of crown territory, certain dukes maintained more or less independent positions as territorial princes until the fall of the empire. Authari, however, showed much dexterity in yielding when force was useless, and turning every favourable moment to the best possible advantage; he was thus able to survive even the perils of the summer of 590, which brought with it the dangerous invasion of Childebert II. of Austrasia. He married Theodelinda, a daughter of the orthodox Duke of Bavaria, Garibald, a Frankish vassal in possession of important Alpine passes, but remained an Arian till his death, in 590.

At that moment the rising power of the Roman bishop in Central Italy was almost paralysed by the secession of the Patriarch of Aquileia and the Bishops of Istria from the decrees of the fifth synod of Constantinople—the queen also adhered to the doctrine of the Council of Chalcedon. None the less he eventually rendered great services in the dissemination of the Catholic faith among the Lombards, who had remained isolated in this respect after the conversion of the Visigoths in 587. Beyond the limits of Ravenna but very few remnants of Ostrogoth and Lombard Arianism are to be found.

The fruits of the work of Authari were clearly displayed under the rule of his brother-in-law, Agilulf, who forced his way from the ducal chair of Turin to the Lombard throne in November, 591. A

copper tablet, overlaid with gold—now in the Bargello at Florence—which was made at that period, represents him surrounded by lifeguards with clasped helmets and corselets of mail. The refractory dukes of Bergamo, Treviso, and Verona were speedily humiliated. The appointment of Arichis of Friuli as Duke of Benevento gave a definite form to the comparatively aimless settlement of the Lombards in Southern Italy. The centre was under the powerful rule of Duke Ariulf of Spoleto.

Fortunately, during those dangerous ten years at the close of the sixth century the Church possessed an energetic restorer and a defender of first-rate capacity in the person of Gregory the Great, who ruled for thirteen years and a half—590 to 604; otherwise the Roman element, even within the states of the Church, would have succumbed speedily and forever to the advance of the Lombards, which now proceeded upon more definite lines. The fact is proved by the manner in which the Lombard and Byzantine armistice was concluded in the autumn of 598, and also by the increased power of the Exarch of Ravenna, who was entrusted with one of the most responsible state posts, and had resumed the powers of Theoderic, though not with a hereditary title; it was a rise of power conditioned by the permanent danger of exposure to barbaric attacks.

The stern logic of facts had transformed a peaceful portion of the empire into a frontier province under military law and composed of different fragments, the several frontiers of which ran into the interior and not along the coast-line of Italy, and could be secured only by the wearisome work of fortified garrisons. As the imperial government was more hardly pressed, the inclination to in-

dependence and the possibility of separation from Byzantium naturally increased; this tendency forms one of the main features of Italian history, from the unsuccessful revolt of Eleutherios in 610 until the complete break with the East Roman supremacy introduced by Charles the Great in 781.

After the death of Agilulf, in 616, Adaloald, who had already been baptised into the Roman Catholic faith, ascended the throne as a minor, under the regency of his mother Theodelinda. To this period belongs the settlement of the disciples of the Irish monk Columba, who had been driven from his settlements in the Vosges by the lawless Brunhilda, and had taken refuge on the Bobbio with the permission

of Agilulf; in 628 they left the camp of the schismatics and went over to the papacy, with flying colours. In 626 Adaloald was overthrown, apparently for the reason that he had shown excessive favour to the Roman nationality, and his place was taken by Ariold (626-636), the husband of his sister, who was also a Catholic. He, however, was unable permanently to check the disrup-



THE FAMOUS IRON CROWN OF LOMBARDY

There is a tradition that this celebrated crown of Lombardy, deposited in the Cathedral of Monza, was made from nails used at the Crucifixion of Christ, and given to Constantine by his mother, the Empress Helena. Henry VII. was the first of the Italian kings who is known with any certainty to have worn it, in 1311. Charles V. was the last of the emperors who made use of it until Napoleon crowned himself with it.

tion of the Lombard kingdom, a process which was accelerated by the autonomous spirit of the dukes, and was partly due to the preponderance of Roman civilisation; in any case, the outward rest which Italy enjoyed upon the whole under the Exarch Isaac (625-643) and the Pope Honorius I. (625-638) in no way contributed to strengthen the Lombard position.

No Lombard revival occurred until the secular policy of the orthodox Curia suffered a severe defeat on June 17th, 653, when Pope Martin I. was deposed by imperial decree, as a result of the Monothelite quarrel. The revival was begun by King Rothari (636-652), who introduced a national advance in the second half of the seventh century by the severity of his attitude

towards the autonomous aspirations of the dukes in contrast with the more feeble policy of friendship with Rome. His organising spirit is evidenced by the decree of November 22nd, 643, which provided his subjects for the first time with the advantage of a legal code, though written in Latin. Immediately afterwards the Lombard attacks upon the remnants of the Byzantine supremacy were renewed with a success which implied a simultaneous strengthening of the government's dynastic power.

Rodoald, the son of Rothari (652-653), was succeeded by the Catholic Aripert, the cousin of Gundeburga; he reigned until 661, and his policy was marked by conciliation towards Rome. During the dissension between his sons Godepert and Perctarit, Duke Grimoald I. of Benevento secured the throne by murdering the former, expelling the latter, and marrying their sister. The national life then entered upon a real revival. Grimoald succeeded in uniting the Lombard districts in the north with those in Southern Italy, and thus formed a powerful kingdom with resources which almost doubled the achievements of Rothari.

Even the Emperor Constans was obliged, in 663, to renounce his project of driving the intruders from the old centre of the empire, and contented himself with the possession of Sicily. In consequence, Rome was deprived of her importance as the chief political town and capital for almost 1,207 years, while her ecclesiastical pre-eminence suffered a further blow from the action of Constans, who granted with equal readiness and shortsightedness an independent position to the Bishop of Ravenna. It must be said that the latter after no long time turned upon his patron; the increasing division between the Curia and the East had been extended between 606-741, notwithstanding the attempts at reunion and the efforts of thirteen Syrian or Greek Popes, for the Curia had been finally and inevitably driven by the emperor into the open arms of the Franks, and Ravenna gradually decayed and was unable to maintain its position alone.

At the same time the kingdom which had thus been vigorously held together by the iron grasp of Grimoald was broken up almost immediately after the death of the king, in 671. Romuald, the elder son, maintained, indeed, his position in the south as duke of Benevento, but in the north Perctarit, who had been formally expelled, drove out the young Garibald at the first onslaught. The grand-nephew of Theodelinda was in policy and in religion an adherent and supporter of the pacific policy of the Bavarian dynasty. During the last quarter of the seventh century the Catholic Church made great progress on account of the abandonment of the Monothelite position and the condemnation of the orthodox Pope Honorius in 681, which had facilitated a reconciliation between East and West, and the splendour of its progress benefited chiefly the Roman papacy. Arianism disappeared, and, even in the schismatic north-east corner,

gave way to the Roman Catholic system under King Kunibert (690-700).

The uniformity of religious belief now prevailing in Italy and the peace which had been concluded on the ground of mutual recognition between the Lombards on the one hand and the Curia and the empire on

the other, about the year 682, could not prevent the separation of Italy into a Lombard and non-Lombard portion. Within the jurisdiction of the Lombard kingdom the Roman nationality steadily decayed, notwithstanding the superiority of its civilisation; the Roman respect for law was overthrown by these colonists, and the idea of "abstract obedience" was replaced by the Lombard idea of unlimited freedom and the abandonment of all restraints. The desire of individuals to act as they pleased was a constant

What Freedom Meant to the Lombards obstacle to the foundation of real political freedom. The separatism of the south, which even at the present

day is clearly obvious beneath the outward union of Italy, may be attributed to the loose relations of the strong duchy of Benevento with the North Italian kingdom quite as reasonably as to the separation of the dioceses of Lower Italy, which were



QUEEN THEODELINDA'S CROWN

This famous crown of the queen of the Lombards, who reigned about 600, is in the treasury of the Castle of Monza. Theodelinda, who was a daughter of Garibald, the orthodox Duke of Bavaria, married King Authari.

inclined to Byzantium, a movement certainly promoted by the ruling classes.

This partition of Italy into divisions of different character and different politics was materially supported by a change in the centre of power, which became gradually obvious, and is in close connection with the above-mentioned alienation of Western from Eastern Rome; this was the movement for freedom which was vigorously begun by Pope Sergius with the "quinisext" (the ecclesiastical assembly of Constantinople, which completed the fifth and sixth councils); the movement was, however, organised about the year 710 by Georgius of Ravenna.

The design simply aimed at bringing to an end the supremacy of Byzantium, which in many respects persisted only in name. This object would, no doubt, have been attained at a much earlier date had not inopportune resurrections of the Lombard attacks shown that the Byzantine protectorate was not only highly desirable, but at times absolutely necessary.

The fact that the Lombards resumed their plans of conquest after short pauses was due to the essential nature of their constitutional system; it was only by expansion over the country that the crown could maintain its position against the dukes, and the good understanding with the Curia was not likely to be impaired by slight aggressions, as the papacy was also working against the emperor, while from 726 the Iconoclastic quarrel added fresh fuel to the flames and formed another point of union between the Romans and the Lombards.

The Lombards were then ruled by King Liutprand (712-744); though his resources were limited, he was able to turn them to the best advantage, and showed great ability in increasing his power. He succeeded his father, the "Wise" Duke

Ansprand, who died after a short reign in the spring of 712. Liutprand was a second Grimoald in his policy of unification; during the struggles between the Curia and the imperial government he showed great cleverness in preserving the balance between these forces.

About 730 he helped to reduce Pope Gregory II. (715-731), who had made himself almost entirely independent, to the position of a supreme bishop of the Church, using, on the one hand, the exarch for the

humiliation of Spoleto and Benevento, while he also provided him, on the other hand, with sufficient occupation for his energies by promoting the autonomous tendencies in Central and Northern Italy.

The local governing powers (tribunes, etc), which had grown up in the meantime in such towns as had remained Roman, and which were indispensable to the further development of Italy in later years, could no longer be silenced after 730. Venice, moreover, now began to rise from entire unimportance, favoured as she was by her geographical position upon the lagoons and islands of the North-west Adriatic, under the government of a "dux," whose office was originally of Byzantine origin, but in the course of the eighth century gradually became dependent upon the choice of the Venetian fishermen and traders.

For about 150 years a kind of alliance had existed between the Lombards and the Franks, a traditional connection which was emphasised by the loyal friendship of Liutprand with the powerful mayor, Charles Martel; this connection was now exposed to a severe test. The Pope found that his conventions with the dukes of Spoleto and Benevento, who preserved their independent spirit though repeatedly subjugated, were an inadequate protection against the Lombard attacks, which were



THE CROSS OF KING AGILULF

A brother-in-law of King Authari, Agilulf forced his way from the ducal chair of Turin to the Lombard throne in 591. His reign lasted until his death, in 616. The cross is now preserved in the treasury of the Castle of Monza. A copper tablet, overlaid with gold, now in the Bargello at Florence, represents Agilulf surrounded by some of his lifeguards with clasped helmets and corselets of mail.

renewed notwithstanding the treaty of Terni in 742; as he could secure no help from East Rome he applied for assistance to the Frankish king, Pippin, from 752 onwards. The test proved too severe. Liutprand was succeeded by Hildebrand, and he again by Duke Ratchis of Friuli, before the expiration of the year 744; the friendliness to Rome of this latter monarch was replaced in June, 749, by the ruthless oppression of his brother Aistulf. It was this change which brought about the breach.

Evil Days for the Lombards

The new king, who had been in occupation of Ravenna since the summer of 751, had conceived the idea of shattering the Roman nationality to its very foundations, and thus drove the first nail into the coffin of the Lombard kingdom. The alliance between the Pope and the Franks had been prepared by the mission of Boniface and the appeals of Gregory III., though these had been fruitless (739-740); the accession of Pippin in 751 definitely secured the alliance, and even a united Lombard state could hardly have resisted these combined forces. The Frankish king was pledged by the agreements of Ponthion and Quierzy in 754 to restore the status quo ante, in other words, the frontier lines of 682; and when his mild remonstrances produced no effect upon Aistulf, Pippin crossed the Alps in person upon two occasions (754 and 756), defeated the Lombards, and forced them to restore Ravenna and the castles which they had previously conquered, though he did not urge a complete restoration of the territory taken before 749 by Liutprand and others from the Curia, or, more exactly, from the emperor. This, again, was a "barbarian" attack.

The promises made in the agreement of Quierzy were thus not entirely fulfilled. But the performance, though incomplete, produced a result of vast importance to later Italy; this was the valuable foundation of the States of the Church, which even now had become something more than an extended territorial estate, and offered a convenient basis for the further extension of the Pope's secular power. The Frankish king could never have conceived the idea of recovering the territories alienated from the East Roman ruler and placing them in the hands of

Extending the Pope's Power

imperial officials; what he had done was done merely to the glory of God and from his desire to serve the sacred chair. The fact that the occupant of this chair was subject to the supremacy of the empire, as the governor of the Roman duchy and as an imperial bishop; the fact, again, that he himself had been brought under the imperial authority by the Pope's gratitude, which conferred upon him in 754 the title of "patricius Romanorum"—these were matters which troubled Pippin not at all. Thus the movement for Italian freedom had won a further victory, and the separation of Rome from Byzantium had secured a highly promising recognition beyond the bounds of Italy. The interference of the chief secular power of Central Europe in Italian affairs soon grew stronger and was often repeated; but for centuries its work survived it in its creation of the Patrimony of Peter, a state within a state.

Aistulf suffered from the effects of the utter failure of his attempted policy of aggression only for a few weeks; he died in December, 756. His place was unexpectedly taken by that Ratchis who had renounced the crown seven and a half years previously, and had become a monk in Monte Cassino. Spoleto and Benevento immediately seized this welcome opportunity to break away from the kingdom, while in the north a powerful opposition king arose in the person of the Tuscan duke, Desiderius; these facts dictated the future policy of Ratchis, and while formerly a supporter of Rome, he was now forced to oppose the Pope and the Franks. On the other hand, the Curia had an easy task; it supported Desiderius when he made overtures to Rome, and secured from him a promise of the restoration of such imperial towns as had been left by the events of 756—Bologna, Imola, Faenza and Ferrara, Osimo, Ancona, and Humana—while he also undertook to secure the abdication of the monk king, who was now hard pressed.

As soon as he had secured the power, Desiderius revealed himself as a second Aistulf or Liutprand. He opened negotiations with Byzantium with the object of again reducing the excessive power of the Curia, while he declined to offer any prospect of a serious attempt to redeem his promises of restoration; at the same time the dilatory character of his diplo-



PAVIA: ONCE THE CAPITAL OF THE LOMBARDIC DOMINIONS

This ancient town, known to the Romans as Ticinum, was taken by Charlemagne in 774, and its historic university, which still stands, is said to have been founded by the great warrior in that year. It was at Pavia, centuries later, in 1525, that the great battle was fought which resulted in the defeat of the French and the capture of their king, Francis I., by the troops of the Emperor Charles V. The town was joined to the kingdom of Italy in 1859.

macy avoided any open breach with the dreaded Carolingians. However, about 763, through the intervention of Pippin, a peaceful recognition of the status quo was definitely secured. Thus the Frankish king had already been invited to arbitrate in the struggle for the supremacy of non-Lombard Italy waged by the emperor and Pope. Frankish friendship, moreover, proved a permanent possession, guaranteed as it was by the unanimity of orthodox faith in opposition to the iconoclasm of the East. This protectorate was continued during the following years, which saw a series of bloody struggles upon the several elections of the Popes; in spite of repeated attacks, the Lombard nationality was unable to exercise any material influence upon Roman affairs.

The comparative peace prevailing in Italy was significantly disturbed by the complications in the Frankish Empire which resulted in the death of Pippin on September 24th, 768. The confusion was initiated, as is often the case, by a woman. The queen-widow, Bertrada, married her son Charles to the daughter of the Lombard king, who had previously been crushed—she was called Desiderata, according to the *Vita Adalhardi*. The mother of Charles intended the marriage to make him brother-in-law of Tassilo, the refrac-

tory Duke of Bavaria. It was only to be expected that this remarkable change of Frankish policy should produce a revival of the Lombard claims. For the moment, indeed, Desiderius, under the pressure of necessity, displayed a friendly attitude towards the Frankish alliance with the Pope. The line of cleavage between these powers was not, however, definitely bridged by this alliance, and was widened by the open dissension of the two brothers, Charles and Carloman, in the middle of 771.

After the death of the latter, on December 4th, Charles took possession of the other half of the empire on the Italian side, and the widow Gerberga saw no alternative before her but an appeal to Desiderius to protect her children who had been deprived of their inheritance. The materials for a conflagration were completed by Charles' divorce of his Lombard wife, which coincided in date, and was no doubt in practical connection, with these events; he married Hildegard, a Swabian of noble birth. The restoration of the Roman towns, proposed and actually begun by Bertrada, soon came to an end. Faenza, Ferrara, and Comacchio remained in Lombard hands; and in declared hostility against his revolted son-in-law, the Lombard king advised Pope Hadrian I. to crown the sons of Carloman in 773.

Negotiations were opened, and papal expostulations passed continually between Charles and Desiderius; but all efforts proved fruitless, and the expedition to Italy began in the same year. By the

autumn, the Franks were in front of Pavia, the strongly fortified capital. Thence, at the end of March, 774, Charles betook himself for the first time to Rome, where the Easter festival was celebrated, and the "promissio" of Pippin was solemnly received; the frontier delimitation was conducted upon principles characteristic of the age, in a general and very indefinite manner, and the Curia was thus enabled to prove from it a "Donation" of the most extensive kind. Pavia fell at the beginning of June, and Desiderius, with his wife and daughter, was taken prisoner by the Franks. Such was the end of the Lombard kingdom.

The Lombard nationality, however, was by no means expelled from Italy. The Crown Prince Adelgis, who had been co-regent with his father from 759, had fled from Verona to Byzantium, but the Dukes of Friuli, Chiusi, Benevento and Spoleto continued to hold out, the last-named being for a time dependent upon the Pope. Nor were any bounds placed for the moment to the extent of the foreign supremacy. From the year 774 onwards Charles was simply the heir and successor of Desiderius, and the immediate representative of the Lombard dynasty. The name of the nation which occupied the throne had changed; the "barbarian" intruder was there as before.

There was, however, one essential difference in the situation—the Franks were compelled to interfere in Italian affairs, whereas this power of interference had formerly been the special object of the Lombards. It may also be asserted that even after the thorough and conscientious execution of those tasks which Pippin's promises had laid upon his great

Relations of Pope and Emperor

son there existed at the moment no clear appreciation of the vast historical importance of the twofold supremacy which had been secured. There were two reasons to prevent such appreciation. In the first place, the relation of the Pope to the emperor and to the Archbishop of Ravenna was at that time but vaguely defined, and was, indeed, in process of transition. Many points were still uncertain, although the

general policy of separation from Byzantium had long been clearly perceived, and had been reinforced and pursued by the efforts of the Franks to emphasise their own independence.

Considerable doubt also existed concerning the extent of the territorial claims and rights which the Curia might raise to districts that had now come under Frankish supremacy. It is obvious that this question contained the germs of much future dissension between the Pope and his previous protector, who had now become a neighbour, with interests of his own. On the other hand, Charles must not be too hastily credited with fixed aims or a comprehensive policy. He was a great conqueror, because he never shrank from any opportunity of extending his frontiers, and was always able to cope vigorously with the new obligations to which he thus laid himself open. He was, however, also obliged to consider the circumstances in which he found himself, and he had no prophetic expectation of those vast consequences which might result from the alliance that

he had set on foot between the **Charles' Great Task of Reconstruction** Roman patricius, the Italian king, and the monarch of Central Europe. From this point of view his acquisition of the Roman imperial crown must be regarded and understood.

In the autumn of 780 Charles undertook his second journey to Rome after a temporary reorganisation of the affairs of Upper Italy. The task of reconstruction was advanced in the famous capital about the middle of April, 781 (Easter), and the eldest son of Charles, Pippin, who had been "crowned" with his younger brother Louis, was given the government of the subjugated territory, with a court of his own and a special administration at Pavia. He is commemorated by a fresco of more than life size, which still survives in San Zeno Maggiore at Verona. At the same time the frontiers of this kingdom, which was almost independent, were arranged upon the principle of 682, though including the patrimonium of the Sabine country which had been occupied under Liutprand. The hopes which the Curia had vainly cherished for twenty-seven years were thus at length fulfilled; at the same time the vague, and therefore unlimited, claims which it had advanced shortly after 774 were

more closely limited by these arrangements. The settlement of relations with the Byzantine south was a matter of much greater difficulty. As, however, the East Roman Empire, which was then in the hands of the Athenian Irene, had abandoned the policy of the great Isaurian Leo III., the solution proved surprisingly simple, or, in other words, unexpectedly peaceful; at any rate, the ambassadors of the empress offered no objection to the complete and absolute occupation of the Lombard possessions by the Frank power. The "liberation" of Italy, begun in 619, was now completed. Connected with the process, though the connection was not expressly stated, was the actual recognition of the separation of the papal states from the imperial federation. In another direction the East and West were brought together, though Charles himself stood apart with reference to doctrinal questions raised by the decree

**Italy
in Three
Parts**

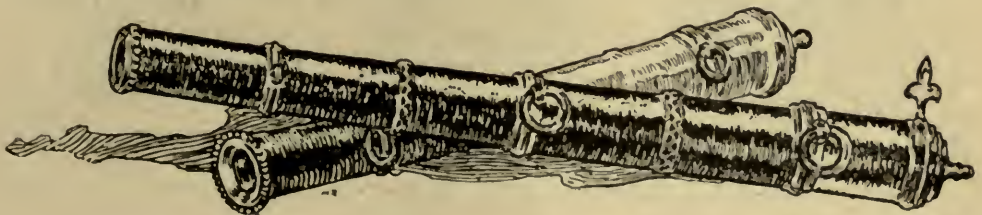
concerning the veneration of images issued by the Council of Nicea in 787. Thus the old division of Italy into three parts—the Lombard, or Frankish, province, the Patrimony of Peter, and the isolated south—had been preserved; the archbishopric of Ravenna was allowed by Charles to lapse. There appeared, however, a new phenomenon, which has never been duly appreciated, and requires careful consideration; the papal states are henceforward an independent and no longer a vassal power—protected, indeed, by the Frankish kings, but manifesting their independence in charters, coinage, etc. It is obvious, of course, that they retained this position only during the transition period of the twenty years from 781 to 800, when the supremacy of East Rome had been overthrown, and no equivalent compensation had been secured by the creation of a West Rome. From this point of view the coronation of Charles by Leo must be regarded as a backward step, an impolitic movement, or, better, a confession of weakness, which was the inex-

orable result of the submission of the Roman bishop to emperors who regarded their dignity seriously. The pontificate of Hadrian (772-795) must from this point of view be regarded as a culminating moment in the history of the papacy.

Even at that time, however, the Curia had become conscious of a certain inadequacy in its power, as appears during the third visit of Charles to Rome at the outset of 787, when Hadrian attempted to induce the Frankish king to turn his military power against Arichis of Benevento, who had fortified Salerno, but was entirely loyal in other respects; the result was his subjugation and the surrender of important points to the states of the Church. At Easter Charles carried to its necessary conclusion the breach with Irene which had been sealed by the Council of Nicea, abandoning his consideration for the East, and "granting the restoration" of the southern patrimonies to the Pope.

In the following year the Carolingian also abandoned an attempt to include Southern Italy in his world-wide political schemes. The dual throne of Benevento, which had been vacated by the death of Arichis on August 26th, 787, was given to the heir, Grimoald, upon his recognition of the Frankish supremacy. Charles did not even insist upon the actual performance of the conditions imposed upon Grimoald's father, and thereby crushed for the moment the germs of a possible alliance between the remnants of the Lombards and Byzantium, which was thirsting for vengeance. His Italian dominions were further secured by the overthrow of Tassilo and the incorporation of Bavaria in 788, which made the most valuable Alpine passes available as Frankish lines of communication. At the same time the kingdom of the Avars, which had long been threatening the north-east of Italy, was crushed and destroyed by King Pippin, upon whom this task was imposed for geographical reasons (791-796 and 803).

H. F. HELMOLT





KINGS OF THE FRANKISH DOMINION FROM 511 TILL 737



RISE OF THE FRANKISH DOMINION FROM THE GREAT CLOVIS TO CHARLEMAGNE

ABOUT the time when the petty Teutonic tribes of the Continent were permanently amalgamating in alliance with larger nationalities the Franks appeared in the whole of the Lower Rhine districts. In the second half of the third century they were known to the Romans by this name. That the appellation was intended to distinguish the peoples it denoted as being "free," compared with those within the Roman provinces on the left bank of the Rhine, seems improbable; it is more likely that the title, as among the Saxons and others, was adopted from some military weapon, and only at a later period became the designation of the dominant people of the Franks, and also an honourable appellation. The chief nations which formed the Frankish federation were the Chatti, Chattuari, Chamavi, Sigambri, Bructeri, Ambsiwari, Canninefates,

Nations in the Frankish Federation

Kugerni and Batavi; the last, a fragment of the earlier federation of the Chatti, had previously migrated to the district at the mouth of the Rhine. Thus the north and south extremes of the federation appeared as closely related.

In the case of individual nationalities, the royal family is invariably retained; a purposeful and vigorous federal policy is called forth only by the necessities of some important war with the Romans. At other periods raids are made by individual tribes, or rather by enterprising bands sent out by the tribes, and for this reason the tribal names are preserved by the Romans throughout the fourth century. After that period they disappear behind the general name, Frank. The individual tribes become Frankish districts, which remain independent military communities, with their own royal families, developing their legal rights in isolation. Among the Chamavi, a traditional right of this kind retained its force for centuries, long after one reigning tribal family, that

of the Merovingians, had secured the domination of all the remaining Franks, and an equalisation of constitutional rights had been secured, at any rate among the two larger groups. These two groups formed a transition stage on the road

Where the "Sea Franks" Got Their Name

to a uniform constitutional system, and were provided by that general amalgamation of tribes into federations, of which we have spoken above; these groups appeared as the Ribuarii and Salii. The connection of the Salic Franks with Saal, Salland, Salhof, Salweide, is not very striking in view of the strong contrast between the Franks on the shores of the Rhine and the "sea Franks," while the latter branch may be shown, philologically, to have gained their name from the word "Salhund," meaning a "sea-dog." It has also been urged, and perhaps correctly, that the most southward, or Upper Franks, who advanced their settlements beyond the Moselle and later to the Main and beyond the Neckar, should not be included among the Ribuarii. In that case the great people of the Chatti would form a special group in the federation, side by side with the two above-mentioned. Questions of this nature must, however, remain open.

The empire often fought against the Franks with military success, and the name of Julian was as terrible to them as to the Alamanni, but these wars did not produce permanent peace. Moreover, the Romans were enabled, by the loose

The Clever Game of the Romans

composition of the federation, to play off one tribe against another, and to take discontented nobles with their followings into their own service. As regents of the empire, Arbogast, himself a Frank, and Stilicho repelled the Franks by force.

When, however, Stilicho was obliged to recall the troops from Britain and the Rhine to protect Italy against Alaric,

the Franks did not forthwith overrun Gaul; a settled peasant population, even at a stage when property ownership is undeveloped, must have more cogent reasons for abandoning their homes in a body than the possibility of exploiting a subject

**Traces of
the Frankish
Advance**

population in new territory. It is more probable that they gradually spread into Gallic territory from their previous boundaries as the superfluous and enterprising elements of the population felt the need of migration, and preferred to make fresh settlements upon Gallic soil rather than open up fresh ground at home. Their occupation was carried out according to the usual economic forms; and the question must remain for the moment unsolved whether the Franks thus advancing left any of the Gallo-Roman population in the area of their new settlements. Hitherto the possibility is better attested by the existence of Frankish and also of Walloon laets, and by the fact that Latin documents are sealed with a Roman signet ring by King Childeric, than by the proofs which an examination of Frankish place names is supposed to yield. In any case the Frankish language was predominant in the districts immediately acquired.

The Upper or Chattian Franks advanced to the Moselle, Nahe, and Saale. After Aëtius had destroyed the Burgundian empire of Worms they also occupied this district; that final success of the Roman power upon the Rhine, if intended to intimidate the Franks, produced no permanent effect. This movement brought the Chattian Franks into competition with the Alamanni, who were also extending in that direction. Sooner or later the question would require an appeal to arms. The Ribuarii advanced over the districts of the Eifel to Trèves. At an earlier period the Salii had advanced from the old settlement of the Batavi to Toxandria into the land between the Scheldt and the Maas. Although the Romans were highly indignant at this "presumption," Julian

himself preferred to leave them undisturbed; it would certainly be wrong to say that they appeared in Julian's campaigns as the most distinguished of the Franks. After the year 400 they advanced by the Scheldt, on both banks, towards the Sambre and the "Kohlenwald," where the carboniferous strata appear on the northern slopes of the Ardennes—that is to say, nearly to the modern Franco-Belgian frontier.

About this period the federation as a whole possessed little importance; in the year 451 portions of the Franks fought both for and against Attila. The Salii were still under the royal families of their component nationalities. We observe, however, that as soon as the dark-

ness begins to recede in the course of the fifth century, the kingdom exercises a leading influence which grows clearer as the nationality extends in area and begins to pursue a definite foreign policy. In particular the Salian Merovingian family consciously turned to account the immediate neighbourhood of the Roman dominion, which still existed by the side of its own people in Gaul. The Merovingian king, Chlodio—a nickname derived from some more formal name which is not known—the first historical personality that emerges from the mists of epic and etymological



CLOVIS, THE EMPIRE FOUNDER
Regarded as the founder of the Frankish Empire, Clovis I. appeared on the scene in 481. In 486 he overthrew the power of Syagrius, added the territory of that ruler to his own, and vastly extended his own sway.

legend, extended his dominion at the beginning of the fifth century to the Somme from the districts which were still called after the former Belgian Tungri. It would be a mistake to estimate the culture or the character of the early Frankish kings by the scantiness and the barbarity of our sources of information, or to regard them as standing upon a lower level than Odoacer of the Visigoth kings.

**The Great
King
Clovis I.**

In 481 appears on the scene the king who is regarded as the founder of the Frankish Empire, familiarly known, through French sources, as Clovis, though more correctly as Chlodwig—i.e., Ludwig

or Lewis. The general trend of the policy of Clovis has often been examined; the dexterity with which he alternately planned to keep the balance between the amalgamation of the Teutonic and Roman populations and to keep the balance between them has often been pointed out. If our information for this period were as extensive as it is for later centuries, the prudent simplicity of Clovis' policy would probably vanish before the revelation of the many-sided and complicated relations which are usually maintained by established states, even when their civilisation is inferior to that of migrating nations. All that we can attempt to determine is the position as evidenced by the course of events. Clovis was a Teutonic and heathen ruler of a Franko-Salic district with a Gallo-Roman population. As long as the Gallo-Roman supremacy persisted as a state, and as inapplicable to certain parts of that population, many dangerous points of difference and unsettled questions must have arisen, even though the Gallo-Roman population considered that their prosperity

was advanced by the Teutonic ruler. In 486, the Merovingian overthrew the power of Syagrius, added the territory of that ruler to his own, and extended his power at first to the Seine, and afterwards over the whole district. Thus the whole of the Roman dominions in Gaul now became a Teutonic kingdom, and lost all connection with any foreign political centre, except possibly with the distant Byzantium; Ravenna was no longer in Roman hands. There was, therefore, no reason why Clovis should make haste to conciliate the orthodox Church, to which a considerably increased number of his subjects belonged. His history is by no means characterised by precipitate action, but rather by consideration and foresight. It was, however, in the nature of the case that he should be converted sooner or later, even as his father had worn the Roman signet ring. He had no inducement to remain an Arian, as his wife was a Catholic and his children were brought up in that faith. We shall also be correct in emphasising the fact, which has often been noted, that,



BAPTISM OF THE GREAT CLOVIS

The conversion of Clovis to the Roman Catholic Church, in 496, is said to have been due to the influence of his wife, who was a devoted member of that body and brought their children up in its faith. There were also various reasons why he should publicly associate himself with the Catholic Church, and these, no doubt, weighed with the prudent Clovis.

From the mural painting by Joseph Blanc in the Pantheon

as a Roman Catholic, Clovis would gain the adherence of a Frankish party among the Catholic subjects of the Arian Burgundians and Visigoths. Even if the fact had never occurred to him, it must have been brought to his mind by the congratulations of the Burgundian archbishop, Avitus of Vienne, on his baptism.

Clovis

**Converted by
His Wife**

It is said that his Catholic wife was the instrument of her husband's conversion. Had she been able to secure this result unaided, her efforts would certainly not have ceased until the kingdom had sent forth a mission to work among the Franks. But of this we hear nothing; when Clovis became a Christian, he was thinking of his Roman and not of his Frankish subjects. The conversion of his immediate followers was inevitable, as they were bound to follow their leader; the free people obeyed their own inclinations, and remained for the most part in heathenism.

The date of the conversion coincides with that of the first campaign against the Alamanni, in 496. This nation was now a uniform whole, under the king Gibuld, or Gebaud, which is nearly the same in the Alamannic phonetic system; the war was conducted by the Franks as a federal war, during which the king of the Ribuarii, Sigibert, received a wound in the knee which lamed him. The problem at stake was the general decision whether the Frankish federation or the people of the Alamanni should exercise supremacy in the east and north of Gaul and secure the lion's share in the appropriation of land. In the concluding campaign of 501 the Franks were victorious, and took care to destroy the prospects of the Alamanni for the future. To the advantage of the upper Frankish nationality of the Chatti, the Alamanni as a whole were driven behind the Lauter and Murg. To the south of that point they came under foreign supremacy;

**The Franks
in Roman
Territory**

numerous Frankish lords, especially in Alsace, had made good a settlement among the Alamannic tribal villages, in the manner in which the Franks had already settled in Roman territory; and by the side of these, much of the occupied lands remained reserved as Frankish state property.

The conflicts of Clovis with the Alamanni and the Burgundians are certainly connected as regards the forces which

were employed. The Burgundian war falls between the two campaigns against the Alamanni.

The Burgundians, after their settlement in Sabaudia by Aëtius, had, in 443, strengthened their position under King Gunjok, who was a member of the old royal tribe of the nation; and had gradually extended around the district of the Rhone. Upon the death of Gunjok, in 473, the leading royal family consisted of his three sons, Gundobad, Godegisel and Chilperic. In the last year of Gunjok's life, his son Gundobad governed in Italy as patricius, after the death of Ricimer. Thence he was speedily recalled home at the outset of a family feud between the rival brothers. After the fourth brother, Godomer, had been set aside at an earlier period, Gundobad killed Chilperic with the sword—according to the comparatively clear information provided by the epic poem—and extended his supremacy towards the Mediterranean, the settlement of the account between himself and Godegisel being deferred for the moment. The Catholic Church of the Roman inhabitants was

**Activity of
the Catholic
Church**

suffering under the oppression of the Arian Burgundians, and had the satisfaction of gradually invading the distracted royal family; for instance, it found a zealous champion in the wife of Clovis, a daughter of Chilperic, whose two brothers Gundobad is also said to have supplanted. When Clovis himself became a Catholic Christian, and discovered speedily afterwards the Frankish interest that existed among the Roman subjects of the Burgundians, the natural result was an informal compact between the royal family and Catholicism, and a certain rivalry in this direction, in which the conflicting brothers strove to outstrip one another. Godegisel requested King Clovis to interfere on his behalf in 500. Gundobad was beaten at Dijon and forced to retire to Avignon.

At that moment, however, Clovis suddenly broke off hostilities, and turned upon the Alamanni, who had not been definitely defeated, and now completed their destruction. Godegisel was abandoned and executed, when Gundobad seized Vienne; the latter, until his death, in 516, reigned as the sole king of the Burgundians, issued important laws, and strove by improving the organisation of his kingdom and his relations with

Catholicism and the Merovingians, to avert the grievous dangers that had threatened his rule.

The descendants of Clovis had turned to excellent account the disappearance of Theoderic's defensive policy and the annihilation of the East Teutonic tribes on the Danube. If their attempt to gain a footing in Italy failed, the absorption of the Central European territories into the Frankish kingdom would continue as before, with less to impede it.

Long before, the Hermunduri had advanced from the river district of the Elbe to that of the Main, whence they had maintained friendly relations for the most part with the Romans, though they passed through severe struggles with their western neighbours, the Chatti. The general migration of the second century pushed the Hermunduri forward to the Danube frontier and the "*Limes*." The forward movement of the Alamanni and Burgundians then cut them off from contact with the Romans; they disappeared from the view of Roman or of modern historians, and their existence is

unfortunately buried for us in the forests of Central Germany. There is no doubt that the Düringe, or Thuringians, are connected with them; these people appeared within the neighbouring sphere of Frankish history after the fifth century, though at first only in the dim light of epic tradition. Thuringi were also to be found on the left of the Lower Rhine among the Franks, and these must no doubt be regarded as emigrants from the main body. This formed at that time a considerable kingdom under one dynasty, extending from the Harz to beyond the Main. After a long period of cautious friendship, the sons of Clovis proceeded to wage the same decisive warfare against the Thuringians with which their father had attacked the Alamanni; they were at the same time helped by the struggles of kinsmen within the royal house, such as had previously favoured intervention. In alliance with the Saxons they destroyed the Thuringian kingdom in 531, and pursued their triumph as thoroughly as Clovis had done in the case of the Alamanni. The Frankish settlements were advanced along the Main to the heights which form the Thuringian forest; and such Thuringian tribes as were living to the north of the Rennstieg were made

dependent and tributary. For the future history of Germany it was a highly important fact that the triumphant Frankish Empire proceeded to expand eastward, and that its extended supremacy in German districts was united with a system of Frankish colonisation. This conquest could never have been achieved by the

Franks and Saxons in Alliance

Franks, except with the help and alliance of a people whom they would obviously have to fight for eventual supremacy, the Saxons. These latter, as the price of victory, received the land from the Unstrut to the Saale and Elbe; they made the inhabitants tributary, reducing them to the position of vassals, themselves occupying that of overlords. For the moment the Merovingians could afford to defer the impending struggle for supremacy. The strong conservatism of these Low German populations had hitherto declined to allow any one tribal family to secure political preponderance over the rest, such as might be secured through the leadership of a close federation or an over-kingdom of Saxony. Nor did anything of the kind develop in the future. On the contrary, the aristocracy of the noble tribes, retaining their equality, were able to increase their prestige and to secure it by legal forms, usually in connection with questions of wergeld and marriage contracts; the old nobility of the other great peoples did not attain success, because they were broken down at a comparatively early date and fettered by the monarchy which arose in their midst.

This refusal to permit the rise of a strong individual leadership produced its natural consequence upon the federal policy of the Saxons; their federation, which was great, and upon occasion powerful, was inclined to avoid collision elsewhere, interfered but little in the affairs of other Teutonic alliances, and confined offensive operations against the Franks to petty wars, which produced no result and were feebly conducted, until the final and long delayed struggle was eventually forced upon them by the decision of Charles the Great.

Wave of Advancing Slavs

Together with the Thuringians, or as a result of their defeat, a number of other racial fragments came under the supremacy of the Franks. These had settled down as dependents of the Thuringians between them and the wave of Slavs advancing

from the east; they included fragments of the Angles, who formerly inhabited the peninsula of Jütland, and took an important share in the migration to Britain. There were also the Wareni, or Wereni, or Varini, who were ruled by their own kings as late as the time of Theoderic; they were a fragment of that considerable

**Peoples
Who Colonised
Britain**

people formerly settled on the Baltic and driven away by the Slavs, who also took some share in the colonisation of Britain. Under the Frankish supremacy both were considered as forming part of the Thuringians, though down to the time of Charles the Great they retained separate legal codes. As the Angles and the Varini migrated simultaneously from the neighbouring districts in the north, it is not surprising that under Carolingian sway these two codes were united in one, which held good in the Thuringian districts of Engli and Werinofeld; the less so, as these two peoples had been neighbours for centuries in Central Germany.

At the point where these Angles and Varini were settled, and, in fact, everywhere to the east of the old Thuringian districts, settlements were thus lying vacant for homeless peoples—we also find Frisians in the district of Friesenfeld—for the reason that these districts were menaced by the advances of the Slavs. Similarly the “Helvetian Desert,” though not occupied by the Teutons, had formerly attracted and retained such Kelts as, in the words of Tacitus, had been made desperate by necessity. Thus the Saxons, who had turned to the Eastern Harz after the destruction of the Thuringian kingdom, may not have felt themselves entirely comfortable. When the Lombards started to Italy, an independent band of Saxons, said to be more than 20,000 strong, accompanied them. A gap was thus formed on the Slav frontier, and this the Frankish governor hastened to stop

**The Smart
Policy of
the Franks**

with Swabian settlers—that is, North German Suevi, not of the Alamannic tribe—who were given the districts of the Bode and the Dipper for colonisation. This information suggests that the cession to the allied Saxons of territory from the East Harz to the Elbe in 531 may have been a clever piece of far-sighted Frankish policy, intended to form a barrier against the Slavs. The existence of a mediæval “Hassingau” also points to

the settlement of Hessian colonists on the Lower Saale. The Saxons who had marched to Italy were unable to acquiesce in the necessity of becoming Lombards, as the Lombard legal code demanded; they were unwilling to abandon their national law and custom, as the continued preservation of these implied national, if not political, independence at that date. This theory met with considerate and successful treatment from the Frankish conquerors. The Saxons therefore started out again in 572 and crossed Mount Genève to the Merovingian kingdom, at first with no settled plan, but in 573 with the object of recovering their old possessions on the Harz. They were given permission to march thither. The Hessians were so diminished in battle with the Suevi, who were first affected by the attempt of the emigrants to resume their lands, that at length both nationalities found the available land sufficient for their purposes.

In 531, shortly after the subjugation of the Thuringians, the Merovingians incorporated the Burgundian kingdom in their empire, also the district of the Alamanni, who were formerly under the protection of Theoderic at the moment when Witichis abandoned the Ostrogoth part of Gaul.

The Franks were now neighbours of the Baioarii, or Bavarians, and afterwards incorporated this nationality within their empire, towards the middle of the sixth century, apparently by peaceful methods. The family of the Agilolfings, which was equal in rank to the royal houses, and superior to the five other noble families of the Bavarian federation in respect of wergelds, retained, or thus acquired, the leadership of the Bavarian people; the latter alternative is the more probable. Possibly the Agilolfings were Franks transferred to this district. The Merovingians naturally could not permit the existence of other kings, and certainly of none with full governing powers in their own empire, beside themselves; hence the well-known Roman term *dux*, the title of the provincial military commander, which had been borne, for instance, by Alaric in Illyria, was employed in the comparatively similar case of Bavaria.

After the Lombards had become masters on the plains of the Po, local differences and collisions began in the Alps between



AFTER THE DEFEAT OF THE SARACENS: CHARLES MARTEL ENTERING PARIS

Mayor of the palace to the Frankish king of Austrasia, succeeding his father, Pippin, in the office, Charles Martel fought successfully against the Frisians, Saxons, Bavarians, and Alamanni. All these victories, however, were eclipsed by his great triumph over the Saracens, whom he utterly routed in the hard-fought battle of Tours in 732. This victory saved Western Europe from the Moslem domination, which was then imminent. Martel, as represented in this illustration of the event, received an enthusiastic welcome when he entered Paris after the epoch-making battle.

themselves and the grandsons of Clovis, which eventually became lengthy wars, under the continued impulse of Byzantine diplomacy and money expended in subsidising the Franks. On the Frankish side the struggle is marked by an effort to extend their territory to the Italian mountains, while the Lombards were

The New Masters of Italy anxious to appear as the heirs of the Ostrogoths, and to secure their former supremacy in Southern Gaul. At the same time the Franks and Lombards did not respectively determine the destinies of the Teutonic world, as Clovis and Theoderic had once done; nor did the new masters of Italy, who were not yet in full occupation of the country, and had difficulty in making head against Byzantium, attempt to follow any imperial policy in Western or Central Europe. The old friends of the Lombards, the Bavarians, had gone over to their side, notwithstanding their inclusion in the Frankish monarchy. After some attacks of the Franks, which seem to have been delivered with greater vigour, these campaigns ended in the year 590. The Merovingians gave up their attempts to secure influence in Italy, which they had continued for more than half a century at various intervals, and refrained on their side from interference with the Lombards in Southern Gaul.

The indecision of the Italian policy of the Franks, the loose connection of the Bavarians with the Frankish Empire, and other indications of decay, are to be explained by that cause which acted as a disruptive, or weakening influence upon the Teutonic empires in general—namely, the family struggles within the reigning dynasties; these invariably revived upon every question of policy or other pretext, and the special course which they ran among the Merovingians will justify reference to them as the struggles of Brunhilde and Fredegunde.

Rise of the Frankish Nobility The most important result of these struggles is the rise of the new Frankish nobility. Clovis had thoroughly exterminated the old noble families. Thus the Franks of the Merovingian period surprise our constitutional historians by the fact that, in contrast with the Alamanni, the Bavarians, or the Saxons, they possessed no aristocracy or nobility standing immediately below the crown. The new

aristocracy was one of service, and arose among the superior secular and ecclesiastical officials. Distinguished from these was the Mayor of the Palace, whose office originally represented the royal prerogatives which were derived from the *patria potestas* of early German society—a power exercised over followers and household servants, and now increased in proportion as that power had extended.

Among the Visigoths, Burgundians, and Anglo-Saxons the *major domus* never became more than a distinguished master of the household—the title is borrowed from the Roman official of that name, in accordance with the early German reluctance to form new words and titles from the native language. The Frankish mayor became the chief supervisory official and overseer both of the king's property and of all court and state offices. Eventually powerful "nobles" in the gradually increasing lands of the empire, such as Austrasia, Burgundy, and Neustria, which were enlarged despite the partitions and struggles of the Merovingians, made this important office a personal and family

Factors in the Fall of Brunhilde possession; they then speedily ceased to lead their vassals in the king's service, and began to use them as a weapon against him. This connection between the mayoralty and the rising aristocracy eventually led to the fall of Brunhilde.

Although the Merovingian royal house was never lacking in leading characters, this connection never allowed such leaders full access to sovereignty and administrative power; it was a connection prepared by Clovis and actually used by his descendants in conjunction with Roman conceptions of supremacy. The Teutonic communities of the Frankish people came into existence only during the military mobilisations held in different years, and were only occasionally concerned with political affairs, while the action of the Crown was restricted by a continuous and more or less constitutional co-operation of "nobles." Moreover, the nobility, as ruling aristocracies are ever particularist—for community of interests is destroyed by excess of unity—frustrated those opportunities which occurred for concentrating the dynastic government of the whole Frankish kingdom in one person.

It was not until the mayoral system grew sufficiently strong to pursue its own ambitions or dynastic purposes,

and to employ the military forces of the official nobility, notwithstanding their territorial and particularist tendencies, that the struggle began afresh for supreme power within the Frankish kingdom. In this struggle succumbed successively the Austrasian mayor, Grimoald, a son of the elder Pippin, and the Neustrian, Ebruin or Ebroin, the latter upon his first attempt. After Ebruin was murdered, in 681, at the moment of his success, the nephew of Grimoald and the grandson of Bishop Arnulf of Metz, upon his father's side, Pippin of Herstal, the major domus of Austrasia, became the mayor of the whole Frank Empire by his victory at Testri, near Peronne and St. Quentin, in 687. The kings of the Merovingian dynasty then became of no importance. Compared with the mayor of the palace, they occupied a position analogous to that which belonged after 934 to the caliphs of Bagdad, as compared with the Emir al-Omra, or to the Japanese Mikado before 1867, compared with the Shogun. After the victory of Testri there "reigned," in the words of the annals composed shortly after that event, the family of Arnulf and Pippin, united in the person of Pippin, which was afterwards known as Carolingian. Pippin began the task of incorporating the Frisians in the empire with greater determination than had been previously brought to the attempt. He also tried, by force of arms, to subjugate the alienated Alamanni; their dukes had risen from their position of officials to become national leaders in the wide sense of the term, and leaders of a nation which regarded itself as a special and independent race. The Frisians were among those Teuton tribes who had been most strongly influenced and utilised by the Romans,

and during the Carolingian period they displayed the greatest capacity of all the Germans for trade and manufacturing pursuits; their political and constitutional organisation remained, however, for centuries far removed from the characteristics of the old German institutions.

Though we cannot gain much information about their earlier history, we can yet see that, about 1300, their institutions

corresponded with those current in the past federal epochs of other nations, and were analogous to those of the Alamanni in the fourth century. The Folk, with its assemblies and its noble families, formed a unit of organisation. Every year at a special time, namely, in the spring—Whitsuntide was the season provided by Christianity, which was driving out or transforming the institutions of heathen priesthood—the general assembly of all Frisians met at Upstallsboom, near Aurich, and discussed the affairs of the federation and such matters as war and peace. The customary law of the Frisians was developed for the individual communities, and also for the whole of Friesland, by the legislative activity of the annual assembly. We have observed the process by which the Folk becomes a nation in the case of the Franks—Salii and Ribuarii—

and how it was carried out by pure geographical distribution among the Lombards—Austria and the Saxons—the Eastphalians, Angrians, and Westphalians.

The Frisians had been visited since the outset of the seventh century both by Franks and by missionaries. As among the Visigoths during the Dacian period, and afterwards among the Danes, or as, in the case of Catholicism, among the Burgundians, the missions had been largely supported by the political interests and



WARRIOR OF THE FIFTH CENTURY

This statue of a Frankish warrior, which stands in the Roman-German Museum at Mainz, was reconstructed from discoveries in burial places of the fifth to eighth centuries.

aims of individual nobles. After the middle of the seventh century Aldgild is known both as duke and as king of the Frisians in the annals which we owe to his influence; similarly Ratbod, who was afterwards conquered by Pippin at Wykte-Durstede, bore a Frankish title equivalent to that of duke, while his position must

Rivalries and Struggles of the Noble Tribes be regarded as equivalent to the ducal status among the Bavarians and Alamanni. The prospect of any general leadership of the Frisian nationality was, however, destroyed by the rivalry and the struggles of the noble tribes.

When the Carolingians occupied the position of king and had ceased to be merely higher officials, it was inevitable that they should absorb family rights as they exercised their authority and interfered in the struggles of relatives which thence arose. This process began immediately after the death of Pippin, and Charles Martel emerged victorious.

Although he was never able to consolidate the empire as a whole, his efforts were by no means fruitless, and his achievements were perhaps limited at the moment by the approach of a serious danger, the invasion of Frankish Gaul by the Spanish Arabs. The struggle against the Arabs was continued from 730 to 740, and was not definitely settled by the famous battle in 732 at Old Poitiers. The successful repulse of Islam from Central Europe not only proved the salvation of Western Christianity, of Roman civilisation revived by the Teutons, and of the general Indo-European character of the composite races in Europe, but also gave a considerable impulse to new developments. The necessity of keeping a standing cavalry force under arms in Southern Gaul for the long struggle with the Saracens stimulated the process of transforming the German military system in the direction of chivalry. Among the

Christianity Repulses Islam Frankish portions of the empire the transformation of the Teutonic army into a cavalry force was a process which had gradually pervaded the remaining tribes, though the Saxons and Frisians were least affected.

In spite of all the efforts and the imperial power which Charles the Great exerted to secure the direct administrative action of the state upon questions of government, all official duties and responsibilities committed to other hands

assumed a form of feudal dependence, and this the more easily, as the advance of agricultural progress involved the payment of all rewards in the form of arable ground and soil. The possession of offices, the capable management of surplus products, the continual entrance into some feudal relation of free men who wished to be relieved of their public duties or the difficulties of existence, the exemption of influential lords from the general duties of state administration, and the grant of judicial powers over their possessions and their people—these were all influences which steadily advanced the size and the independence of great territorial domains.

It was, however, the Church which turned its landed property to special account in acquiring administrative powers and lordship. She received far more extensive immunities than the laymen. She was not discouraged by any temporary decrease of possessions or power, such as took place when Charles Martel, finding large supplies necessary for the repulse of the Saracens, procured them by wide appropriation of Church property or of property which in popular ideas had long been regarded as subject to the Church. His sons agreed to return what they could. The Church, however, was able to make use of any opportunity.

About the time when the armies of the Austrasians and other Germans had saved the West from Mohammedanism, and during the following decade, the Frisians, the middle and the southern Germans, were largely won over to Christianity, and their districts subjected to Church organisation, by means of the missions of Anglo-Saxon and Frankish evangelists, and especially by the pioneer work of the Anglo-Saxon Winfried. The Teuton conceived of his Christianity as giving him membership in a greater community, wider than his own tribal district, or his most extended conception of the Folk, an idea which in the political world was to dawn upon him much more slowly. Nor was this the only common point of interest which bound the Frankish mayors of the palace to the Church and induced them to regard the universal claims of the Bishop of Rome, which Winfried invariably exalted above his own, as coincident with their own interests.

EDUARD HEYCK



THE EMPIRE OF CHARLEMAGNE IN THE DAYS OF ITS POWER AND GLORY

OF the two sons of Charles Martel who succeeded jointly to the position of mayor of the palace, Carloman shortly retired to a monastery, leaving Pippin—Pépin le Bref—at the head of the Frankish dominion. The only thing wanting to confirm the power of his predecessors within the Frankish Empire had been the title of king, which was something more than a trifle in the eyes of the people; Pippin determined to secure this title with the help of the ecclesiastical power.

The representatives of St. Peter in their little "Patrimonium" on the shores of the Tiber, with Rome as its capital, continually felt the pressure exerted by the Lombards, who from 568 had expelled the Byzantines from Italy after their Ostrogoth triumphs, though the Lombard want of a navy obliged them to leave the Byzantines in possession of Venice, the three islands of Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and of the southern point of Italy. Hence, as early as the time of Charles Martel, the Curia had conceived the plan of using the warlike Franks to crush the Lombards, who had grown enfeebled in the milder climate of Italy and by their contact with the moral degeneration of Roman culture. Upon the receipt of a secret missive from Stephen IV., Pippin invited the Pope to visit the Frankish Empire, and promised him a safe conduct through the Lombard territory. The two met at

Hereditary Monarchy Established

Ponthion, on the Marne, on January 6th, 745. Pippin was subsequently anointed as king at Soissons (July 25th) notwithstanding the representations of his brother Carloman. Pippin's two sons were anointed with himself. Thus the dignity which he had seized became a hereditary monarchy resting upon divine right, and the allegiance of the Franks to Pippin and his descendants became imperative. As early as 751, the nominal monarch, Childeric III., had been illegally deposed in the diet at Soissons and sent into a monastery.

The newly crowned monarch received the title of Patricius of the Romans—that is to say, protector of the Romans and of the Pope, and thus occupied a position which had hitherto been held by the East Roman emperor residing in Byzantium. In return, Pippin conducted two triumphant campaigns against the Lombard king, Aistulf, whom he forced to surrender the territory taken from the Pope. To the Pope was given, besides the exarchate of Ravenna and the Pentapolis, the whole of the coast line from the south of the Po to Ancona, without reference to the claims which Byzantium could lay to these last-named possessions.

The Donation of Pippin is the beginning of the later increase in the secular power of the Popes; their position largely distracted the interests of the occupants of this highest spiritual dignity from their ecclesiastical calling and involved them in secular partisanship and policies; at the same time it gave them some independence in their dealings with the great European powers, the petty princes of Italy, and the incorrigible insubordination of the Roman populace.

The Lombard kingdom remained for the moment independent; Aistulf, however, paid tribute, and the appointment of his successor, Desiderius, was subject to Frankish approval. Desiderius naturally joined Byzantium, the rights of which had been infringed equally with his own by the Franks; the independent lords of Beneventum and Spoleto turned for support to the Frankish Empire. It is obvious that in this state of affairs the Frankish ruler did not become dependent on the Pope, who required his protection against the Lombards, the Byzantines, the inhabitants of Rome, and the petty princes of Italy. It is clear that the Pope was rather depending upon the Franks, and this relationship served to increase the halo of religious sanctity surrounding the

kingship which the Frankish ruler had assumed.

Once in possession of this predominant position, which extended far beyond the limits of the Frankish Empire proper, Pippin had no difficulty in humiliating and subjugating refractory neighbours. Thus Aquitaine, over which many struggles had been fought, came permanently into his possession in 768; eleven years previously Duke Tassilo of Bavaria had taken the oath of allegiance. Only the free Saxons—who inhabited the right bank of the Rhine to the Lower Elbe, divided into four groups of West- and East-Phalians, Angrians and North Albingians—were able to maintain their old faith and possessions, though obliged to make certain payments of tribute. The unity of this extended empire was expressed in the partition which Pippin carried out before his death, on September 24th, 768. His two sons, Charles and Carloman, received districts containing a mixed population of Teutonic and Romance elements under conditions presupposing the common government of the whole.

These careful beginnings of the comprehensive empire which Pippin had secured were steadily extended by his son Charles the Great, or Charlemagne; the coping-stone of the whole fabric was the imperial dignity and the succession to the position of the Cæsars in ancient Rome, united with a right of protectorate over the whole of Christianity. The first step was the subjection of all Teutonic peoples who still retained their independence of the Frankish Empire. The most dangerous enemies were the heathen Saxons, and the task

of conquering this nationality was the more difficult for the reason that it was necessary to subjugate one tribal district after another, and that every failure inspired a revolt, which ran through every canton of the three tribes, as far as the frontier of the Eider in Nordalbingia. Hence the final subjugation and conversion to Christianity of this last bulwark of the old Teutonic freedom was a process extending over some thirty years—772 to 804.

As early as 777, at the diet of Paderborn, after two unsuccessful battles, the Saxon chiefs had offered their submission, undertaking to forfeit their freedom and possessions if they disavowed the Christian faith or broke away from their fidelity to Charles, his sons, and the Franks. The most bitter enemy of the Franks was Widukind, who had been appointed duke by the general assembly at Marklo on the Weser; he escaped the obligation of this agreement, and of baptism, by a flight into the Danish land across the Eider. While Charles was fighting in Spain against the Arab Omayyads in 778, the revolt broke out afresh. Under the leadership of Widukind the rebels advanced to the Rhine, supported by the Danes and Frisians, devastating Thuringia and Hesse and destroying the Christian colonies. In 780 they were reconquered as far as the Elbe, and their land was divided into countries according to the Frankish method, native magnates being appointed counts. At the memorable assembly of



PIPPIN THE FIRST KING

Succeeding his father, Charles Martel, at the head of the Frankish dominion, Pippin at once set himself to secure the title of King, which had not been held by his predecessors. He gained his end, being anointed at Soissons.



THE LAST MEROVINGIAN KING

Though Childeric was the nominal monarch of the Frankish dominion, the reins of government were in the hands of Pippin. The Pope decided that the man who actually ruled should sit on the throne. Childeric was, therefore, deposed in 752, and sent into a monastery.

Lippspringe in 782, Christianity was imposed upon them by strict legislation. Forcible entry into Christian churches, disregard

of Christian fasts, or the murder of the clergy, were made punishable with death. Upon their baptism, the Saxons were to forsake the devil and the heathen gods—in the opinion of the Church the latter were the tools of the devil—and to acknowledge the Trinity in Unity. The pacification seemed so far complete that in 782 Charles made a levy of his new subjects to complete his expedition against the Wendish Sorbs on the Saale. The Saxons, however, attacked the Franks on the march at Süntel, between Hanover and Hamlyn, and defeated them. Charles took a cruel revenge, executing his Saxon prisoners, who are reported to have been 4,500 in number, at Verden on the Aller; this was the signal for a general revolt, but the victories of Charles at Detmold and on the Hasa in 783 finally secured the success of Christianity in Saxony. The leaders and all the nobles were baptised, including Widukind and his comrade Abbio, at Attigny, in 785.

The newly subjected territory was now divided into the episcopal sees of Halberstadt, Paderborn, Minden, Münster, Osnabrück, Verden, and Bremen. The system of tithes was introduced and the Frankish system of military service imposed upon the Saxons. Once again—792 and following years—irritation against these two latter innovations ended in a rebellion, which was punished by the transportation of 10,000 Saxon families to the Frankish Empire; in the lands thus left vacant Frankish colonists were settled. In this way the strength of the old race was broken. The supposed "peace of Salz," concluded in 803, on the Frankish Saale, cannot be proved by documentary evidence.

The religious character of these long wars was outwardly indicated by the presence of missionaries and of the relics of the saints with the armies. The Christian "message of peace" was introduced by armed force and bloody persecutions, methods repeated 900 years later in the Huguenot wars under Louis XIV. These methods, however, were in complete accord with the arbitrary spirit of the times. The work of conversion was

soon firmly founded, and the execution of the more stringent laws could afterwards be abandoned. Christianity became the pioneer of civilisation, and upon the economic side the Saxon territory was improved by the careful cultivation of the ecclesiastical domains.

The hold which Christian life and thought had gained even upon the lower classes is shown by the gospel harmony of the "Heliand" composed about 830 by a Saxon peasant, a poetical idealisation of the work of Christ, based upon the Bible narrative. On the other hand, no religious interests influenced the wars by which Charles forced the Lombards, Bavarians, Danes, Wends, and Avars either to become incorporated with his empire or to recog-

nise his supremacy. The campaign in Spain was inspired only by the desire to secure the Frankish frontier against a repetition of the Moorish invasion. For this purpose Charles fought in alliance with the Arab king of Saragossa against his enemy the caliph Abd ur-Rahman—a Christian thus uniting with an unbeliever, as, during the Crusades, the Knights Templars occasionally helped the Mohammedans against their co-religionists.



THE GREAT CHARLEMAGNE

This illustration, taken from the painting by Albert Dürer, in 1510, represents the great Charlemagne in the coronation robes of a German emperor of that period.



CHARLEMAGNE RECEIVING THE SUBMISSION OF WIDUKIND

When Charles the Great, better known as Charlemagne, succeeded his father, Pippin, on the throne, he set himself to subjugate all the Teutonic peoples who still retained their independence of the Frankish Empire. One of the bitterest of these enemies was Widukind, who led a revolt while Charlemagne was fighting in Spain, and, supported by the Danes and Frisians, devastated Thuringia and Hesse and destroyed the Christian colonies. Widukind, however, finally yielded to Charlemagne's power, and, adopting Christianity, which had been imposed by legislation, was baptised in 785.

The destruction of the Frankish rear-guard in the valley of Roncevalles, the historical nucleus of the "Chanson de Roland," was due to the Basque mountaineers and not to the Arabs, who, however, availed themselves of this defeat to regain the territory conquered by Charles.

The Frankish monarch and the papacy also stood in close alliance, even in cases where matters of European policy were concerned rather than ecclesiastical and religious questions. It was to this alliance that the Lombard kingdom fell a victim in 774. Desiderius had renewed his attacks upon the papal possessions, and had, moreover, entered into close relations with Charles' brother Carloman and his family, who were hostile to the emperor.

Desiderius had recognised the two sons of Carloman, who were not yet of age, as Frankish kings after their father's death, in 771. The family dissension thus threatened was averted by the

premature death of Carloman, upon which Charles was appointed sole ruler by a decree of the national assembly, and the nephews were passed over. None the less, after a victorious campaign, Charles put an end to the independence of the Lombard state, was crowned at Milan, divided the conquered territory into counties, and introduced the judicial and military organisation of the Frankish Empire. Desiderius was sent into a monastery, the usual fate of troublesome competitors in that age. Charles thereupon hastened to Rome to take part in the Easter festivals of April 3rd, 774; he was received in solemn procession and concluded an alliance of friendship with Pope Hadrian at the tomb of the Apostle Peter. There is no doubt he then renewed the Donation made by his father; it is, however, more than doubtful whether, as a papal record asserts, he conferred Parma, Mantua, Reggio, Venice, Spoleto, and Corsica upon the papal chair as fiefs. Of



ROLAND, THE HERO OF THE NATIONAL EPIC OF FRANCE

A nephew of Charlemagne and the greatest of his paladins, Roland became the theme of legend and romance. On Charlemagne's return from Spain, Roland, commanding the rear-guard, fell into an ambushade in the defile of Roncevalles and perished with the flower of French chivalry. His fabulous sword remained unbroken after he had struck it ten times on a rock, and legend tells that he finally threw it into a poisoned stream.

these supposed grants Charles himself retained Spoleto after the conquest of the Lombard kingdom. Even though these and other districts were declared papal possessions by a decree of Louis the Pious in the year 817, the points at issue were then claims and desires rather than actual rights of practical possession.

We find the king and Pope agreed upon the desirability of overthrowing Tassilo, the last Bavarian duke. He had renewed his old oath of allegiance and had given hostages, but was administering his territory from the Lech to the Enns as an independent prince. Charters were dated by the years of his reign and he had appointed his son to succeed him. In the year 787 negotiations took place in Rome between his ambassadors and those of Charles, though the latter were not given full powers to treat.

The Pope threatened the duke with excommunication if he broke his faith. Upon the complaint of certain treacherous Bavarians that Tassilo had joined Charles' enemies—the Avars, who were collected at the Theiss—the duke was condemned to death in the

following year by the imperial diet at Ingelheim, though Charles commuted his sentence to confinement in the monastery of St. Goar. Bavaria was united with Franconia; the limits of the empire were extended to the Saale and the Wilzes in Pomerania, the East Mark, Austria, thus becoming the frontier against the Avars, and the Mark of Brandenburg securing the empire against the Slav Sorbs. The territory taken from the Avars, from the Enns to the Raba, was given up to Frankish colonists, and Christianity in the Danube district was revived by the foundation of the Archbishopric of Salzburg.

Charles had many opportunities for using his position as protector of the papacy after the accession to that dignity of Leo III. on December 26th, 795. Leo sent the banner of the city of Rome and the keys of St. Peter's tomb to the Frankish king, while Charles used the protectorate thus given to him by advising the Pope to follow the canonical rules and to avoid simony. In the year 799 there broke out against Leo a popular revolt which was instigated by his immediate relations. The threatened Pope fled to Charles, and



ANOINTING THE YOUTHFUL CHARLES THE GREAT AS KING OF THE FRANKS

From the painting by Schpörr von Carlsfeld at Munich

was brought back to Rome by force of arms. Before Christmas, in the year 800, Charles held a court at Rome to decide between the Pope and his opponents. The latter did not venture to bring any proof of their accusations, while the former swore to his innocence; and at his request his opponents, who had been condemned to death, were punished only with exile. On December 25th Charles was crowned emperor in the church of St. Peter; the matter had been previously discussed, but was carried out in a form distasteful to him, as it seemed to confer too large a measure of independence upon the Pope, who required his help, though upon this occasion the Pope himself bent the knee before the ruler of Christianity.

Thus the political unity of the nations of Europe had received the blessing of the Church, for Charles' empire included the countries from the Pyrenees to the North Sea and from the Eider to the Apennines. Disregarding the claims of Byzantium to the title of Roman Empire, the Frankish monarch now ruled as the successor of the Cæsars. His relations with Byzantium were already strained,

and this tension, accentuated by dogmatic quarrels and the division of the Greek Church from the Roman, would no doubt have led to an appeal to arms had not the military weakness and dissensions of the Byzantine Empire forced the authorities to compliance. For a time the project was even entertained of a marriage between Charles, who was nearly sixty years of age, and the Empress Irene. Charles also asserted his superiority over the Eastern Empire by his arbitrary interference in the lengthy quarrel concerning the adoration of pictures. An assembly of Frankish bishops at Frankfort declared in 794 against this practice, the resumption

of which had been ordered by the Empress Irene. He also wounded the pride of the Byzantines in 799 when he received the keys of the Holy Sepulchre and of the city of Jerusalem from the patriarch, thus coming forward as protector of the Holy Land. This fact in no way disturbed the friendly character of his relations with the Abbasid caliph, Harun al Raschid, who kept peace with the patriarch. In 811 Byzantium was obliged to recognise the imperial supremacy of Charles, and received Venice as the price.

The last decade of Charles' reign was disturbed, apart from some frontier wars, only by a dangerous

invasion of the Danish ruler Gottfried, who made a triumphant advance with a large fleet on the Frisian coast and threatened with destruction the Christian colonies in the north of Germany. As no fleet of war existed, the chastisement of this enemy was out of the question, and the danger was averted only by Gottfried's murder in 810. The east and south frontiers of the empire were, however, firmly de-



CROWN OF THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

This symbol of royal power, known as the Crown of Charlemagne, or the Crown of the Holy Roman Empire, is in the Treasury at Vienna.

fended by the Marks, under the command of warlike counts. These were: the East Mark, protecting Thuringia and Franconia against the Avars, Sorbs and Bohemians; and in the south the Spanish Mark, which was organised in the year 810 after the reconquest of the district between the Pyrenees and the Ebro. In the year 806 Charles divided his territory, according to the tradition of his house, among his three sons, Charles, Pippin and Louis, upon principles that secured the chief power to the eldest, and were intended to maintain a close federal alliance between the three parts of the empire. The death of the two eldest sons (810-811) overthrew these arrangements, and on September 11th,



THE CHARLEMAGNE STATUARY GROUP IN PARIS



CHARLEMAGNE ADDRESSING THE PRINCES OF THE STATES

813, Charles himself crowned his youngest son as emperor, without the assistance of the Pope, who was entirely subordinate to his will.

Charles had realised the idea of a Caesar-Pope—that is to say, the union of the secular and ecclesiastical powers; in the government and administration of his wide empire he also aimed at unlimited power. Frankish kings had originally been nothing more than the first among their vassals. At the time of the conquest of the Roman districts the leaders nominally possessed the right to dispose of all military acquisitions; but, in order to secure the fidelity of their soldiers, they were obliged to make a general and equal division of all land and property. From the stage of communistic enjoyment of the land, that of private ownership was bound to arise, as the kings, in order to secure adherents, were accustomed to confer land upon nobles for agricultural purposes, which land was thus given as private property.

The occupation of such allodial land—that is to say, of land held in freehold—implied an obligation to serve in war, to provide an armed force, and to administer justice in the smaller divisions of the counties. During the continual wars the fields lay fallow and property was ravaged. Hence the smaller freeholders adopted the method of surrendering their property to some noble, or to the Church, from whom they received it back as a fief (*beneficium*) for a yearly rent. A long-standing custom was the conferment of church property upon smaller men, or the grant of it by royal decree, under terms which provided for its eventual return, to nobles for a rental, which was generally unpaid. Charles Martel was especially fond of this form of grant. The great landowners also made grants of small estates in return for payment in kind and product.

Charles the Great wisely strove to protect the freemen, supporting their independence, and creating a close bureaucracy dependent only upon himself. For this purpose the obligations of the freemen were strictly regulated, and the counts, who were chiefly territorial owners and used their power to plunder the peasants, were prohibited from any attempt to destroy the independence of that class. The poorer men were relieved by Charles

of the duty of personal military service, by the regulation that several might join to equip one man. Those parts of the empire which lay at a considerable distance from the seat of the war were partially relieved of the necessity for service.

Charles also limited the number of court days and assembly days. General meetings of the freemen of the county were to be held only thrice a year, to discuss the most important matters affecting the rights and welfare of the community; all other judicial sessions took place under the presidency of the count, and after about 775 seven assessors only were summoned to attend, as representing the communities. These were chosen from the principal men by the royal “missi dominici” (itinerant commissioners), the supervisory officials of the county, while the counts had a voice in the matter. These measures did not, however, secure self-government or real communal freedom. Charles was chiefly anxious to increase the prosperity of the freeman. His own estates were regarded as models of their kind. He was accustomed to examine the smallest details, to look over the ac-

Humble Pursuits in a Royal Palace

counts, and to increase the productive powers of the non-free. His wife and daughters managed the household personally, and were obliged to spin and card wool. This high example exercised a stimulating influence upon agriculture. Villages and courts arose where formerly the land had been fallow. Trade also revived. Military roads went along the Rhine to the North Sea, from the Elbe to the Black and Adriatic Seas. Feuds and other disturbances of the peace were suppressed by stern regulations.

The administration of justice was the object of the emperor's special care. Every week a communal court was held under the presidency of a Hundred, or, while a county court was held monthly, under the count of the district. The “missi dominici” were obliged to make quarterly journeys of inspection, when they examined every detail, inspected the courts and the military contingents, and represented the interests of the crown against the spirit of feudal separatism. As commissioners dependent upon the crown, they took the place of the old independent dukes. The ruler was advised upon matters of legislation by an imperial assembly composed of the ecclesiastical

Charles' Regard for the Poor



THE STRASBURG OATHS: LEWIS AND CHARLES FORMING AN ALLIANCE

When the unity of the Carolingian Empire was dissolved, the Eastern and Western Franks, under the rule of Lewis and Charles, entered upon separate courses of development. In the Treaty of the Meerssen in 870, Lewis the German and Charles the Bald agreed that their Romance districts, Provence and Burgundy, should belong to the West Frankish Empire, and that the remainder should come under the East Frankish ruler. In contrast to the Roman language of the West Franks, and also to the ecclesiastical Latin, a German vernacular language had there developed, the first specimen of which is to be found in the Strasbourg Oaths which Lewis and Charles, when forming their alliance against Lothair, took, each in the language of the other, in February, 842. The oath bound not only the two princes, but also their officials, who were to be judged guilty of rebellion if they broke their allegiance to their feudal lords.

and secular nobility and of the royal officials, a continuation of the old popular and military assembly of the Mayfield, which had long become meaningless; this assembly received and confirmed the decrees of Charles in the spring, while in the autumn

Limitation of Capital Punishment an imperial privy council met for deliberation. Hitherto two legal systems had been in vogue, the Salic and the Ribuarian. It was now advisable that the united empire should have a uniform system of law; the two existing systems were improved by Charles, who introduced his own regulations in his "capitularies." In contrast to those issued by the Merovingians, these decrees are characterised by their humanitarian character and their limitation of capital punishment. They were supplemented by his successor, and the earliest collection of them is dated 827. Though written in Latin, they breathe a Teutonic spirit and faithfully reflect old Teutonic customs, morality, and institutions. Charles also caused collections to be made of the popular laws of the larger tribes under his rule—the Saxons, Angles, and Frisians.

Below his court officials, the clergy formed the medium of higher culture, their energies being chiefly confined to studying the creeds of the Church, liturgies, and extracts from the Fathers, the writing of ecclesiastical Latin and the reading of some ecclesiastical authors. Of these court clergy, the highest in rank was the arch-chaplain, *apocrisiarius*, who kept the emperor informed as to all ecclesiastical matters and received his orders. The arch-chaplain was at the head of the Imperial Chancery. In the High Court of Justice the president was the Count of the Palace, the highest secular official. With him sat commissioners, who were chosen from the most experienced lawyers of the court. Upon occasion Charles himself presided in these courts.

The Frankish Empire was essentially an amalgamation of the Roman and Teutonic civilisations; side by side with the popular law existed the civil law of Rome, just as ecclesiastical Latin existed side by side with the vernacular dialects. Similarly, Charles attempted to conjoin Teutonic legend and tradition with the remains of Roman civilisation and culture. Hence he caused to be made collections of the old Teutonic songs which celebrated

the exploits of the legendary kings; he conceived the idea of a German grammar, and replaced the Latin names of the months with German names. To the four German terms which existed to denote the direction of the wind he added twelve new ones, if we may believe the report of Einhard.

His own tutors in the classical languages and civilisation were partly Anglo-Saxons, with whom were now to be found the learning and philosophy which had perished in Italy with Cassiodorus and Boethius. Of these scholars the chief was Alcuin of York, who created the monastic school of Tours, and was the leading spirit among Charles' group of scholars. To him Charles owed his knowledge of rhetoric, dialectic and astronomy. The Emperor's teacher of grammar was Peter of Pisa, a priest like Alcuin. The most distinguished historians of Charles' exploits were Einhard, who was by origin from the Odenwald, and wrote the first complete biography of the Emperor—the only

Charles Immortalised in Poetry defect of which is the unnecessary plagiarism of sentences and phrases from the lives of Suetonius—and Angilbert, who immortalised the emperor's feats in an epic poem.

Since the time of Gregory of Tours and his contemporary, Jornandes, or Jordanes, the historian of the Ostrogoths, historical writing had sunk to a low ebb. It now revived in the hands of Teutons who wrote Latin. At Charles' court lived for some time the Lombard Paul, son of Warnefried, or Paulus Diaconus, the author of the history of his nation to the year 744, which is based upon old sagas and legends. Charles himself attempted to remedy the defects of his youthful education. When advanced in years he would spend the nights, though with no great success, in learning to write, an art which was chiefly confined to the clergy and scholars. On the other hand, he had completely mastered Latin and the elements of Greek, if the testimony of Einhard may be believed. He was acquainted with the work of St. Augustine, "De Civitate Dei." He caused his sons and daughters to be also educated in the sciences, and for the education of young nobles and of the more talented sons of the middle class he provided the School of the Palace, which he himself was accustomed to inspect, in addition to the model school of Tours.

Among the arts, he had an especial preference for music and architecture, both of which he applied to the service of God. He attempted to improve church music by the introduction of Italian masters, whose cleverness, however, could do little with the rough voices of the Franks, while divine service was amended by the use of a book of homilies which Paulus Diaconus composed. Charles paid zealous attention to the construction and decoration of churches. For the Basilica of Aix-la-Chapelle he sent for marble from Italy, and provided a magnificent supply of gold and silver vessels and ecclesiastical robes and vestments. He visited the church morning and evening, and often at night, and took pains to secure the observance of order and decorum in the services. He also afforded valuable assistance in the decoration of the Church of St. Peter at Rome. Those Christians who lived beyond the boundaries of the Frankish Empire ever found a ready supporter in Charles the Great.

In accordance with the spirit of the time, he enriched churches and monasteries by presents and grants of land; the Frankish clergy, whom he kept in strict obedience, began to claim political power on the ground of their wealth, even in his successor's reign. Apart from tithes, the Church possessed wide properties and estates—the abbey of Fulda, for instance, owned fifteen thousand hides shortly after its foundation. At the same time, these incomes had to provide for much charity, for the education of the poor, and other obligations, while the overlords retained their right of appropriating church property in order to reward their own adherents. The monasteries and churches remained, however, the central points, not only of education, but also of trade and intercourse, of manufacture and agriculture.

The great ecclesiastical festivals were also the most important market days. Even if business was at a standstill on those particular days, it was carried on the more zealously either before or afterwards. In the towns and market villages, foreign merchants came in where formerly trade and manufacture were permitted only to the members of guilds. The name "mass" for a market was derived from the solemn high mass which was held on such days, and was attended

by numerous natives and foreigners. Around churches and monasteries arose new marks and even new towns. Within the territory of the monastery lived also the non-free artisans, who worked for the inmates of the monastery, and stimulated manufacture by their industry and cleverness. Agriculture and viticulture, garden-

**Improved
Methods in
Agriculture**

ing and vegetable growing, were increased by the example of the monasteries; new products were discovered and new methods introduced. The growth of the ecclesiastical estates and their methods of cultivation on a great scale, which almost recalled the Roman *latifundia*, gave a useful impulse to changes in the primitive system of agriculture in vogue upon noble and peasant properties.

Charles remained a true Teuton in his mode of living; his dress, his favourite exercises of riding and hunting, were entirely German. Of an excitable disposition, which could move him easily to tears, he was yet entirely master of himself. He had, for instance, completely overcome the tendency to excessive drinking which was characteristic of the Teutons, and, to a less degree, his inclination to eating, which his bodily vigour permitted him to satisfy. His constant activity, extending often through the hours of the night, was a standing example. Wherever he went he inquired personally into details; his household, the administration of justice, and the settlement of quarrels were subjects in which he took most interest. He resided in his palaces at Nimwegen, with its sixteen-cornered chapel, at Nieder-Ingelheim, built in 768-774, and at Aachen, or Aix-la-Chapelle, rebuilt between 777 and 786, and not in the Romance portions of his empire.

In 793 Charles attempted to connect the Rhine with the Danube by the canal from the Altmühl to the Rednitz, which was never completed; at Mainz he built a

**The Later
Years of
Charlemagne**

wooden bridge over the Rhine 500 yards long, and when this was burnt down in May, 813, he projected the construction of a new bridge in its place. He was often obliged to change his headquarters owing to the difficulty of collecting the necessities of life in any one spot, for communications by road or river were then highly defective. In his last years Aachen was his favourite residence, and its hot baths provided him with relief

for his growing infirmities; he advised his son, his friends, and his courtiers to make constant use of them, and often more than one hundred persons bathed together.

He was distinguished above all other Franks for his breadth of mind, which was especially obvious in his preference for foreign culture and its exponents, and in his disregard of the limits of nationality and of religious faith, when higher political objects seemed to be at stake. He concluded alliances, not only with Alfonso II. of Galicia and Asturias and with the Scottish princes, but also with Harun al-Rashid, who was a friend of culture. Under the protection of this Mohammedan, Charles sent an embassy to adorn the Holy Sepulchre, while Harun sent messengers to conduct the Franks on their homeward journey, bearing presents to Charles of treasures, robes, and spices of the East, in addition to an elephant, for which the Frankish ruler had asked.

Charles also showed an entirely German spirit in his relations with the female sex. He did not indeed follow the traditional polygamy of his ancestors, but he constantly changed his wives and was never long a widower. After marrying the daughter of Desiderius at the wish of his mother, Bertrada, for whom he had a great respect, he divorced her for unknown reasons, and married Hildegard, a Swabian woman of noble birth, who died in 771. After this, in 783, he married a Frankish woman, Fastrada, who was followed by the Alamannian Luidgard, who died in 800. Beside his legal wives, he had concubines, whose numbers increased to three after the death of Luidgard. He allowed his unmarried daughters entire freedom of sexual intercourse.

The glamour which has been spread around this great emperor and his paladins by legend and poetry must pale in the light of historical truth. But this will also destroy the grotesque picture of the one-sided French Charlemagne, to which French historians have clung until recent

times, in conscious opposition to German manners. Charles the Great is rather to be regarded as the earliest exponent of the excellencies of the Teutonic character, the rudeness of which he was able to moderate while overcoming or mastering its weaknesses.

It is a common historical experience that great empires, consisting of mixed peoples connected by outward ties rather than by inward solidarity, often lose their greatness or fall into disruption upon the death of their founder. Such was the case in the fourth century B.C. with the empire of Alexander the Great; also in Central Asia, after the death of Tamerlane; and the phenomenon was repeated in the case of the Carolingian monarchy. The one-sided

theory which regards mankind as master of circumstances, and not as subject to them, usually makes the less capable successors of great princes responsible for such disruption; but the deeper reasons lie in foreign and domestic political conditions. Such was the case with the Frankish Empire. Notwithstanding his sedulous care for the defence and security of his frontiers, Charles the Great had never been able entirely to overcome two dangerous enemies.

Even during his time the Northmen, or Vikings, were plundering the English coasts under the leadership of their petty

kings, who had been driven out of their Norwegian possessions by powerful governors. In 795 they captured the island of Rathlin on the north coast of Ireland, in 802 the missionary settlement of Iona, one of the Hebrides, and in 804 they sailed up the Boyne and captured Dublin. They were also advancing in the interior of the country; in 789 they raided Wessex, and in 799 Northumberland. Charles fortified the coasts and rivers on the north frontier of his empire, but for want of a fleet he could no more permanently repel these raids than drive back the Danish sea-king, Gottfried. The example of the Northmen in Western Europe was repeated by the Saracen pirates in Southern Italy, and



LOUIS THE PIOUS

The sole heir of his great father, Charlemagne Louis the Pious was, in 814, crowned emperor at Rheims. He has been denounced as a weakling because he divided the empire among his three sons, Lothair, Pippin, and Louis.



THE DEPOSITION OF LOUIS THE PIOUS

When Louis the Pious divided the empire among his three sons he sowed the seed of future trouble for himself. These sons revolted when their father subsequently altered the principle of the partition in order that his son by a second marriage, afterwards known as Charles the Bald, should not be left without possessions. In the midst of the upheaval which followed, Louis was deposed in 833, but he returned to the throne about a year later, and died in 840.

here again Charles strove to protect himself by fortifications at the river mouths and harbours. The main object of the Northmen was the extortion of tribute and the acquisition of plunder, and the extent to



THE EMPEROR LOTHAIR

This son of Louis the Pious was crowned in 823. Troublous times followed, in which Lothair and his brothers struggled for supremacy.

and Carinthia, to the Danubian territories of the Byzantine Empire, and even into ancient Greece. In Moravia a powerful empire had arisen under Svatopluk—who died in 895—which was not to collapse until the beginning of the tenth century. The modern territories of Prussia, Pomerania, Mecklenburg, Brandenburg, Saxony, Bohemia, Moravia and the Austrian Alps were in the possession of Slavonic tribes. Notwithstanding the victories of Charles over the Sorbs and Wilzes, they retained their wide sphere of influence practically undiminished. The dissension prevailing among the individual tribes, of whom even in Charles' time the Obotrites of Mecklenburg joined the Franks, made it impossible that they should withstand the superior military prowess of the Germans.

Until the tenth and eleventh centuries they were steadily driven back before the missionary zeal of their western neighbours; only in heathen Prussia did they resist the power of the Teutonic knights until the thirteenth century. In the interior the feudal nobility had been kept in check by the strong hand of

which Charles' successors suffered under this plague will be seen when we study the history of Scandinavia.

The second enemy was the Slav people, who were divided into a number of tribes; they had occupied the country abandoned by the Germans during their migrations from the Baltic and the mouth of the Elbe to the Bohemian Forest; thence they had extended to Styria

Charles, but its tendency to separatism had not been thereby destroyed. The rich presents and favours of Charles had raised the power of the ecclesiastical nobility, which soon became a force threatening the monarchy, although the papacy continued subject to the protectorate of the Franks for a longer period.

Louis the Pious was the sole heir of his great father, who died on January 28th, 814. He was crowned emperor in Rheims by Pope Stephen V., and was by no means the helpless weakling that he is painted in the traditional accounts of his reign. During the lifetime of his two elder brothers he was naturally thrown into the background, and was brought up in Aquitaine by monks in an environment of prayer and penance. After his accession he continued the great work of conversion begun by Charles, and created two strong centres of Christianity in the bishoprics of Hildesheim and Hamburg.

Hamburg was intended to form a bulwark against the heathen Danes and Northmen, but was reduced to ashes by them in 837, about thirty years after its foundation.

Louis also followed his father's example by enriching the clergy with gifts of land and rents; but he allowed the secular princes subordinate to himself to appropriate Church property. It was chiefly for this reason that the clergy, who were conscious of their independence, conspired against the Emperor on behalf of his rebellious sons.

The action of Louis in dividing the empire between his sons, Lothair, Pippin, and Louis, in 817, has been denounced as weakness. But this partition was in the first place proposed rather by the great ecclesiastics of



CHARLES THE BALD

Another son of Louis the Pious, for whose benefit the principle of the partition of the empire was altered—a step which led to strife.

the empire than by Louis himself, and was but a continuation of the precedent set by Pippin and Charles. The unity of the empire and the emperor's own position were guaranteed by the provisions that Louis should remain sole ruler during his lifetime, that the imperial title should pass only to the eldest son, without whose consent the other two sons could not wage war, conclude peace, or negotiate upon questions of foreign policy, while the consent of the national assembly was necessary before they could enjoy their

could take place only when the Emperor's consent had been obtained.

The misfortunes of Louis were due to his weakness in dealing with his second wife, the Guelf Princess Judith. In order that the son of this marriage, Charles, afterwards known as the Bald, should not be thrown into the background, Louis altered the principle of partition in favour of this son without the consent of the nation, but with the assent of the compliant Pope. These feminine intrigues were the signal for a revolt of the three



THE EXCOMMUNICATION OF ROBERT THE PIOUS

Robert II., King of France, better known as Robert the Pious, incurred the severe displeasure of the Pope because of his marriage with Bertha, a distant relative of his own. The king was commanded to put Bertha away, under pain of excommunication, and though he struggled for four or five years against the terrors of the papal ban, he was at length compelled to yield, and to send from his side the wife to whom he was deeply attached. He afterwards married Constance daughter of the Count of Toulouse. Robert reigned for nearly thirty-five years, dying in 1031.

From the painting by Laurens in the Luxembourg

shares. Upon the death of the eldest brother the next in age was to take the seniority. Pope Paschal I., who had been won over by guarantees securing his territory, agreed to this scheme of partition and showed great readiness to support the empire. On April 5th, 823, he crowned Lothair as emperor, and allowed the new ruler to impose a regulation upon the Romans by which they were forced to take an oath of allegiance to the Pope and the Emperor, while the papal elections

other sons, whose possessions were thus reduced. The rebellious sons were now joined by the West Frankish clergy, who had grown extremely powerful.

The Empress Judith became a special point of attack on the part of the opposition nobles. These were laymen, many of whom had already shared in the revolt of Bernhard, the nephew of Louis. They were able to relieve themselves of Judith by confining her in a monastery; but the monarchy was too

firmly rooted to be overthrown at one blow. Louis was able to find help among the East Frankish nobility against the West Franks and his own sons, of whom Lothair was the ringleader. At an imperial diet held at Aachen, or Aix-la-Chapelle, in 831, the emperor and his queen, who had come back from her monastery, were justified, and Lothair was forced to

Revolt of the Clergy

submit. The revolt of the clergy from the crown offered a favourable opportunity to the Pope for breaking away from the dependent position which Charles had introduced, and for making himself supreme over the shattered power of the king. When the sons again raised the banner of revolt they found Gregory IV. on their side. At Colmar, in Alsace, the Emperor's officials, advised by the Pope himself, deserted to their rebel comrades in arms at the end of June, 833; Rotfeld, where this treachery was completed, received the contemptuous name of Lügenfeld, or field of lies. We now find a division in the ranks of the West Frankish episcopate. Many who feared that the papal aggressions threatened their own independence renewed the allegiance to Louis; a minority, led by the vigorous Archbishop Ebo of Rheims, forced the Emperor to do penance in the church of St. Médard at Soissons, to abdicate his position as emperor, and to enter a monastery. The other party induced Louis to withdraw the decision which he had made at St. Denis, and to renounce his deposition at a council at Diedenhofen in 835. The Emperor was induced by his wife to make a fresh partition in 839, under which Louis, whom she hated, was placed at a disadvantage in favour of Lothair and Charles, although it was to Louis in part that the Emperor owed his restoration; Pippin had died on December 13th, 838. Louis then took up arms against his father, who, however, died at Ingelheim before any battle was fought,

Death of Louis the Pious

on June 20th, 840. The struggle for the inheritance was carried on by the two younger brothers, Louis and Charles, who joined their forces against the domineering Lothair. Lothair was utterly defeated at the Ries in the beginning of 841, and at Fontenoy en Puisaye, near Auxerre, on June 25th, where the flower of the Austrasian nobility fell. He summoned to his help the heathen Saxons, to whom he promised the restoration of their old privileges, and the

Danes; he also secured the support of the papal legates, but he was unable to recover the supremacy of his West Frankish territory. He therefore agreed to the partition treaty of Verdun on August 10th, 843. He was left in possession of the imperial title, together with the old province of Austrasia, the main portion of Burgundy, the Alamannic districts on the left bank of the Rhine, Provence and Italy; that is to say, of a district extending from the mouth of the Rhine to the harbours of the Mediterranean. Neustria, Flanders, and Brittany, North-west Burgundy, Aquitaine and the Spanish Mark went to Charles. Louis, known as the German, received all the country on the right of the Rhine, and on the left bank Worms, Mainz, and Speier, together with parts of modern Switzerland.

Thus the unity of the Carolingian Empire was dissolved, although Lothair retained the imperial title. The East and West Franks, under the rule of Louis and Charles, entered upon separate courses of development, affecting their national characters, their languages and their

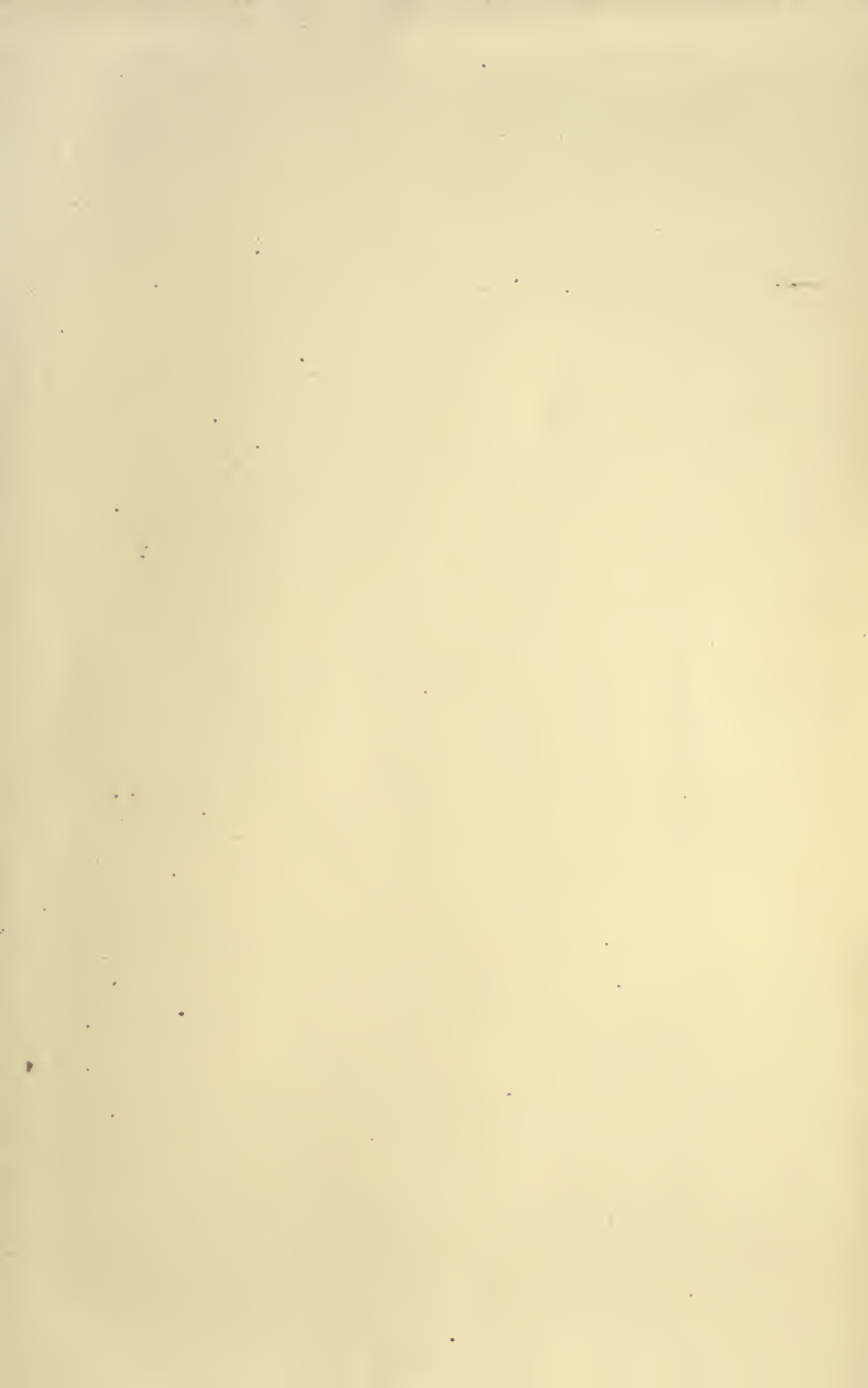
The Divided Carolingian Empire

policies, which ended in the differentiation of France from Germany. The kingdom of Lothair was broken in 855 into three parts connected by a show of outward unity. These were: Austrasia, with Friesland, and the left bank of the Rhine—"Lotharingia," so called from its future owner, Lothair II.—Provence, with Burgundy, and Italy, which belonged to the Emperor Louis II. Lotharingia, although inhabited by Germans, was exposed to French aggression.

However, in the treaty of Meerssen on August 8th, 870, Lewis the German and Charles the Bald agreed that the Romance districts—namely, Provence and Burgundy—should belong to the West Frankish Empire, and that the remainder should fall under the East Frankish ruler.

Politically, however, the separate portions of the divided empire went their own ways. In East Francia, the old hereditary Duchies of Saxony, Franconia, Swabia, and Bavaria gradually gained a new importance which menaced the existing unity. In West Franconia a number of greater and smaller vassals secured their independence, and in course of time reduced the crown to the position of a meaningless and helpless shadow.

RICHARD MAHRENHOLTZ



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